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ARCHÆOLOGIA GRÆCA:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

THE NINTH EDITION.

By JOHN POTTER, D.D. - K
Late Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY.

VOLUME the FIRST.

CONTAINING,

- I. The Civil Govern- || II. The Religion of
ment of ATHENS. || GREECE.
-

— *Antiquam exquirite Matrem.* VIRGIL.

— *Vos exemplaria Græca*
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna. HORAT.

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THE
BOOKSELLERS
TO THE
READER.

***F**EW Books are so perfect, in their first Editions, as to need no Improvement or Addition afterwards. But it would be Injustice to the Publick to suppress all future Improvement, rather than offend the first Buyers. Our Customers therefore, we hope, will pardon Us, if the many Additions in this Edition do depreciate the former. The Quantity of this is more, but the Quality of that is the same: For tho' the Author found it necessary to add Paragraphs very frequently, and whole Chapters sometimes, he did not write at first with so little Thought as to need to alter it, some few Amendments excepted. And therefore the Possessors of the former Edition cannot think themselves abused.*

THE BOOKSELLERS to the READER.

The Author was very desirous of having the Additions printed by themselves; but the Number of them, and their being interspers'd in every Page, render'd that impracticable. He has now set the last Hand to it, and we hope it is so compleat as to need no more Improvement.

A Word more in Relation to the Latin Edition of this Work printed in Holland, the Publisher of which pretends it was corrected by the Author; but that being quite otherwise, we must take this Opportunity to let the World know, that the Author never saw it till it was all printed; and therefore the many Errors found in it must not be imputed to Him.



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BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the State of Athens till Cætophs.



ALL Ages have had a great Esteem and Veneration for *Antiquity*; and not only of Men, but of Families, Cities; and Countries, the most Ancient have always been accounted the most Honourable. Hence arose one of the first and most universal Disputes that ever troubled Mankind; almost every Nation, whose first Original was not very manifest, pretending to have been of an equal Duration with the Earth itself. Thus the *Egyptians*, *Scythians*, and *Phrygians* fancied themselves to be the first Race of Mankind, and the *Arcadians* boasted that they were *πρὸς ἰδὺν*, or before the Moon. The want of Letters did not a little contribute to these Opinions; for almost every Colony and Plantation, wanting Means whereby to preserve the Memory of their Ancestors, and deliver them down to Posterity, in a few Generations forgot their Mother-Nation, and thought they had inhabited their own Country from the Beginning of the World.

Our *Athenians* had too their Share in this Vanity, and made as great and loud Pretensions to Antiquity, as the best of their Neighbours; they gave out that they were produced at the same time with the *Sun* (a), and assumed to themselves the honourable Name (for so they thought it) of *Aclogones*, which Word signifies Persons produc'd out of the same Soil that they inhabit: For it was an old Opinion, and almost every where received among the Vulgar, that, in the Beginning of the World, Men, like Plants, were by some strange prolific Virtue produced out of the fertile Womb of one common Mother, Earth; and therefore the Ancients generally called themselves *Γῆνιαι*, Sons of the Earth, as *Hesychius* informs us (b); alluding to the same Original, the *Athenians* sometimes stiled themselves *τέρψαι*, *Grashoppers*; and some of them wore *Grashoppers* of Gold, binding them in the Hair, as Badges of Honour, and Marks to distinguish them from others of later Duration, and less noble Extraction, because those Insects were believed to be generated out of the Ground (c); *Virgil* has mentioned this Custom in his Poem entitled *Ciris*:

*Ergo omnis caro residebat cura capillo,
Aurea solemni comptum quem fibula ritu
Cecropiæ tereti necebat dente cicada.*

Wherefore she did, as was her constant Care,
With *Grashoppers* adorn her comely Hair,
Brac'd with a golden Buckle Attick wife.

Mr. Jo. Abell. of *Lincol.* Coll.

Without doubt the *Athenians* were a very ancient Nation, and it may be, the first that ever inhabited that Country; for when *Thessaly*, and *Peloponnesus*, and almost all the fertile Regions of *Greece* chang'd their old Masters every Year, the Barrenness of their Soil secur'd them from foreign Invasions. *Greece* at that time had no constant and settled Inhabitants, but there were continual Removes; the stronger always dispossessing the weaker; and therefore they liv'd, as we say, from Hand to Mouth, and provided no more than what was necessary for present Sustainance, expecting every Day when some powerful Nation should come and displace them, as they had lately done their Predecessors (d). Amidst all these Troubles and Tumults, *Attica* lay secure and unmolested, being protected from foreign Enemies by means of a craggy and unfruitful Soil, that could not afford Fuel for Contention, and secur'd from intestine and civil Broils, by the quiet and peaceable Dispositions of its Inhabitants; for in those *Golden Days* no Affectation of Supremacy, nor any Sparks of Ambition, had fired Mens Minds, but every one liv'd full of Content and Satisfaction in the Enjoyment of an equal Share of Land, and other Necessaries, with the rest of his Neighbours.

The usual Attendants of a long and uninterrupted Peace are Riches and Plenty; but in those Days, when Men lived upon the Products of

(a) *Menander* Rhetor.
Epistatius ad *Iliad.* γ.

(b) In voce *Γῆνιαι*.
(d) *Thucyd.* *ibid.*

(c) *Thucydides*, lib. 1.

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their own Soil, and had not found out the Way of supplying their Wants by Traffick, the Case was quite contrary, and Peace was only the Mother of Poverty and Scarceness, producing a great many new Mouths to consume, but affording no new Supplies to satisfy them. This was soon experienced by the *Athenians*; for in a few Ages they were increased to such a Number, that their Country being not only unfruitful, but confined within very narrow Bounds, was no longer able to furnish them with necessary Provisions. This forced them to contrive some Means to disburden it, and therefore they sent out Colonies to provide new Habitations; which spread themselves in the several Parts of *Greece*.

This sending forth of Colonies was very frequent in the first Ages of the World, and several Instances there are of it in later Times, especially amongst the *Gauls* and *Sythians*; who often left their Native Countries in vast Bodies, and, like general Inundations, overturn'd all before them. *Meursius* reckons to the Number of forty Plantations peopled by *Athenians*; but amongst them all there was none so remarkable as that in *Asia* the Less, which they call'd by the Name of their native Country *Ionîa*. For the primitive *Athenians* were nam'd *Iones*, and *Iadnes* (e); and hence it came to pass, that there was a very near Affinity between the *Attick* and old *Ionick* Dialect, as *Eusebius* observes (f). And though the *Athenians* thought fit to lay aside their ancient Name, yet it was not altogether out of Use in *Theseus's* Reign, as appears from the Pillar erected by him in the *Isthmus*, to shew the Bounds of the *Athenians* on the one Side, and the *Peloponnesians* on the other; on the East-side of which was this Inscription (g),

This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionîa.

And on the South-side this,

This is not Ionîa, but Peloponnesus.

This Name is thought to have been given them from *Javan*, which bears a near Resemblance to *Iâwy*; and much nearer if, as Grammarians tell us, the ancient *Greeks* pronounced the Letter *a* broad like the Diphthong *au*, as in our *English* Word *All*, and so *Sir George Wheeler* reports the modern *Greeks* do at this Day. This *Javan* was the fourth Son of *Japheth*, and is said to have come into *Greece* after the Confusion of *Babel*, and seated himself in *Asia*; and this Report receiveth no small Confirmation from the divine Writings, where the Name of *Javan* is in several Places put for *Greece*. Two Instances we have in *Daniel* (h); And when I am gone forth, behold the Prince of *Græcia* shall come. And again (i), He shall stir up all against the Realm of *Græcia*. Where though the vulgar Translations render it not *Javan*, yet that is the Word in the Original. And again in *Isaiah*, And I will send those that escape of them to the Nations in the Sea; in Italy, and in *Greece*. Where the

(e) *Herodot.* lib. I. *Strabo* Geogr. lib. IX. *Æschylus* *Persia*. (f) *Iliad.* 2.
(g) *Plutarch.* *Theseo*. (h) *Cap. X.* v. 20. (i) *Cap. XI.* v. 2.

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Figurine Version, with that of *Geneva*, retains the *Hebrew* Words, and useth the Names of *Tubal* and *Javan*, instead of *Italy* and *Greece*. But the *Grecians* themselves, having no Knowledge of their true Ancestor, make this Name to be of much later Date, and derive it from *Ion*, the Son of *Xuthus*. This *Xuthus* (as *Pausanias* reports) having robb'd his Father *Deucalion* of his Treasure, convey'd himself, together with his ill-gotten Wealth into *Attica*, which was at that Time govern'd by *Erechtheus*, who courteously entertain'd him, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage, by whom he had two Sons, *Ion* and *Achæus*; the former of which gave his Name to the *Ionians*, the latter to the *Achæans*. It is not improbable that *Ion* himself might receive his Name from *Javan*; it being a Custom observable in the Histories of all Times, to keep up the ancient Name of a Forefather, especially such as had been eminent in the Times he lived in, by reviving it in some of the Principal of his Posterity.

From the first peopling of *Attica* till the Time of King *Ogyges*, we have no Account of any Thing that pass'd there; only *Plato* (k) reports, they had a Tradition, that the *Athenian* Power and Glory were very great in those Days; that they were excellently skill'd both in Civil and Military Affairs, were govern'd by the justest and most equitable Laws, and lived in far greater Splendor than they had arrived to in his Time. But of the Transactions of these, and the following Ages till *Theseus*, or the *Trojan* War, little or nothing of Certainty must be expected; partly, because of the Want of Records, in rude and illiterate Ages; partly, by reason of the vast Distance of Time, wherein those Records they had (if they had any) were lost and destroy'd; and partly, through the Pride and Vain-glory of the ancient *Greeks*, who, out of an Affectation of being thought to have been descended from some divine Original, industriously conceal'd their Pedigrees, and obscured their ancient Histories with idle Tales, and poetical Fictions. And to use the Words of *Plutarch* (l): "As Historians, in their Geographical Descriptions of Countries, croud into the farthest Part of their Maps those Things they have no Knowledge of, with some such Remarks in the Margin as these; all beyond is nothing but dry and desert Sands, or *Scythian* Cold, or a frozen Sea; so it may very well be said of those Things that are so far removed from our Age; all beyond is nothing but monstrous and tragical Fictions; there the Poets, and there the Inventors of Fables dwell; nor is there to be expected any Thing that deserves Credit, or that carries in it any Appearance of Truth."

However I must not omit what is reported concerning *Ogyges*, or *Ogygus*, whom some will have to have been King of *Thebes*, some of *Egypt*, some of *Arcadia*, but others of *Attica*, which is said to have been called after his Name, *Ogygia* (m). He is reported to have been a very potent Prince, and the Founder of several Cities, particularly of *Eleusis*; and *Pausanias* tells us farther, that he was Father to the Hero

(k) *Times*.

(l) *Theseus*.

(m) *Stephanus Byzantin. de Urb. & Pop.*

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Eleusis, from whom that Town received its Name. He is said to have been contemporary with the Patriarch *Jacob*; about the sixty-seventh Year of whose Age he is supposed to have been born (n), others bring him as low as *Moses* (o). His Reign is the utmost Period the *Athenian* Stories or Traditions ever pretended to reach to; and therefore when they would express the great Antiquity of any thing, they call it *Ὀγυγίᾳ*, of which we have a great many Instances in several of the ancient Writers, but I shall only give you one out of *Nicander's Theriaca*,

Ὀγυγίᾳ δ' ἄρα μὲν ἐν αἰχμῶσι φερούται.

And in Allusion to the great Power he is supposed to have been possess'd of they call any thing great or potent, *Ὀγυγίᾳ*, as two learned Grammarians inform us. *Heyschius*, *Ὀβύγις*, *παλαιῶ*, *ἀρχαίῳ*, *μεγάλῳ πάντων*. *Suidas*, *Ὀγυγίῳ*, *παλαιόν*, ἢ *ὑπερμεγέθυς*. And therefore *Ὀγυγίᾳ κακὰ* are great and insupportable Evils; and *Ὀγυγίᾳ εὐθύνῃα* in *Philo*, extreme Folly and Stupidity. He reign'd two and thirty Years (for so *Cedrenus* computes them) in full Power and Prosperity, and bless'd with the Affluence of all Things that Fortune can bestow upon her greatest Favourites; but the Conclusion of his Life was no less deplorable than the former Part of it had been prosperous, for in the Midst of all his Enjoyments he was surpriz'd with a sudden and terrible Inundation, which overwhelm'd not *Attica* only, but all *Achaia* too, in one common Destruction.

There is frequent Mention made in ancient Authors of several Kings that reign'd in *Attica*, between the *Ogygian* Flood and *Cecrops* the First. As of *Porphyrio*, concerning whom the *Athemonians*, a People in *Attica*, have a Tradition, that he erected a Temple to *Venus Oυρῶνα* in their Borough (p). Also of *Colænus* (q); and of *Periphas*, who is describ'd by *Antonius Liberalis* (r), to have been a very virtuous Prince, and at last metamorphos'd into an *Eagle*. *Isaac Tzetzes*, in his Comment upon *Lycophron*, speaks of one *Draco*, out of whose Teeth he tells us, it was reported that *Cecrops* sprung; and this Reason some give for his being call'd *Δράκων*. Lastly, to mention no more, *Pausanias* and *Stephanus* speak of *Ææus*, or *Ææon*, from whom some will have *Attica* to have been call'd *Ææe*; and this Name frequently occurs in the Poets, particularly in *Lycophron*, a studious Affecter of antiquated Names, and obsolete Words:

Ἀττῆς δ' ἑμὲρ φησὶ γένεσθαι σπηλιόχρας.

But small Credit is to be given to these Reports, for we are assured by *Philochorus*, an Author of no less Credit than Antiquity, as he is quoted by *Africanus*, that *Attica* was so much wasted by the *Ogygian* Deluge, and its Inhabitants reduced to so small a Number, that they lived an hundred and ninety Years, from the Time of *Ogyges* to *Cecrops*, without any King at all; and *Eusebius* concurs with him in this Opinion (s).

(n) Hieronym. Chron. Euseb.

(o) Justin Mart. Orat. ad Gentem.

(p) Pau-

sanias.

(q) Idem.

(r) Metamorphos. VI.

(s) Chronico.

C H A P. II.

Of the State of Athens from Cecrops to Theseus.

IT is agreed almost on all Hands, that *Cecrops* was the first that gather'd together the poor Peasants that lay dispersed here and there in *Attica*, and having united them into one Body (though not into one City, for that was not effected till many Ages after) constituted among them one Form of Government, and took upon himself the Title of *King*.

Most Nations at the first were govern'd by *Kings*, who were usually Persons of great Worth and Renown, and for their Courage, Prudence, and other Virtues, promoted to that Dignity by the general Consent and Election of the People; who yielded them Obedience out of Willingness, rather than Necessity; out of Advice, rather than by Compulsion: And *Kings* rather chose to be obey'd out of Love, and Esteem of their Virtues, and Fitness to govern, than by the Force of their Arms, and out of a slavish Fear of their Power. They affected no uncontrollable Dominion, or absolute Sway, but prefer'd the Good of their People, for whose Protection they knew and acknowledged themselves to have been advanced, before any covetous or ambitious Designs of their own. They expected no bended Knees, no prostrate Faces, but would condescend to converse familiarly, even with the meaner sort of their Subjects, as oft as they stood in need of their Assistance. In short, they endeavoured to observe such a just *Medium* in their Behaviour, and all their Actions, as might neither expose their Authority to Contempt, nor render them formidable to those, whom they chose rather to win by Kindness into a voluntary Compliance, than to awe by Severity into a forced Subjection. They proposed to themselves no other Advantage, than the Good and Welfare of their People, and made use of their Authority no farther, than as it was conducive and necessary to that End. This Dignity and Office consisted chiefly in three Things.

First, In doing Justice, in hearing Causes, in composing the Divisions, and deciding the Differences that happen'd among their Subjects, in constituting new Laws, and regulating the old (*t*), where they had any; but the People generally reposed such Trust and Confidence in the Justice and Equity of their *Prince*, that his sole Will and Pleasure pass'd for Law amongst them (*u*).

Secondly, In leading them to the Wars; where they did not only assist them by their good Conduct and Management of Affairs, but exposed their own Persons for the Safety and Honour of their Country, pressing forward into the thickest of their Enemies, and often encountering the most valiant of them in single Combat. And this they thought a principal Part of their Duty, judging it but reasonable, that they, who excell'd others in Honour, should surpass them too

(*t*) *Tull. de Offic. lib. II. cap. XII.*

(*u*) *Justin. Hist. lib. I.*

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in Valour, and they that had the first Places at all Feasts and publick Assemblies, should be the first also in undertaking Dangers, and exposing themselves in the Defence of their Country; and thus the Hero in *Homer* argues the Case with one of his Fellow-Princes,

Γλαῦκε, τίη δὴ νῦν τέμνμεσθα μέγιστα
 Ἐδρὴ τε, κρεσσίν τε ἰδὲ πλείους διπλάσσει
 Ἐν Λυκίῃ, ωάϊός δέ, θεὸς ὧς, εἰσορῶσι,
 Καὶ τέμνμεσθα μέγα Ξανθοῖο παρ' ὄχθαις,
 Καλὸν φυλακῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς πυροφόρου;
 Τῷ νῦν χρὴ Λυκίοισι μετὰ πρῶτοις ἐόντας
 Ἐτάμεν, ἥδ' ἐ μάχης καυστηρῆς ἀνιθεολῆσαι (αυ).

Glaucus, since us the *Lycian* Realms obey
 Like Gods, and all united Homage pay,
 Since we first seated have our Goblets crown'd,
 Enjoy large Farms, near *Xanthus*' Streams, whose Ground
 Is fertile, and beset with shady Trees around?
 Ought we not in the Battle's Front t'engage,
 And quell our furious Foes with doubled Rage?

J. A.

Thirdly, The Performance of the solemn Sacrifices, and the Care of Divine Worship, was Part of the King's Business. The *Lacedæmonian* Kings at the Coronation were consecrated Priests of *Jupiter*, *Ouegan*, and executed that Office in their own Persons. No Man can be ignorant of *Virgil's Anius*, who was both King and Priest:

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum, Phæbique sacerdos.

We seldom meet with a Sacrifice in *Homer*, but some of the Heroes, and those the Chief of all then present, are concern'd in the Performance of the holy Ceremonies; and so far was it from being thought an Act of Condescension, or any way below their Dignity and Grandeur, that they thought it an Accession to the rest of their Honours; and the inferior Worshipers were no less careful to reserve this Piece of Service for them, than they were to give them the most honourable Places in the Banquets, which they refresh'd themselves with, after the Sacrifices were ended.

Let us now return to *Cecrops*, whom, as soon as he had establish'd himself in his new rais'd Kingdom, we shall find employ'd in laying the Model of a City, which he design'd for the Seat of his Government, and Place of his constant Residence. And as the most commodious Place in his Dominions for this Purpose, he pitch'd upon a Rock, strongly fortify'd by Nature against any Assaults, and situated in a large Plain near the Middle of *Attica*, calling both the City, and the Territory round it, after his own Name, *Cecropia*. Afterwards, when the *Athenians* increased in Power and Number, and fill'd the adjacent Plains with Buildings, this was the *Acropolis* or *Citadel*.

Of the Civil Government of Athens.

Then for the better Administration of Justice, and the Promotion of mutual Intercourse among his Subjects, he divided them into four Tribes, the Names of which were,

1. Κίρρωις.
2. Αὐτόχθων.
3. Ἀλκίαι.
4. Παρὰλιν.

And finding his Country pretty well stock'd with Inhabitants, partly by the coming in of Foreigners, partly by the Concourse of People from every Corner and Lurking-hole in *Attica*, where they had before lain, as it were, buried in Privacy, he instituted a Poll, causing every one of the Men to cast a Stone into a Place appointed by him for that Purpose, and, upon Computation, he found them to be in Number twenty thousand, as the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* reports out of *Philochorus* (x).

But the Soil being in its own Nature unfruitful, and the People unskill'd in tilling and improving it to the best Advantage, such Multitudes could not have fail'd of being reduc'd in a short Time to the greatest Extremities, had not *Cecrops* taught them the Art of Navigation, and thereby supply'd them with Corn from *Sicily* and *Africk* (y).

Besides this, he was the Author of many excellent Laws and Constitutions, especially touching Marriage, which, according to his Appointment, was only to be celebrated betwixt one Man and one Woman, whereas before promiscuous Mixtures had been allow'd of amongst them, as the Poet intimates,

Κάδμῳ ἐν γλώσσῳ διδάσκεται ἀγαθὰ φωνῆς,
Θεσμὰ Σόλων ἀρχαῖα, καὶ ἐνομοὶ Ἀθιδὶ ποίηται,
Ζεύγους ἀλύτοιο συνωρίδα δίζυγα Κίερον (z).

With curious Art *Cadmus* did Letters frame,
The Law's Invention from wise *Solon* came,
But *Cecrops* glories in the Marriage Tie
Of the united Pair.

J. A.

Nor did he only prescribe Rules for the Conduct of their Lives, with respect to one another, but was the first that introduced a Form of Religion, erected Altars in Honour of the Gods, and instructed his People in what Manner they were to worship them.

In the Reign of *Pandion*, the fifth King of *Athens*, *Triptolemus* is said to have taught the *Athenians* how to sow and manure the Ground, and to have enacted several useful and necessary Laws, three of which we find quoted by *Porphyry* out of *Xenocrates* (a);

1. Honour your Parents.
2. Make Oblations of your Fruits to the Gods.
3. Hurt not living Creatures.

(x) *Olympionic. Od. IX.* (y) *Jobannes Tzetzes in Hesiodi 'Eg. a.* (z) *Non-*
mus Dionysiac. lib. XLI. (a) *De Abstin. ab Animal. lib. IV.*

Cecrops, the second of that Name, and the seventh King of *Athens*, divided his Dominions into twelve Cities, or large Boroughs, compelling his Subjects to leave their separate Habitations, and unite together for the replenishing of them (b). Their Names were these, as they were deliver'd by *Strabo* in his Description of *Attica* (c): *Cecropia*, *Tetrapolis*, *Exacria*, *Declea*, *Eleusis*, *Abidnae*, *Thoriceus*, *Brauron*, *Cytheris*, *Sphectus*, *Cephissia*, and *Phalerus*. But *Cecropia* still continued the chief Seat of the Empire, though each of these Cities (they are the Words of *Sir George Wheeler*, who refers this Division to *Cecrops* the First, led thereunto by the Authority of *Eusebius*, and some others) had distinct Courts of Judicature, and Magistrates of their own; and were so little subject to their Princes, the Successors of *Cecrops*, that they seldom or never had recourse to them, save only in Cases of imminent and publick Danger; and did so absolutely order their own Concerns, that sometimes they waged War against each other without the Advice or Consent of their Kings.

In this State continued *Attica*, till the Reign of *Pandion*, the second of that Name, and eighth King of the *Athenians*, who was deprived of his Kingdom by the Sons of his Uncle *Metion*; who themselves did not long possess what they had thus unjustly gotten, being driven out of it by the more powerful Arms of *Pandion's* four Sons, viz. *Aegeus*, *Lycus*, *Pallas*, and *Nisus*. These, having expell'd the *Metionidae*, divided the Kingdom amongst themselves, as *Apollodorus* reports. But others are of Opinion, that *Pandion* himself, being restored to the quiet Possession of his Kingdom by the joint Assistance of them all, by his last Will and Testament divided it into four Parts, bequeathing to each of them his Proportion. And though it is not agreed amongst ancient Writers, which Part fell to every Man's Lot; yet thus much is consented to on all Hands, that the Sovereignty of *Athens* was assign'd to *Aegeus*, for which he was extremely envy'd by his Brethren; and so much the more, for that, as most think, he was not the begotten, but only adopted Son of *Pandion*; and for this Reason it was (saith *Plutarch*) that *Aegeus* commanded *Aethra*, the Mother of *Theseus*, to send her Son, when arrived at Man's Estate, from *Træzen*, the Place where he was born, to *Athens* with all Secrecy, and to enjoin him to conceal, as much as possible, his Journey from all Men, because he fear'd extremely the *Pallantidae*, who did continually mutiny against him, and despised him for his want of Children, they themselves being fifty Brothers, all the Sons of *Pallas*. However, as the same Author tells us, they were withheld from breaking out into open Rebellion, by the Hopes and Expectations of recovering the Kingdom, at least after *Aegeus's* Death, because he was without Issue; but as soon as *Theseus* appear'd, and was acknowledged rightful Successor to the Crown, highly resenting, that first *Aegeus*, *Pandion's* Son only by Adoption, and not at all related to the Family of *Erechtheus*, and then *Theseus*, one of another Country, and a perfect Stranger to their Nation, should obtain the Kingdom of their Ancestors, they broke out into

(b) Etymolog.

(c) Geograph. lib. IX.

open Acts of Hostility; but were soon overcome and dispersed by the Courage and Conduct of *Theseus*.

Theseus, having delivered the Country from intestine Seditions, proceeded in the next Place to free it from foreign Slavery. The *Athenians* having barbarously murder'd *Androgeus*, the Son of *Minos*, King of *Crete*, were obliged by his Father to send a novennial, or septennial, or, as others, an annual Tribute of seven young Men, and as many Virgins into *Crete*, where they were shut up within the *Labyrinth*, and there wandered about, till, finding no possible Means of making their Escape, they perished with Hunger, or else were devoured by the *Minotaur*, a terrible Monster, compounded of the different Shapes of Man and Bull. The Time of sending this Tribute being come, *Theseus* put himself amongst the Youths that were doomed to go to *Crete*, where having arrived, he received of *Ariadne*, the Daughter of King *Minos*, who had fallen in Love with him, a Clew of Thread, and being instructed by her in the Use of it, which was to conduct him through all the Windings of the *Labyrinth*, escaped out of it, having first slain the *Minotaur*, and so return'd with his Fellow Captives in Triumph to *Athens*.

In his Return, thro' an Excess of Joy for the happy Success of his Voyage, he forgot to hang out the white Sail, which should have been the Token of their Safety to *Ageus*, who sat expecting them upon the Top of a Rock; and as soon as their Ship came in View with a black, and, as it were, mourning Sail, knowing nothing of their Success, he threw himself headlong into the Sea, and so made way to *Theseus's* more early Succession to the Crown, than could otherwise have been expected. And to this Time, from the Reign of *Cecrops* the First, the Government and State of *Athens* continued with little Alteration.

C H A P. III.

Of the State of Athens, from *Theseus* to the Decennial Archons.

THESEUS, being by the fore-mention'd Accident advanced to the Regal Scepter, soon found the Inconvenience of having his People dispersed in Villages, and canton'd up and down the Country. " Therefore for the Remedy of this Evil, he framed in his Mind (saith " *Plutarch*) a vast and wonderful Design of gathering together all the " Inhabitants of *Attica* into one Town, and making them one People " of one City, that were before dispersed, and very difficult to be " assembled upon any Affair, tho' relating to the common Benefit of " them all. Nay, often such Differences and Quarrels happen'd among " them, as occasioned Blood-shed and War; these he, by his Persuasions, appeased, and going from People to People, and from " Tribe to Tribe, propos'd his Design of a common Agreement between them. Those of a more private and mean Condition readily " embracing so good Advice; to those of greater Power and Interest, " he

“ he promised a Commonwealth, wherein Monarchy being laid aside,
 “ the Power should be in the People; and that, reserving to himself
 “ only to be continued the Commander of their Arms, and the Pre-
 “ server of their Laws, there should be an equal Distribution of all
 “ things else among them, and by this Means be brought most of them
 “ over to his Proposal. The rest fearing his Power, which was already
 “ grown very formidable, and knowing his Courage and Resolution,
 “ chose rather to be persuaded, than forced into a Compliance.

“ He then dissolved all the distinct Courts of Justice, and Council-
 “ Halls, and Corporations, and built one common *Pnytanum*, and
 “ Council-Hall, where it stands to this Day. And out of the old and
 “ new City he made one, which he named *Athens*, ordaining a com-
 “ mon Feast and Sacrifice to be for ever observed, which he called
 “ *Panathenæa*, or the Sacrifice of all the *United Athenians*. He instituted
 “ also another Sacrifice, for the Sake of Strangers that would come
 “ to fix at *Athens*, called *Meroëia*, which is yet celebrated on the 16th
 “ Day of *Hecatombæon*. Then, as he had promised, he laid down
 “ his Kingly Power, and settled a Commonwealth, having entered
 “ upon this great Change, not without Advice from the Gods. For
 “ sending to consult the *Delphian Oracle*, concerning the Fortune of
 “ his new Government and City, he received this Answer:

Αἰγείδῃ Θεοῦ, Πιθιδῷ ἔργον κέρως,
 Πολλαῖς τοι πολέεσσι Πάτῃρ ἡμὸς ἐκάλειθκε,
 Τέρματ' αἰ κλωστήρας ἐν ὑμῖν ἐπολιέθω.
 Ἀλλὰ σὺ μήτε λῆνι πεπονημένῳ ἐνδοθὶ θυμῷ
 Βυλεύειν, ἀσκὸς ἐν οἴδατι ποιοποιεῖσθαι.

Hear, *Theseus*, *Pittheus* Daughter's Son,
 Hear what *Jove* for thee has done,
 In the great City thou hast made;
 He has, as in a Store-house, laid,
 The settled Periods and fix'd Fates
 Of many Cities, mighty States.
 But know thou neither Fear nor Pain,
 Solicit not thyself in vain:
 For like a Bladder that does hide
 The Fury of the angry Tide,
 Thou from high Waves unhurt shall bound,
 Always tost, but never drown'd.

(*Mr. Duke.*)

“ Which Oracle, they say, one of the *Sibyls*, a long time after, did
 “ in a manner repeat to the *Athenians* in this Verse,

Ἀσκὸς βαπλίζῃ, θέναι δὲ τοι θέμις ἐστίν.

Thou, like a Bladder, may'st be wet, but never drown'd.

“ Farther yet designing to enlarge his City, he invited all Strangers
 “ to come and enjoy equal Privileges with the Natives; and some
 “ are of Opinion, that the common Form of Proclamation in *Athens*,
 “ Δεῦρ' ἴτε πάντες ἄνθρωποι, Come hither all ye People, were the Words that

“ *Theseus*

" *Theseus* caused to be proclaim'd, when he thus set up a Common-wealth, consisting in a Manner of all Nations.

" For all this, he suffered not his State by the promiscuous Multitude that flow'd in to be turn'd into Confusion and Anarchy, and left without any Order or Degrees, but was the first that divided the Commonwealth into three distinct Ranks, *Εὐμαρίδας, Γεωργοί, Ἀναιεργοί*, i. e. Noblemen, Husbandmen, and Artificers. To the Nobility he committed the Choice of Magistrates, the Teaching and Dispensing of the Laws, and the Interpretation of all holy and religious Things; the whole City, as to all other Matters, being as it were reduced to an Equality, the Nobles excelling the rest in Honour, the Husbandmen in Profit, and the Artificers in Number. And *Theseus* was the first, who, as *Aristotle* says, out of an Inclination to popular Government, parted with the Regal Power; which *Homer* also seems to intimate in his Catalogue of the Ships, where he gives the Name of *ἄνθρωποι*, or People, to the Athenians only."

In this Manner *Theseus* settled the Athenian Government, and it continued in the same State till the Death of *Codrus* the seventeenth and last King, a Prince more renown'd for his Bravery than Fortune. For *Attica* (d) being invaded by the Dorians, or Spartans, or Peloponnesians, or, as some will have it, by the Thracians, the Oracle was consulted about it, and Answer made, that the Invaders should have Success, if they did not kill the Athenian King; whereupon *Codrus*, preferring his Country's Safety before his own Life, disguised himself in the Habit of a Peasant, and went to a Place not far from the Enemy's Camp, where picking a Quarrel with some of them, he obtained the Death which he so much desired. The Athenians, being advertised of what had happened, sent an Herald to the Enemy to demand the Body of their King, who were so much disheartened by this unexpected Accident, that they immediately broke up their Camp, and left off their Enterprize without striking another Blow.

The Athenians, out of Reverence to *Codrus*'s Memory, would never more have any Governor by the Name or Title of King, but were govern'd by *Archontes*, whom they allowed indeed to continue in their Dignity as long as they lived, and, when they died, to leave it to their Children; and therefore most Writers reckon them rather amongst the Kings, than the *Archontes* that succeeded them, who were permitted to rule only for a certain Time; yet they differ'd from the Kings in this, that they were in a manner subject to the People, being obliged to render an Account of their Management, when it should be demanded. The first of these was *Medon*, the eldest Son of *Codrus*, from whom the thirteen following *Archontes* were surnam'd *Medontidae*, as being descended from him. During their Government the Athenian State suffer'd no considerable Alteration, but was carried on with so great Ease and Quietness, that scarce any Mention is made of any memorable Action done by any of them, and the very Names of some of them are almost quite forgotten.

(d) Tull. Tuscul. Quæst. Justin. I. II. Vel. Patere. lib. II. Eusebius.

Of the Civil Government of Athens.

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Thus I have endeavour'd to give you a short Account of the *Athenian* State, whilst it was govern'd by Kings, who were in all thirty, and ruled *Athens* by the Space of seven hundred ninety-four Years, as the learned *Meursius* has computed them; to which, if you add the two and thirty Years of *Ogyges*, and the Interval of an hundred and ninety Years, in which no Footsteps of any Government are to be found, the Number will amount to one thousand and twelve Years.

A Catalogue of the *Athenian* Kings.

	Years.		Years.
<i>Ogyges</i>	XXXII.	<i>Thymætes</i>	VIII.
Interregnum	CXC.	<i>Melanthius</i>	XXXVII.
<i>Cecrops</i> I.	L.	<i>Codrus</i>	XXI.
<i>Cranæus</i>	IX.	<i>Medon</i>	XX.
<i>Amphyction</i>	X.	<i>Acastus</i>	XXXVI.
<i>Eriethonius</i>	L.	<i>Archippus</i>	XIX.
<i>Pandion</i> I.	XL.	<i>Thersippus</i>	XLI.
<i>Ereätheus</i>	L.	<i>Phorbas</i>	XXX.
<i>Cecrops</i> II.	XL.	<i>Megacles</i>	XXVIII.
<i>Pandion</i> II.	XXV.	<i>Diognetus</i>	XXV.
<i>Ægeus</i>	XLVIII.	<i>Pherecles</i>	XIX.
<i>Theseus</i>	XXX.	<i>Ariphron</i>	XX.
<i>Menestheus</i>	XXIII.	<i>Thespicus</i>	XXVII.
<i>Demophoon</i>	XXXIII.	<i>Agamestor</i>	XVII.
<i>Oxyntes</i>	XII.	<i>Æschylus</i>	XXIII.
<i>Aphidas</i>	I.	<i>Alcmæon</i>	II.

C H A P. IV.

Of the State of Athens, from the Decennial Archons to Philip of Macedon.

THE People of *Athens* continually got Ground of their Superiors, gaining something by every Alteration that was made in the State, till at length, by little and little, the whole Government came into the Hands of the Commonalty. *Theseus* and *Medon* made considerable Abatements in their Power, but what remain'd of it they kept in their own Hands as long as they lived, and preserved the Succession entire to their Posterity. But in the first Year of the seventh *Olympiad*, both the Power and Succession devolved upon the People; who, the better to curb the Pride, and restrain the Power of their *Archons*, continued them in their Government only for ten Years; and the first that was created in this Manner, was *Charops*, the Son of *Æschylus*. But they would not rest contented here, for about seventy Years after, that the *Archons* might be wholly dependent on the Citizens Favour, it was agreed that their Authority should last but for one Year, at the End of which they were to give an Account of

of their Administration; and the first of these was *Cleon*, who entered upon his Charge in the third Year of the twenty-fourth *Olympiad* (e).

In the thirty-ninth *Olympiad* *Draco* was *Archon*, and was the Author of many new Laws, in which there is very little worth our Notice, only that they were cruel and inhuman, punishing almost every trivial Offence with Death. Insomuch that those that were convicted of Idleness were to die, and those that stole a Cabbage, or an Apple, to suffer as the Villains that committed Sacrilege or Murder; and therefore *Demades* is remark'd for saying, that *Draco's* Laws were not written with Ink but Blood: And he himself being ask'd, why he made Death the Punishment of most Offences? Reply'd, small Crimes deserve that, and I have no higher for the greatest.

But all these, that only excepted which concern'd Murder, were repeal'd in the third Year of the forty-sixth *Olympiad*, in which *Solon*, being *Archon*, was intrusted with the Power of new-modelling the Commonwealth, and making Laws for it. They gave him Power over all their Magistrates, (says *Plutarch*) their Assemblies, Courts, Senates; that he should appoint the Number, Times of Meeting, and what Estate they should have that could be capable of being admitted to them, and to dissolve or continue any of the present Constitutions, according to his Judgment and Discretion (f).

Solon finding the People variously affected, some inclined to a Monarchy, others to an Oligarchy, others to a Democracy, the rich Men powerful and haughty, the Poor groaning under the Burden of their Oppression, endeavour'd as far as was possible to compose all their Differences, to ease their Grievances, and give all reasonable Persons Satisfaction. In the Prosecution of this Design he divided the *Athenians* into four Ranks, according to every Man's Estate; those who were worth five hundred *Medimns* of liquid and dry Commodities he placed in the first Rank, calling them *πεντακοσμεδωνοι*. The next were the Horsemen, call'd *ἑννακτα ταλάντες*, being such as were of Ability to furnish out a Horse, or were worth three hundred *Medimns*. The third Class consisted of those that had two hundred *Medimns*, who were call'd *δυωκατα*. In the last he placed all the rest, calling them *θῦρες*, and allow'd them not to be capable of bearing any Office in the Government, only gave them Liberty to give their Votes in all publick Assemblies; which, tho' at the first it appear'd inconsiderable, was afterwards found to be a very important Privilege; for it being permitted any Man after the Determination of the Magistrates to make an Appeal to the People assembled in Convocation, hereby it came to pass, that Causes of the greatest Weight and Moment were brought before them. And thus he continued the Power and Magistracy in the Hands of the rich Men, and yet neither exposed the inferior People to their Cruelty and Oppression, nor wholly deprived them of having a Share in the Government. And of this Equality he himself makes mention in this Manner,

(e) *Clemens Stromat.* I.

(f) *Plutarch.* in *Solone.*

Of the Civil Government of Athens:

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Δῆμον μὲν γὰρ ἴθινα τόσων κράτος ὅσους ἰσχυροῦ,
 Τίμης ἔτ' ἀφίλων ἔτ' ἰσορροπῶμεν.
 Οἱ δ' εἶχον δύναμιν, καὶ χρημασίῃς ἦσαν ἀγῆστοι,
 Καὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῦσι μὴδὲν ἀνίστατο.
 Ἔσθ' ὁ ἀμφιβαλὼν κρατερὸν σάκος ἀμφοτέρωσι,
 Νικᾷ δ' ἐκ ὧσ' ἀμφοτέρω; ἀδίκως.

What Power was fit, I did on all bestow,
 Nor rais'd the Poor too high, nor press'd too low;
 The Rich that rul'd, and every Office bore,
 Confin'd by Laws that could not press the Poor:
 Both Parties I secur'd from lawless Might,
 So none prevail'd upon another's Right.

Mr. Creech.

Not many Years after, the City being divided into Factions, *Pisistratus*, by a Stratagem, seized upon the Government: For having, on set Purpose, wounded himself, he was brought into the Market-place in a Chair, where he exposed his Wounds to the People, assuring them that he had been so dealt with by the adverse Party for his Affection to their Government. The unthinking Multitude were easily drawn by so specious a Pretence into a Compassion of his Misfortunes, and Rage against his Enemies; and, upon the Motion of one *Ariston*, granted him fifty Men arm'd with Clubs to guard his Person. The Decree being pass'd, *Pisistratus* list'd the Number of Men that were allow'd him, and besides them as many more as he pleas'd, no Man observing what he was a doing, till at length, in Requital of the City's Kindness and Care of him, he seized the Citadel, and deprived them of their Liberty. After this *Pisistratus* lived thirty Years, seventeen of which he was in Possession of the Government of *Athens*; but the State continued all that Time unsettled, and in continual Motions, the City-Party sometimes prevailing against him and expelling him, sometimes again being worsted by him, and forced to let him return in Triumph.

He was succeeded by his Sons *Hipparchus* and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Theffalus*; the former of which was slain by *Aristogiton*, and the latter about three or four Years after compelled by *Cleisthenes*, who called to his Assistance the banish'd *Alcmaeonidae* and the *Lacedaemonians*, to relinquish his Government, and secure himself by a dishonourable Flight. Being thus banish'd his Country, he fled into *Persia*, where he lived many Years, persuading *Darius* to the Enterprize upon *Athens*, which at length, to his eternal Shame and Dishonour, he undertook. For levying a numerous Host of Men, he entered the *Athenian* Territories, where both he and his whole Army were totally defeated, by an inconsiderable Number of Men, under the Conduct of *Miltiades*, in that famous Battle of *Marathon*. This Victory was obtained twenty Years after *Hippias's* Expulsion. And thus the *Athenians* recover'd their Laws and Liberties, about sixty-eight Years after they had been deprived of them by *Pisistratus*.

After this Success, they continued in a flourishing Condition for three and thirty Years, but then the Scene changed, and reduced them
 almost

almost to the lowest Ebb of Fortune. *Xerxes*, in Revenge of his Predecessor's Defeat, invaded their Territories with an Army (as some say) of seventeen hundred thousand Men, and forced them to quit their City, and leave it a Prey to the insulting *Barbarians*, who took it without any considerable Resistance, and laid it in Ashes; and in the Year following his Lieutenant *Mardonius*, in Imitation of his Master's Example, burned it a second Time. But these Storms were soon blown over by the Wisdom and Courage of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, who totally defeated the *Persian* Fleet at *Salamis*, and seconded that Victory by another of no less Importance over *Mardonius* at *Plataea*, whereby the *Barbarians* were quite driven out of *Greece*, and *Athens* restored to her ancient Government, arising out of her Ruins more bright and glorious than ever she had been before.

But the State suffered some Alterations, for, first, *Aristides*, a Person (as *Plutarch* assures us) of a mean Extraction, and meaner Fortune, being, in Consideration of his eminent Virtues, and signal Services to the Commonwealth, preferr'd to the Dignity of an *Archon*; repeal'd *Salon's* Law, by which the *Θῆται*, or lowest Order of People, were made incapable of bearing any Office in the Government. And after him *Pericles*, having lessen'd the Power of the *Areopagites*, brought in a confused *Ochlocracy*, whereby the Populace, and basest of the Rabble, obtain'd as great a Share in the Government, as Persons of the highest Birth and Quality.

Notwithstanding these Alterations at Home, all Things were carried on with great Success Abroad: The *Athenians* by the Help of their Fleet, on which they laid out their whole Strength, when *Xerxes* forced them to quit their City, became sole Lords of the Sea, and made themselves Masters of the greatest Part of the *Aegean* Islands: And having either forced the rest of the *Grecians* into Subjection, or aw'd them into a Confederacy, went on Conquerors to the Borders of *Aegypt*, and had (as *Aristophanes* reports) a thousand Cities under his Dominion.

But afterwards Things succeeding ill in *Sicily*, under the Command of *Nicias*, and some other Troubles arising in the Commonwealth, the principal Men of *Athens*, being wearied with the People's Insolency, took this Opportunity to change the Form of Government, and bring the Sovereignty into the Hands of a few. To which Purpose conspiring with the Captains that were abroad, they caused them to set up an *Aristocracy* in the Towns of their Confederates; and in the mean time, some, that were most likely to oppose this Innovation, being slain at *Athens*, the Commonalty were so dismay'd, that none durst open his Mouth against the Conspirators, whose Number they knew not; but every Man was afraid of his Neighbour, lest he should have a hand in the Plot. In this general Consternation, the Government of *Athens* was usurp'd by four hundred, who, preserving in Shew the ancient Form of Proceeding, caused all Matters to be propounded to the People, and concluded upon by the greater Part of the Voices; but the Things propounded were only such, as had been first agreed upon among themselves; neither had the Commonalty any other Liberty, than only that of approving and giving Consent; for whosoever pre-

sumed

sumed to take upon him any farther, was quickly dispatched out of the Way, and no Enquiry made after the Murderers. By these Means many Decrees were made, all tending to the Establishment of this new Authority, which nevertheless endured not long; for the Fleet and Army, which were then at the Isle of *Samos*, altogether detesting these tyrannical Proceedings of the four hundred Usurpers, recall'd *Alcibiades* from his Banishment; and partly out of Fear of him, partly because they found the Citizens incensed against them, the Tyrants voluntarily resigned their Authority, and went into Banishment.

Yet was not this Alteration of Government a full Restitution of the Sovereign Command to the People, or whole Body of the City, but only to five thousand, whom the four hundred (when their Authority began) had pretended to take to them as Assistants in the Government; herein seeming to do little or no Wrong to the Commonalty, who seldom assembled in a greater Number; and therefore no Decrees were passed in the Name of the four hundred, but all was said to be done by the five thousand; and the Usurpers were called (says (g) *Plato*) *πεντακισχίλιοι, τετρακόσιοι δὲ ὄντες*, five thousand, tho' they did not exceed four hundred. But now, when the Power was come indeed into the Hands of so many, it was soon agreed, that *Alcibiades* and his Friends should be recalled from Exile by the Citizens, as they had before been by the Soldiers; and that the Army at *Samos* should be requested to undertake the Government, which was forthwith reformed according to the Soldiers Desire.

This Establishment of Affairs at Home was immediately seconded with good Success from Abroad, for by the Help of *Alcibiades* they in a short time obtained several very important Victories; but the giddy Multitude being soon after incensed against him, he was banished a second Time (b). His Absence had always before been fatal to the *Athenians*, but never so much as at this Time; for their Navy at *Ægos-Potamos*, through the Carelessness of the Commanders, was betrayed into the Hands of *Lysander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who took and sunk almost the whole Fleet, so that, of two or three hundred Sail of Ships, there escaped not above eight.

After this Victory, *Lysander*, joining his own Forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, marched directly to *Athens*, which was surrendered to them upon Terms, whereby the *Athenians* obliged themselves to pull down the long Walls, by which the City was joined to the *Piræus*, or Haven, and deliver up all their Naval Forces, only ten, or as some say, twelve Ships excepted. Nay, there was a Consultation held whether the City should be utterly destroyed, and the Lands about it laid waste; and *Agis* had carried it in the Affirmative, had not *Lysander* opposed him, urging, that one of the Eyes of *Greece* ought not to be plucked out. However, he forced them to alter their Form of Government, and change their Democracy into an Oligarchy, a State ever affected by the *Lacedæmonians*.

(g) *Alcibiades*,
Justin. lib. V.

(b) *Diodor. Sic. lib. XII. Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. II.*

In Compliance therefore with the Commands of their Conquerors, the People of *Athens* chose thirty Governors, commonly called *thirty Tyrants*, the Names of which you may see in *Xenophon*. These were chosen with a Design to compile a Body of their Laws, and make a Collection of such ancient Statutes, as were fittest to be put in Practice in that Juncture of Affairs, which were called *καὶνὰ νόμοι*, or new Laws. And to this Charge was annexed the supreme Authority, and the whole Government of the City entrusted in their Hands. At first they seemed to proceed with some Shew of Justice; and apprehending such troublesome Fellows as were odious to the City, but could not be taken hold of by the Laws, condemned them to Death. But having afterwards obtained a Guard from the *Spartans*, to secure the City, (as was pretended) to their Obedience, they soon discovered what they had been aiming at, for they sought no more after base and detested Persons, but invaded the leading and principal Men of the City, sending armed Men from House to House, to dispatch such as were like to make any Head against their Government. And to add the greater Strength to their Party, and Colour to their Proceedings, they selected three thousand of such Citizens, as they thought fittest for their Purpose, and gave them some Part of the publick Authority, disarming all the rest. Being confirm'd with this Accession of Strength, they proceeded in their bloody Designs with more Heat and Vigour than before, putting to Death all that were possessed of Estates, without any Form of Justice, or so much as any the least Pique or Grudge against them, only that their Riches might fall into their Hands. Nay, so far were they transported with Cruelty and Covetousness, that they agreed that every one of them should name his Man, upon whose Goods he should seize, by putting the Owner to Death; and when *Theramenes*, one of their own Number, professed his Detestation of so horrid a Design, they condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink Poison. This *Theramenes* was at the first a mighty Stickler for the Tyrants Authority, but, when they began to abuse it by defending such outrageous Practices, no Man more violently opposed it than he; and this got him the Nick-name of *κόδορος*, or Jack of both Sides, ὁ γὰρ κόδορος ἀπορίσκει μὲν τοῖς ποταῖς ἀμφότερας δόξαι, from *Cothurnus*, which was a Kind of a Shoe that fitted both Feet.

At length the *Athenians*, to the Number of seventy, that had fled to *Thebes*, going voluntarily into Banishment to secure themselves from the Tyrants, entered into a Conspiracy against them, and under the Conduct of *Thrasylbulus* seized upon *Phyle*, a strong Castle in the Territory of *Athens*, and increasing their Strength and Numbers, by little and little, so far prevailed against them, that they were forced to retire to *Sparta*, and then all their Laws were repealed, and the upstart Form of Government utterly dissolved. And thus the *Athenians* regained their Liberty, and were re-established in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Lands and Fortunes in the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad. And to prevent all

future Jealousies and Quarrels amongst themselves, they proclaimed an *Amnesia*, or Act of Oblivion, whereby all that had been concerned in the Outrages and Barbarities committed during the Sovereignty of the Tyrants, were admitted to Pardon.

Thrasybulus having thus freed his Country from the heavy Yoke of the *Lacedæmonians*, *Conon* established it in all its ancient Privileges and Immunities, by another signal Victory at *Cnidus*, wherein he gave a total Defeat to the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet. And having by this Means regained the Sovereignty of the Seas, they began again to take Courage; and aimed now at nothing less than the Restoration of *Athens* to her ancient Glory; and Fortune was not wanting in some Measure to further their great Design; for they not only reduced the Isle of *Lesbos*, *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other Places thereabouts to their former Obedience, but raised *Athens* once more to be the most potent, and the principal City in all *Greece*.

In this State she continued for some Years, till the *Thebans*, who had been raised from one of the most inconsiderable States in *Greece* to great Power, by the wise Conduct and great Courage of *Epaminondas*, put a Stop to her Grandeur, and disputed the Sovereignty with her; but this Contest was soon decided by the hasty Death of *Epaminondas*, at the famous Battle of *Mantineia*, which put an End to the *Theban* Greatness; which, as it was raised and maintained, so it likewise perished with that great Man. So great Alterations are the Wisdom and Courage of one Man able to effect in the Affairs of whole Kingdoms.

The Death of *Epaminondas* proved no less fatal to the *Athenians* than [the *Thebans*; for now there being none whose Virtues they could emulate, or whose Power they could fear, they lorded it without a Rival, and, being glutted with too much Prosperity, gave themselves over to Idleness and Luxury; they slighted the Virtue of their Ancestors; their hard and thrifty Way of living they laughed at; the publick Revenues, which used to be employed in paying the Fleets and Armies, they expended upon Games and Sports, and lavishly profused them in sumptuous Preparations for Festivals; they took greater Pleasure in going to the Theatre, and hearing the insipid Jest of a Comedian, than in manly Exercises and Feats of War; preferred a *Mimick*, or a Stage-player, before the most valiant and experienced Captain; nay, they were so besotted with their Pleasures, that they made it capital for any Man to propose the re-establishing their Army, or converting the publick Revenues to the Maintenance of it, as *Libanius* observes (b).

This degenerate Disposition of theirs, and the rest of the *Greeks*, who were also drowned in the same Security, gave Opportunity and Leisure to *Philip*, who had been educated under the Discipline of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, to raise the *Macedonians* from a mean and obscure Condition to the Empire of all *Greece* and *Asia*, as *Justin* hath observed (i). And this Design was projected and begun by *Philip*, but atchieved and perfected by his Son *Alexander the Great*.

(b) Argument. ad Olynthiac. I.

(i) Histor. lib. VI. cap. IX.

C H A P. V.

Of the State of Athens, from Philip of Macedon to its Delivery by the Romans.

THE *Athenians* and the rest of the *Grecians* made some Resistance against the victorious Arms of *Philip*, but were overthrown in a pitched Battle at *Charonea*, in the third Year of the CXth *Olympiad*. This Defeat put an End to the *Grecian* Glory, and in a great Measure to their Liberty, which for so many Ages, and against the most puissant Monarchs, they had preserved entire till that time, but were never again able to recover it. However *Philip*, to the end he might be declared Captain-General of *Greece* against the *Persians* without any farther Trouble, and strengthen his Army by the Accession of their Forces, was content to forbear any farther Attempt upon the *Athenians*, and to permit them to enjoy a Shew of Liberty.

No sooner was *Philip* dead, than they revolted, and endeavoured to free themselves from the *Macedonian* Yoke, but were easily brought into Subjection by *Alexander*, and as easily obtained Pardon of him, being then very eager of invading *Persia*, and unwilling to be diverted by taking Revenge upon those petty States, from a more noble and glorious Enterprize. And during his Life they continued quier, not daring to move so much as their Tongues against him. Only towards the latter End of his Reign, when he was busied in the Wars with remote Countries, and not at Leisure to take Notice of every little Opposition, they refused to entertain the banished Persons, which *Alexander* had commanded should be restored in all the Cities of *Greece*. However, they durst not break out into open Rebellion; but gave secret Orders to *Leosthenes*, one of their Captains, to levy an Army in his own Name, and be ready whenever they should have Occasion for him: *Leosthenes* obeyed their Commands, and as soon as certain News was brought, that *Alexander* was dead in *Persia*, being joined by some others of the *Grecian* States, proclaimed open War against the *Macedonians*, in Defence of the Liberty of *Greece*. But being in the End totally defeated by *Antipater*, they were forced to entertain a Garrison in *Munychia*, and submit to what Condition the Conqueror pleased to impose upon them. He therefore changed their Form of Government, and instituted an *Oligarchy*, depriving all those that were not worth two thousand *Drachms* of the Right of Suffrage; and the better to keep them quiet, all mutinous and disaffected Persons he transplanted into *Thrace*. And by this Means the supreme Power came into the Hands of about nine thousand.

About four Years after *Antipater* died, and the City fell into the Hands of *Cassander*, who succeeded in the Kingdom of *Macedon*. From him they made many Attempts to free themselves, and regain their beloved *Democracy*, but were in the End forced to submit themselves, in the third Year of the hundred and fifteenth *Olympiad*, and except of a Garrison like to that which *Antipater* had imposed upon them, to live under the same Form of Government, and obey any

Person

Person that the Conqueror should nominate to the supreme Power in it. The Man appointed to be their Governor was *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, who, as (*k*) *Diogenes Laertius* reports, was of the Family of *Conon*, and studied Philosophy under *Theophrastus*. He used them with all possible Kindness and Moderation, enlarged their Revenues, beautified their City with magnificent Structures, and restored it almost to its former Lustre; and they, in Requital of these Favours, bestowed on him all the Honours, which in so poor a Condition they were able to give, erecting to him three hundred Statues, according to the Number of Days in the *Attick* Year, most of which were on Horseback (*l*). But all this was the Effect of Flattery and Dissimulation, rather than any real Respect to him; all his Moderation, all the Benefits he had conferred on them, could not beget in them any sincere Affection for him; they still hated him, tho' they had no other Reason for it, than that he was set over them by *Cassander*; and tho' their Power was gone, yet their Spirits were still too high to brook any thing that favoured of Tyranny. And this in a few Years was made manifest, for when *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, the Son of *Antigonus*, took up Arms, as was pretended, in Defence of the Liberty of *Greece*, they received him with loud Acclamations and all possible Expressions of Joy, compelled the *Phalerean* to secure himself by Flight, in his Absence condemned him to die, and lay in Wait to apprehend him, and bring him to Execution; and, when they could not compass his Person, vented their Rage and Malice upon his Statues, which they pulled down with the greatest Detestation and Abhorrence, breaking some to Pieces, selling others, and drowning others; so that of three hundred there was none left remaining, except only one in the Citadel, as the forementioned Author had reported.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, having gotten Possession of the City, restored to the *Athenians* their popular Government, bestowed upon them fifteen thousand Measures of Wheat, and such a Quantity of Timber as would enable them to build an Hundred Gallies for the Defence of their City, and left them in full Possession of their Liberty, without any Garrison to keep them in Obedience. And so transported were the *Athenians* with this Deliverance, that, by a wild and extravagant Gratitude, they bestowed upon *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*, not only the Title of *Kings*, tho' that was a Name they had hitherto declined, but called them their *Tutelar Deities* and *Deliverers*; they instituted Priests to them, enacted a Law, that the Ambassadors whom they should send to them, should have the same Stile and Character with those who were accustomed to be sent to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*, or to *Elis* to the *Olympian Jupiter*, to perform the *Grecian Solemnities*, and make Oblations for the Safety and Preservation of their City, whom they called *Θεσμοι*. They appointed Lodgings for *Demetrius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, and consecrated an Altar in the Place where he first alighted from his Chariot, calling it the Altar of *Demetrius* the *Alighter*, and

(*k*) *Demetrius*,(*l*) *Plinii Hist. &c.*

added infinite other Instances of the most gross and sordid Flattery, of which *Plutarch* (m) and others give us a large Account; for (says a learned modern Author) the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to employ their Hands, made up that Defect with their Tongues; converting to base Flattery that Eloquence, which the Virtues of their Ancestors had suited unto more manly Arguments.

But afterwards, when *Demetrius's* Fortune began to decline, he was no longer their *God*, or their *Deliverer*, but, in Requital of all his former Kindnesses, they basely deserted him, denied him Entrance into their City, and by a popular Edict made it Death for any Person so much as to propose a Treaty or Accommodation with him. Then the City being embroiled in Civil Dissensions, one *Lachares* seized the Government, but, upon the Approach of *Demetrius*, was forced to quit his new usurped Authority, and preserve himself by a timely Flight.

Thus they were a second Time in the Possession of *Demetrius*, who, notwithstanding their former shameful Ingratitude, received them again into Favour, bestow'd upon them an hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat, and, to ingratiate himself the more with them, advanced such Persons to publick Offices, as he knew to be most acceptable to the People. This unexpected Generosity transported them so far beyond themselves, that, at the Motion of *Dromocleides* an Orator, it was decreed by the unanimous Suffrage of the People, that the Haven of *Piræus* and the Castle of *Munychia* should be put into the Hands of *Demetrius*, to dispose of them as he pleased. And he, having learn'd by their former Inconstancy not to repose too much Trust in such humble Servants, put strong Garrisons into those two Places, and by his own Authority placed a third in the *Museum*, to the End (saith *Plutarch*) that those People, who had shew'd so much Levity in their Disposition, might be kept in Subjection, and not by their future Perfidies be able to divert him from the Prosecution of their Enterprizes.

But all this Care was not sufficient to keep a People restless, and impatient of any thing that savour'd of Servitude, in Obedience; for, *Demetrius's* Power being again diminish'd by divers bad Successes, they made another Revolt, expell'd his Garrison, and proclaim'd Liberty to all *Athenians*; and to do him the greater Disgrace, they displac'd *Diphilius*, who was that Year the Priest of the two *Tutelar Deities*, that is, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, and by an Edict of the People restor'd the Priesthood to its ancient Form. Again, *Demetrius* having recovered himself a little, and being justly enraged against them for their repeated Perfidies, laid close Siege to the City, but by the Persuasion of *Craterus* the Philosopher was wrought upon to quit it, and leave them once more in Possession of their Freedom.

Some time after this, *Demetrius* died, and was succeeded by *Antigonus Gonatus*, who again recover'd *Athens*, put a Garrison into it, and left it in the Hands of his Successor; But, upon the Death of *Demetrius* the Son of *Gonatus*, the *Athenians* made another Attempt to regain their Liberty, and call'd in *Aratus* to their Assistance, who, tho' he had been signally affronted by them, and lain a long time

(m) *Demetrio.*

Bed-rid of an Infirmary, yet, rather than fail the City in a time of Need, was carried thither in a Litter, and prevail'd with *Diogenes* the Governor to deliver up the *Piræus*, *Munychia*, *Salamis*, and *Sunium* to the *Athenians*, in Consideration of an hundred and fifty Talents, whereof *Aratus* himself gave twenty to the City. Of all these Changes and Successes we have a large Account in *Pausanias*, *Plutarch*, and *Diodorus*.

Not long after this Re-establishment, they quarrell'd with *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, who reduc'd them to great Extremities, laid waste their Country, pull'd down all the Temples in the Villages around *Athens*, destroy'd all their stately Edifices, and caused his Soldiers to break in Pieces the very Stones, that they might not be serviceable in the Reparation of them; all which Losses, with a great many Aggravations, are elegantly set forth in an Oration of the *Athenian* Ambassadors to the *Ætolians*, in *Livy* (n). But, the *Romans* coming to their Assistance, *Philip* was forc'd to forsake his Enterprize, and, being afterwards intirely defeated, left the *Grecians* in a full Possession of their Liberty, which, at least some Shew of it, they enjoy'd many Years, under the *Roman* Protection.

C H A P. VI.

Of the State of Athens, from its Confederacy with Rome, to Constantine the Great.

THE *Grecians*, and others that put themselves under the *Roman* Protection, tho' they gilded their Condition with the specious Name of Liberty, yet were no farther free, than it pleased those in whose Power they were; they were govern'd indeed by their own Laws, and had the Privilege of electing their own Magistrates; yet their Laws were of small Force, if they seem'd any way to oppose the *Roman* Interest and good Pleasure; and in the Election of Magistrates, and ordering publick Affairs, tho' every Man might give his Voice which Way he pleased, yet if he thwarted the *Roman* Designs, or was cold in his Affection to them, or (which was all one) but warm in the Defence of the Liberties and Privileges of his Country, he was look'd upon with a jealous Eye, as a Favourer of Rebellion, and an Enemy to the *Romans*.

And for no other Reason a thousand of the most eminent *Achæans*, without any Charge, or so much as Suspicion of Treachery, were sent Prisoners to *Rome*; where, notwithstanding all the Testimonies of their Innocence, and the Solicitations of their Country, which never ceased to importune the Senate for their Liberty, they endured an Imprisonment of seventeen Years; which being expired, to the Number of thirty of them were released, among whom was *Polybius*, from whose impartial History we have an Account of all these Proceedings, which their own Historians endeavour to palliate, tho' they cannot deny them; all the rest either died in Prison, or, upon attempting to make their Escape, suffer'd as Malefactors.

(n) Lib. XXX. cap. XXXI.

And by these and such-like Means, whilst some sought by Flattery and Compliance to insinuate themselves into the Favour of the *Romans*, others out of Fear and Cowardice resolved to swim with the Stream, and those few, that had Courage and Resolution to appear for their Country, were little regarded; every thing was carried on according to the Desire of the *Romans*; and if any thing happen'd contrary to it, their Agents presently made an Appeal to the Senate, which reserved to themselves a Power of receiving such-like Complaints, and determining as they thought convenient; and they, that would not submit to this Decision, were proceeded against as Enemies, and forc'd by Power of Arms into Obedience. No War was to be begun, no Peace to be concluded, nor scarce their own Country to be defended without the Advice and Consent of the Senate; they were obliged to pay what Taxes the Senate thought fit to impose upon them; nay, the *Roman* Officers sometimes took the Liberty of raising Contributions of their own Accord: And tho' in the *Macedonian* War, upon several just Complaints made against them, the Senate was forced to put forth a Decree, that no *Grecian* should be obliged to pay any Contribution, besides such as was levied by their Order; yet if any Man refused to answer the Demands of any *Roman* Officer, he was look'd upon as an Encourager of Sedition, and in the End fared little better than those that broke out into open Rebellion.

In this State stood the Affairs of the *Athenians* under the *Roman* Government: And whether in Consideration of the Easiness of this Yoke, if compared with that which the *Macedonians* imposed on them; or thro' Meanness of Spirit contracted by being long accusom'd to Misfortunes; or for want of Power to assert their Liberty; or for all these Reasons, they patiently submitted themselves, seeming well satisfied with the Enjoyment of this slavish Freedom, which, in a few Ages before, they would have rejected with the greatest Indignation, and endeavoured to deliver themselves from it, tho' their Lives and the Remainder of their Fortunes should have been hazarded in the Enterprize.

And from this Time till the War with *Mithridates*, they continued without any remarkable Alterations; but either by the Persuasions of *Ariston* the Philosopher, or out of Fear of *Mithridates's* Army, they had the bad Fortune to take his Part, and receive *Archestratus*, one of his Lieutenants, within their Walls; at which *Sylla* being enraged laid Siege to the City, took it, and committed so merciless a Slaughter, that the very Channels in the Streets flow'd with Blood. At this Time the *Piræus* and *Munychia* were burnt to the Ground, their Walls demolish'd, their ancient Monuments destroy'd, and the whole City so defaced, that it was never able to recover its former Beauty, till the Time of *Adrian* (o).

This Storm being blown over, they lived in Peace till the Time of the Civil War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, in which they sided with *Pompey*, and were closely besieged by *Q. Fufius Calenus*, *Cæsar's* Lieutenant, who spoil'd and destroy'd all the adjacent Country, and seized

(o) *Plutarch. Syll. Strabo. l. IX. Lucius Florus l. III. c. V. Appianus in Mithridatico.*

upon the *Piræus*, being at that Time unfortified, and a Place of little Strength: But News being brought that *Pompey* was totally routed, they yielded themselves into the Hands of the Conqueror, who according to his wonted Generosity received them into Favour, and this he did out of Respect to the Glory and Virtue of their Ancestors, giving out that he pardon'd the Living for the sake of the Dead, as *Dion Cassius* reports (p).

But it seems they still retain'd some Sparks, at least, of their old Love for popular Government; for when *Cæsar* was dead, they join'd themselves to *Brutus* and *Cassius* his Murderers, and, besides other Honours done to them, placed their Statues next those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, two famous Patriots that defended the Liberty of their Country against the Tyranny of *Pisistratus's* Sons.

Brutus and *Cassius* being defeated, they went over to *Antony*, who behaved himself very obligingly towards them and the rest of the Grecians, being fond (saith (q) *Plutarch*) of being styl'd a Lover of Greece, but above all, in being call'd a Lover of Athens, to which City he made considerable Presents; and, as others tell us, gave the Athenians the Dominion of the Islands of *Tenus*, *Ægina*, *Ieus*, *Cea*, *Sciathus*, and *Peparethus*.

Augustus, having overcome *Antony*, handled them a little more severely for their Ingratitude to his Father, and besides some other Privileges, as that of selling the Freedom of the City, took from them the Isle of *Ægina* (r). Towards the latter End of his Reign, they began to revolt, but were easily reduc'd to their former Obedience; and notwithstanding all the Cruelties, Ravages, and other Misfortunes they had suffer'd, *Strabo*, who flourish'd in the Reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, tells us they enjoy'd many Privileges, retain'd their ancient Form of Government, and lived in a flourishing Condition in his Days (s). And *Germanicus*, the adopted Son of *Tiberius*, making a Journey that Way, honour'd them with the Privilege of having a *Licor*, who was an Officer that attended upon the chief Magistrates at Rome, and was accounted a Mark of Sovereign Power.

In this Condition they remain'd with little Alteration till the Reign of *Vespasian*, who reduc'd *Attica* and all *Achaia* to be a Roman Province, exacting Tribute of them, and compelling them to be governed by the Roman Laws.

Under *Nerva* some Shadow, at least, of Liberty was restor'd them; but they were still under the Government of a *Proconsul*, and received most of their Laws from the Emperor, who also nominated the Professors in their publick Schools, and appointed them *Archons*; and hence it came to pass, that *Adrian*, before his Advancement to the Empire, was invested in that Office. In the same State they continued in *Trajan's* Time, as appears from an Epistle of *Pliny* (t) to *Maximus*, who was sent to govern *Achaia*, wherein he advis'd him to use his Power with Moderation, and tells him in particular of the Athenians, that it

(p) Lib. XLII.

(q) *Antonio*.(r) *Dion, Cassius*.(s) *Geogra. l. IX.*(t) *Plin. l. VII. Epist. XXIV.*

would be a barbarous Piece of Inhumanity to deprive them of that Shadow and Name of Liberty, which was all that remain'd to them.

But, notwithstanding the Peace and Privileges they enjoy'd under these and other Emperors of *Rome*, they were never able to repair those vast Losses they had suffer'd under *Sylla*, till the Reign of *Adrian*, who, in the Time of his being *Archon*, took a particular Affection to this City; and, when he was promoted to be Emperor, granted them very large Privileges, gave them just and moderate Laws, bestow'd on them a large Donative of Money, and annual Provisions of Corn, and the whole Island of *Cephalenia*; repair'd their old decay'd Castles, and restor'd them to their ancient Splendor, and added one whole Region of new Buildings at his own Charge, which he call'd *Adrianopolis*; and *New Athens*, as appears as well from other Records, as also from an Inscription upon an *Aquæduct*, begun by this Emperor, and finish'd by his Successor *Antoninus*:

IMP. CÆSAR. T. ÆLIUS. HADRIANUS. ANTONINUS.
AUG. PIUS. COS. III. TRIB. POT. II. P. P.
AQUÆDUCTUM. IN NOVIS. ATHENIS. CØPTUM. A
DIVO.
ADRIANO. PATRE. SUO. CONSUMMAVIT. DEDICA-
VITQUE (u).

The Meaning of which is, that *Antoninus* had finish'd the *Aquæduct* in *New Athens*, that had been begun by his Father and Predecessor *Hadrian*. And from another of *Gruter's* Inscriptions, it appears that they acknowledged him to be the second Founder of their City:

ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ
ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ Κ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ (w).

The Substance of which is, that *Athens* was formerly the City of *Theseus*, but *New Athens* belongs to *Adrian*. Many other Privileges this Emperor granted them, which were continued and enlarged by his Successors *M. Antoninus Pius* and *M. Antoninus the Philosopher*, the latter of which allowed them Stipends for the Maintenance of public Professors in all Arts and Sciences, and was himself initiated amongst them.

But *Severus* having received some Affront from them, when he was a private Person, and studied in *Athens*, was resolved to pay them home, as soon as he was Emperor, and for no other Reason, as 'tis thought, deprived them of a great Part of their Privileges (x).

Valerian was more favourable to them, and permitted them to rebuild their City-Walls, which had lain in Rubbish between three and four hundred Years, from the Time that *Sylla* dismantled them (y).

But these Fortifications could not protect them from the Fury of the *Goths*, who under *Gallienus*, as *Zosimus*, or *Claudius*, as *Cedrenus* reports, made themselves Masters of it; but were soon driven out of their new Conquest by *Cleodemus*, who having escaped the Fury of those *Barbarians*, and got together a considerable Number of Men and

(u) *Gruter*. p. 177. (w) *Gruter*. p. 178. (x) *Spartianus*. (y) *Zosimus*.

Ships,

Ships, defeated Part of them in a Sea-fight, and forced the rest to quit the City, and provide for their Safety by an early Flight (z). One Thing remarkable *Cedrenus* reports of the *Goths*, that when they had plunder'd the City, and heap'd up an infinite Number of Books, with a Design to burn them, they desisted from that Purpose for this Reason, *viz.* That the *Greeks*, by employing their Time upon them, might be diverted from martial Affairs.

C H A P. VII.

Of the State of Athens from Constantine the Great.

TOWARDS the Declination of the *Roman* Greatness, the chief Magistrate of *Athens* was call'd by the Name of *Στρατὺς*, i. e. Duke; but *Constantine* the Great, besides many other Privileges granted to the City, honour'd him with the Title of *Μέγας Στρατὺς*, or Grand-Duke (a). *Constantius*, at the Request of *Proæresius*, enlarged their Dominions, by a Grant of several Islands in the *Archipelago*.

Under *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, *Alarick*, King of the *Goths*, made an Incurfion into *Greece*, pillaged and destroy'd all before him; but, as *Zofimus* reports, was diverted from his Design upon *Athens*, by a Vision, wherein the Tutelar Goddess of that City appear'd to him in Armour, and in the Form of those Statues which are dedicated to *Minerva* the *Proteftress*, and *Achilles* in the same Manner that *Homer* represents him, when, being enraged for the Death of *Patroclus*, he fell with the utmost Fury upon the *Trojans* (b). But the Writers of those Times make no mention of any such thing; on the contrary they tell us, that *Athens* suffer'd the common Fate of the rest of *Greece*; and so *Claudian* reports,

Si tunc his animis acies collata fuisset
Proditæ non tantas vidisset Græcia clades,
Oppida semoto Pelopœia Marte vigerent;
Starent Arcadiæ, starent Lacedæmonis arces;
Non mare flagrasset geminum flagrante Corinθο;
Nec fera Cecropias traxissent vincula matres (c).

Had thus th' embattel'd *Grecians* dar'd to oppose
 With Rage and Pow'r Divine their barbarous Foes,
 Ne'er had their Land of Strength and Help bereft
 T'insulting Conquerors a Prey been left.

The *Spartan* Land had ne'er such Havock seen,
 Its Splendor eclips'd, or Pow'r depress'd had been.

Arcadian Flocks had graz'd untainted Food,
 And free from Plunder *Pelops' Isle* had stood.

Corinth's proud Structures ne'er had felt the Flames,
 Nor griping Chains enslav'd th' *Athenian* Dames.

J. A.

(z) *Zonaras*. (a) *Julian* Orat. I. *Nicephorus Gregoras* Hist. Rom. I. VII.
 (b) *Zofimus* I. V. (c) *Claudian*, in *Ruffinum* I. II.

And *Syneſius*, who lived in the ſame Age, tells us, there was nothing left in it ſplendid, or remarkable; nothing to be admired, beſides the famous Names of ancient Ruins; and that, as in a Sacrifice, when the Body is conſumed, there remains nothing of the Beaſt, but an empty Skin; ſo it was in *Athens*, where all the ſtately and magnificent Structures were turn'd into ruinous Heaps, and nothing but old decay'd Outſides left remaining (*d*).

Theodoſius II. is ſaid to have favour'd the *Athenians*, upon the Account of his Queen *Eudocia*, who was an *Athenian* by Birth. *Juſtinian* alſo is reported to have been very kind to them; but from his Reign, or the Space of about ſeven hundred Years, either for want of Hiſtorians in Ages ſo rude and barbarous, or becauſe they lived in Peace and Obſcurity, without atchieving, or ſuffering any Thing deſerving to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, there is no Account of any Thing that paſſed among them, till the thirteenth Century.

At that Time, *Nicetas* tells us, *Athens* was in the Hands of *Baldwin*, and was beſieged by one of the Generals of *Theodorus Lascaris*, who was then the *Greek* Emperor, but he was repulſed with Loſs, and forced to raiſe the Siege. Not long after, it was beſieged by the Marqueſs *Boniſacius*, who made himſelf Maſter of it (*e*).

It was afterwards govern'd by one *Deſues*, of the Houſe of *Arragon*, and after his Death fell into the Hands of *Bajazet*, Emperor of the *Turks* (*f*). Afterwards it was taken by the *Spaniards* of *Catalonia*, under the Command of *Andronicus Palæologus* the elder (*g*). And theſe are the ſame that *Chalcocondylas* calls *Κατάγονες*, and reports they were diſpoſſeſſ'd of it by *Reinerius Acciaïoli*, a *Florentine*, who, having no legitimate Male Iſſue, left it by his laſt Will and Teſtament to the State of *Venice*.

The *Venetians* were not long Maſters of it, being diſpoſſeſſ'd by *Antony*, a natural Son of *Reinerius*, who had given him the Sovereignty of *Thebes* and *Boeotia*; and from this Time it continued ſome Years under the Government of the *Acciaïoli*: For *Antony* was ſucceeded by one of his Kinſmen, call'd *Nerius*; *Nerius* was diſplaced by his Brother *Antony* for his Inſufficiency, and Unſuitneſs to govern, and after *Antony's* Death recover'd it again; but leaving only one Son, then an Infant, was ſucceeded by his Wife, who for her Folly was ejeſted by *Mahomet*, upon the Complaint of *Francus*, the Son of *Antony* the Second, who ſucceeded her, and, having confined her ſome Time in Priſon, put her to Death, and was upon that Score accuſed by her Son to *Mahomet II.* who ſent an Army under the Conduct of *Omares* to beſiege him; *Francus*, upon this, made his Application to the *Latins*, but they reſuſed to grant him any Aſſiſtance, except he would engage his Subjects in all Things to conform to the *Romiſh* Superſtition, and renounce all thoſe Articles, wherein the *Greek* Church differs from them; which he not being able to do, was forced to ſurrender it to the *Turks*, in the Year of our Lord *CLCCCCLV* (*b*), and in their Hands it continues to this Day.

(*d*) *Syneſius* Ep. CCXXXV. (*e*) *Nicetas Choniates* in *Vita Balduini*. (*f*) *Laonic. Chalcocondylas* lib. III. (*g*) *Niceph. Greg.* lib. VII. (*b*) *Chalcocond.* lib. VI. & IX.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the City of Athens, and its Walls, Gates, Streets, Buildings, &c.

THE City of *Athens*, when it flourish'd in its greatest Splendor, was one of the fairest and largest Cities of all *Greece*, being, says *Aristides*, a Day's Journey in Compass (i). But, according to the most exact Computation, the whole Circuit of it contain'd about CLXXVIII *Stadia*, that is, something above two and twenty Roman Miles.

But many were the Changes of Government and Fortune which it underwent, before it arrived to this Pitch of Greatness; for at the first, that, which was afterwards the Citadel, was the whole City, and was call'd *Cecropia*, from its first Founder *Cecrops*, who, they say, was the first that invented the Manner of building Cities, and therefore the *Athenians*, proud of every little Pretence to Antiquity, used to call it by way of Eminence *ἄνω* and *πόλις*, as being the first City (k). Afterwards it changed its first Name of *Cecropia*, and was call'd *Athens* in *Erichthonius's* Reign, for which several Reasons are given; but the most common is, that the Name was taken from *Minerva*, whom the *Greeks* call *Ἀθήνη*, because she was the Protectress of the City; indeed almost all Towers and Citadels were sacred to this Goddess, who is therefore by *Catullus* call'd,

— *Diua tenens in summis urbibus arces.*

— Goddess that in Citadels doth dwell.

And *Eustathius* hath remark'd the same upon *Homer's* sixth *Iliad*, where he tells us, *Minerva's* Temple was in the *Trojan* Citadel,

Νηὸς Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ (l).

Minerva's Temple in the Citadel.

Cecropia was seated in the midst of a large and pleasant Plain, upon the Top of a high Rock; for, as the fore-mentioned Author observes, it was usual for the first Founders of Cities, in those Ages, to lay the Foundations of them upon steep Rocks and high Mountains; and this they did, partly for that such Places were a good Defence against Invaders, but more especially, because they hoped to be secured by them from Inundations (m), which the People of those Times exceedingly dreaded, having heard and experienced the sad Effects of them under *Ogyes* and *Deucalion*. Afterwards, when the Number of Inhabitants was increased, the whole Plain was fill'd with Buildings, which were call'd from their Situation *ἡ κάτω πόλις*, or the lower City, and *Cecropia* was then nam'd *ἡ ἄνω πόλις*, or *Ἀκρόπολις*, the upper City.

The Circuit of the Citadel was threescore *Stadia*; it was fenced in with wooden Pales, or, as some say, was set about with Olive-Trees;

(i) *Panathen.*
Basil.

(k) *Stephanus V. Ἀθήναι.*
(m) *H. & P. CCCLXXXIV.*

(l) *Pag. CCCCLXXXIII. Edit.*

and therefore in *Xerxes's* Invasion, when the Oracle advised the *Athenians* to defend themselves with Walls of Wood, some were of Opinion, they were commanded to enter into the *Acropolis*, and there receive the Enemy, which some of them did; but, after a desperate Resistance, were overpowered by Numbers, and forced to suffer the sad Effects of their fond Interpretation (n).

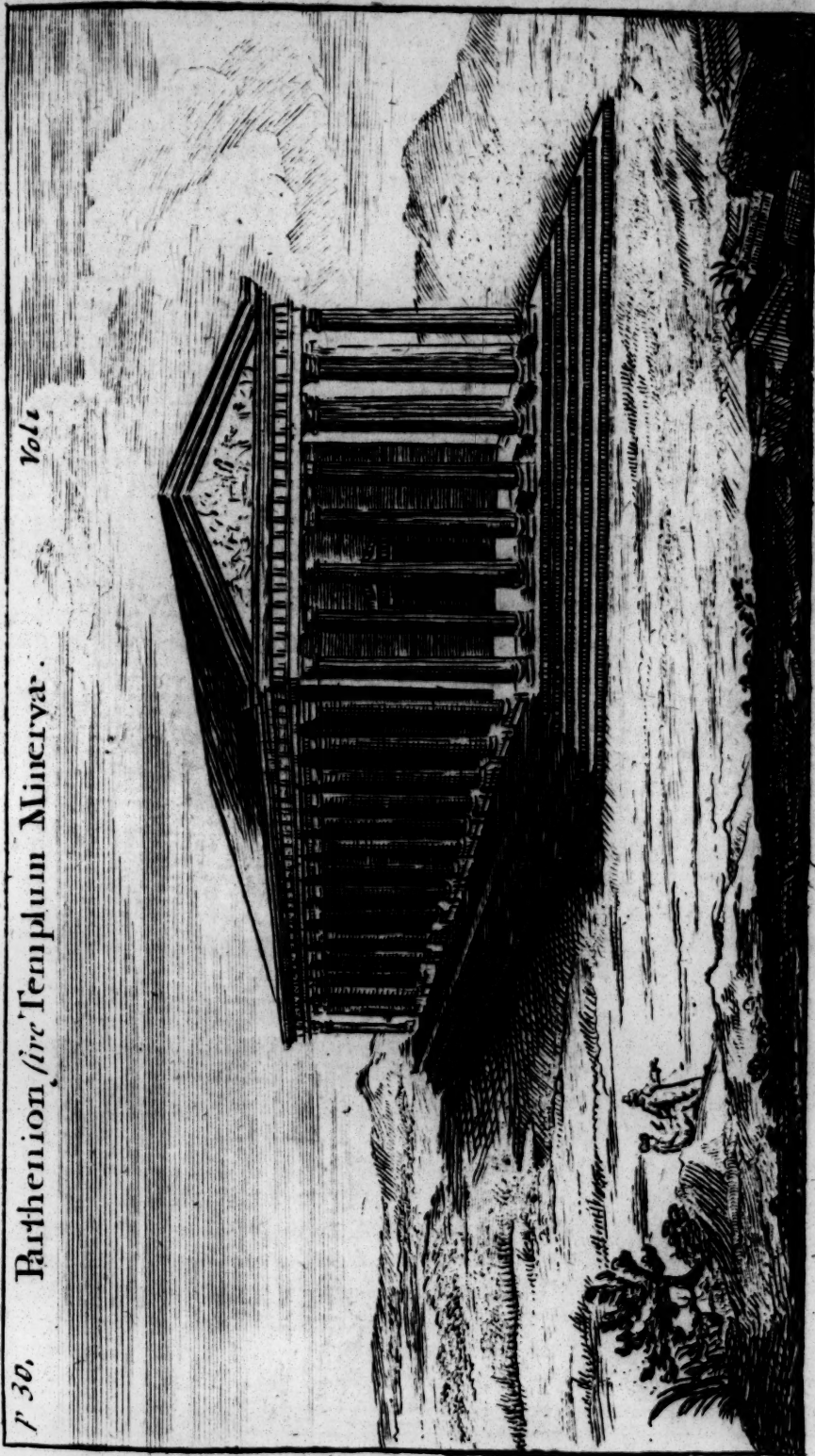
It was fortified with a strong Wall, one Part of which was built by *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades*, out of the Spoils taken in the *Persian* War, and was called *Κιμωνίου τείχος*, being on the South-side of the Citadel (o).

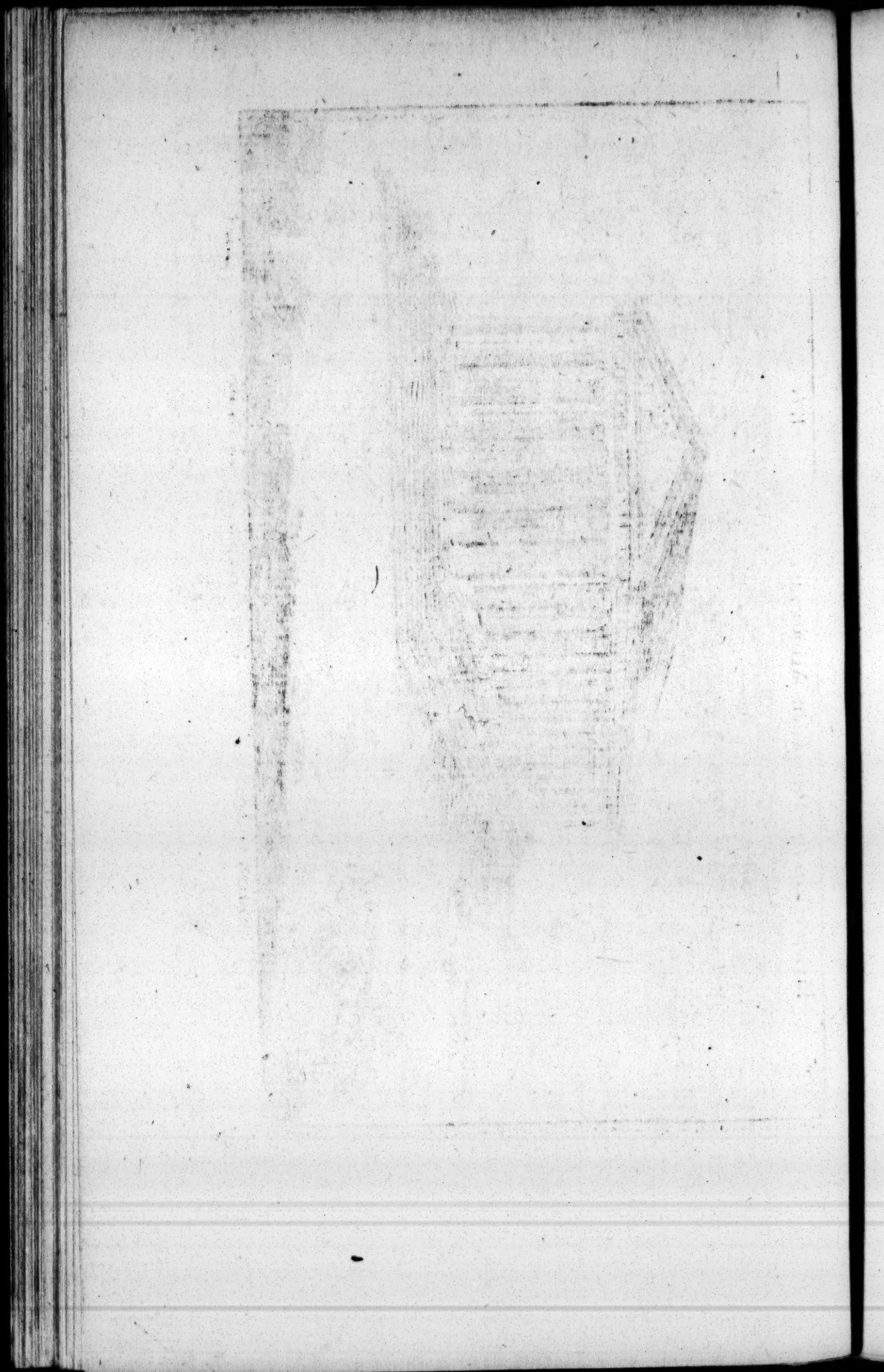
The North Wall was built many Ages before by *Agrolas*, says *Pausanias*; or, according to *Pliny*, by *Euryalus* and *Hyperbius*, two Brothers, who first taught the *Athenians* the Art of building Houses, whereas till that Time they lived in Caves. They were *Tyrrhenians* born, and by that Nation all Sorts of Building are said to have been first begun in *Greece*, and from them Walls and Castles were called *Τύραις* (p). This Wall was named *Πελασγικόν*, or *Πελασγικόν*, because the Founders of it were called *Pelasgi*, from their continual wandering, and removing from one Country to another, in the Manner of Storks, which the *Greeks* call *Πελασγοί* (q). *Thucydides* tells us, there was an Execration laid upon any that should build Houses under this Wall, because the *Pelasgi*, whilst they dwelt there, entered into a Conspiracy against the *Athenians* (r). And *Pollux* adds, that it was unlawful to make Ditches, or sow Corn here, and if any Man was taken offending; he was apprehended by the *Namothetæ*, and brought before the *Archon*, who was to lay a Fine of three Drachms upon him (s). It was beautified with nine Gates, and therefore is sometimes called *ἑννέαπύλον*; but though there were many lesser Gates, yet the Citadel had but one great Fore-Gate, or Entrance, to which they ascended by Steps, covered with white Marble; and it was built by *Pericles* with such Magnificence, that the Expences of it amounted to above a thousand Drachms (t).

The Inside of the Citadel was adorned with innumerable Edifices; Statues, and Monuments, wherein all the ancient Stories were described at large, insomuch that *Aristides* tells us, it looked like one continued Ornament (u). The Description of all these would be tedious, and is already performed by *Meursius*, who hath with vast Industry collected into one Body all the Relicks of Antiquity, which lay dispersed here and there in ancient Authors. The most remarkable of them were these:

The Temple of *Minerva*, called *Νίκη*, or Victory, in which the Goddess was represented, having a Pomegranate in her right Hand, and an Helmet in her left, and without Wings, in Memory of *Theseus's* good Success in *Crete*, the Fame whereof had not reached

(n) *Syrianus* in *Herm. Cornel. Nep.* (o) *Plutarch.* in *Cimone.* (p) *Phavoris.* V. *Τύραις.* (q) *Strabo* lib. IX. *Plin.* lib. VII. LVI. & *Pausanias Atticis.* (r) *Thucydides* ejusque *Scholast.* lib. II. (s) *Pollux* lib. VIII. c. IX. (t) *Plutarchus Pericle.* *Pausan. Atticis.* *Harpocrat.* & *Suidas* V. *ἑννέαπύλον.* (u) *Aristides* in *Panathenaica.*





Athens before his Arrival; but, in other Places, *Victory* was usually represented with Wings (x). It was placed at the right Hand of the Entrances of the Citadel, and was built with white Marble.

About the Middle of the Citadel was the stately Temple of *Minerva*, called *Parthenion*, because that Goddess preserved her *Virginity* pure and inviolate, or because it was dedicated by the Daughters of *Eretheus*, who were peculiarly called Παρθέναι (y) *Virgins*. It was called also ἑκατόμπεδον, because it was an hundred Feet square. It was burnt by the *Persians*, but restored again by *Pericles*, and enlarged fifty Feet on each Side (z). Sir *George Wheeler* reports, that it is two hundred and seventeen Feet, nine Inches long, and ninety-eight Feet, six Inches broad; that it consists altogether of admirable white Marble, and both for Matter and Art is the most beautiful Piece of Antiquity remaining in the World.

The Temple of *Neptune*, surnamed *Eretheus*, which was a double Building, and, besides other Curiosities, contained the Salt-spring called Ἐριχθὼν, which was feigned to have burst out of the Earth, from a Stroke of *Neptune's* Trident, in his Contention with *Minerva*. And this Part was consecrated to *Neptune*. The other Part of the Temple belonged to *Minerva*, surnamed Πρωσία, i. e. *Protetress* of the City; and Πάνδεσσι, from one of *Cecrops's* Daughters of that Name. Here was the sacred Olive produced by *Minerva*; and the Goddess's Image, which was said to have fallen from Heaven in *Erichthonius's* Reign; it was kept by one or two Dragons, called κνέφοι ὄφεις, and had a Lamp always burning with Oil, and an Owl placed before it (a). Both of them remain to this Day; and the lesser Edifice, which is an Entrance to the other, is twenty-nine Feet long, and twenty-one Feet three Inches broad; the bigger is sixty-three Feet and a half long, and thirty-six Feet broad. The Roof is supported by *Ionick* Pillars channelled, but the Chapters seem to be a Mixture between that and the *Dorick* Order.

On the Backside of *Minerva's* Temple was the Publick Treasury, called from its Situation Ὀπισθοδόμος, wherein, besides other Publick Money, a thousand Talents were laid in Store, against any very urgent Occasion; but if any Man expended them upon a trivial Account, he was to be put to Death. Also the Names of all that were indebted to the Commonwealth, were entered in a Register in this Place, and therefore such Persons were called ἐντεταγμένοι ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει, as on the contrary, when they had discharged their Debt, they were named ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως ἐξαληλμένοι. The Tutelar Gods of this Treasury were *Jupiter Sōtēr*, or the Saviour; and *Plutus*, the God of Riches, whom they represented with Wings, and (which was unusual in other Places) seeing (b). *Aristophanes* hath taken Notice of the Statues of both these Gods, in the latter End of his *Plutus*, where he introduces *Carion* very busy in placing that God after the Recovery of his Sight; next to the Statue of *Jupiter the Saviour*.

(x) *Suidas & Harpocrat.* (y) *Hesychius.* (z) *Pausanias.* (a) *Apollodor.* l. III. *Plutarch.* Symp. l. IX. Q. VI. (b) *Aristoph.* Schol. *Plut.* *Etymologus* *Thucyd.* l. II, *Philostrat.* Εἰκόν. l. II. *Demosthen.* Schol. Orat. III. in *Timocrat.*

KAP. Θάρσεν, καλῶς γὰρ ἔσται, ἐν σθεσὶ Σίδη,
 Ο Ζεὺς δ' ἑσθλὸς γὰρ πάρος ἐνθάδε
 Αὐτόματόν ἦναι. IEP. Πάντ' ἀσέβη τούτοις γίγναι.

KAP. Ἰδυσμένον ἐν αὐτίκ', ἀλλὰ παρμῆτι
 Πλεόν, ὑπάρ πρέσβει ἐν ἰδυσμένον,
 Τὸν Ὀπισθόδομον αὖ φιλάειαν τῆς Θιῆ.

Cario. Come, Courage, on God's Will depends Success;
 Which I divine will answer to our Hopes,
 For doth not *Jove* our President's Approach
 Without Entreaty seem thus to presage?

Priest. Your Words bring Comfort. Car. Therefore let us wait
 For *Plutus's* Coming, him we'll substitute
 An *Overseer* in the Place of *Jove*
 To keep *Minerva's* Treasury secure. J. A.

Afterwards this Building was burnt to the Ground by the Treasurers, who, having embezzled the Publick Money, secured themselves by that Means, and prevented the City from calling them to Account (c). There were also several other remarkable Edifices in the Citadel, as the Chapels of *Jupiter Σωτήρ*, and of *Minerva Σώτρυα* (d). The Temple of *Agraulos*, the Daughter of *Cecrops*, or rather of *Minerva*, worshipped by that Name in the Front, and steep Side of the Rock (e). And to mention only one more, the Temple of *Venus Ἰσπολύτρυα*, consecrated by *Phædra*, when she was in Love with *Hippolytus* (f). And thus much concerning the Citadel.

The lower City containing all the Buildings which surrounded the Citadel, with the Fort *Munychia*, and the two Havens, *Phalerum* and *Piræus*, was encompassed with Walls of unequal Strength, being built at different Times, and by different Hands. The chief Parts of them were, the Μακρὰ τεῖχον, which joined the Haven of *Piræus* to the City, being about five Miles in Length, and therefore *Plutarch* calls them, Μακρὰ σκέλη, long Legs (g), and *Propertius* long Arms,

*Inde ubi Piræei capient me litera portus,
 Scandam ego Theseæ brachia longa viæ* (h).

When I've arriv'd at the *Piræan* Port,
 And eas'd the shatter'd Vessel of its Load,
 I'll scale the Walls of the *Thesean* Road. J. A.

They consisted of two Sides, one of which lay towards the North, and was built by *Pericles* (i), with vast Expence, containing XL *Stadia*; the other lay to the South, and was called Νότιον τεῖχος, or παρὰ μέσῃ τείχῃ, or Νότιον παρὰ μέσῃ τείχῃ, to distinguish it from the South Wall of the Citadel; sometimes τεῖχος Φαληρικόν, because it took in the Port *Phalerum*. It was built by *Themistocles*, of huge square Stones, not cemented together by Mortar, but fastened by Iron and Lead. The Height of it was forty Cubits, and yet was but the Half of what

(c) *Demostb. ejusque Schol. Orat. in Timocrat.* (d) *Lycurg. Orat. in Leocratem.*
 (e) *Herodot. l. VIII.* (f) *Euripid. Schol. in Hippolyto.* (g) *Cimone.*
 (h) *Lib. III. Eleg.* (i) *Plutarch. Pericle.*

Themistocles design'd; the Length of it was thirty-five *Stadia*. Upon both of them was erected a great Number of Turrets, which were turn'd into Dwelling-houses when the *Athenians* became so numerous, that the City was not large enough to contain them (k). The *Μενύχων*, or Wall that encompass'd the *Munychia*, and join'd it to the *Piræus*, contain'd LX *Stadia*; and the exterior Wall on the other Side of the City was in Length XLIII *Stadia*; so that the whole Circuit of the City contain'd CLXXVIII *Stadia*, which are something above two and twenty *Roman Miles*.

1. The principal Gates of the City were the Πύλαι Θριάσιαι, afterwards called Δίπυλον, because they were larger than any of the rest. They were plac'd at the Entrance of *Ceramicus*, and therefore seem to have been the same with the πύλαι Κεραμικῆ, in *Philostratus* (l).

2. Πύλαι Παράϊκαι, leading to the *Piræus*; near which was the Temple of the Hero *Chalcodon*, and the Tombs of those that died in the Defence of their Country, when the *Amazons* invaded *Attica* under *Theseus* (m).

3. Ἰππᾶδες, near which *Hyperides* the Orator, and his Family, were buried (n).

4. Ἡρίαι, where they carried forth dead Persons to their Graves, so call'd from ἥριον, a Grave (o).

5. Ἱερᾶι, the Gate leading to *Eleusis*, thro' which they, that celebrated the Festival of *Ceres Eleusinia*, made a solemn Procession, from which Custom the Gate received its Name, it being usual to call every Thing that was any way concern'd in those Mysteries, ἱερὸν, sacred.

6. Αἰγῶς πύλαι, the Gate of *Ægeus*, the Father of *Theseus*, whose House stood in the Place where afterwards the *Delphinium* was built, and therefore the Statue of *Mercury* at the East End of that Temple was call'd Ἐμὴς ἐκ' Αἰγῶς πύλαις, by which it is evident that this Gate was near the *Delphinium* (p).

7. Διοχαρῆς πύλαι, the Gate of *Diochares*.

8. Πύλαι Ἀχαρνικαί, the Gate that look'd towards *Acharna*, a Borough in *Attica*.

9. Διόλμεια, that lay towards the Borough of the *Diolmians*.

10. Πύλαι Θράκιαι, the *Thracian* Gate.

11. Πύλαι Ἰωνίαι, the *Ionian* Gate, near which was the Pillar erected in Memory of the *Amazons* (q).

12. Πύλαι Σκαιαί, the *Scæan* Gate (r).

13. Ἀδριανῆ πύλαι, the Gate of *Adrian*, by which they entered into that Part of the City which that Emperor rebuilt, and call'd Ἀδριανόπολις.

As to the Streets in *Athens*, thus much is said of them in general, that they were not very uniform, or beautiful (s); and tho' *Homer* calls it εὐρύαντιαν,

Ἰκέτο δ' εἰς Μαραθῶνα, καὶ εὐρύαντιαν Ἀθηνῶν (t).

(k) *Plutarch. Themistocl. Appian. in Mithridatico. Thucyd. lib. I. & II. (l) Philostratus in Philagora Sophist. lib. II. Xenophon Hist. Græc. I. II. Plutarch. Pericle & Sylla. (m) Plutarch. Theseo. (n) Hesychius. (o) Theophrastus Charact. Ethic. (p) Plutarch. Theseo. (q) Æschines Philoſophus in Axiocho. (r) *Hildanus in Vita Dionysii Areopagit. (s) Dicaearchus in descriptione Græciæ. (t) Odyss. VII.**

Yet that seems only to imply the Bigness, and not the Beauty of them; for so that Poet has used the same Epithet in other Places. The Number of them without Question was very great, but most of their Names are quite lost; and few, if any, besides those that follow, are to be met with in Authors. Ἰεὸς Εὐκῆς, or the Way to *Eleusis*. Ὁδὸς Θηοσία, betwixt the long Walls, leading to the *Piræus*; which seems to be the same with that which was call'd Ἡ εἰς Πειραιᾶ. Ἡ τῶν πολεμίων, near the *Academy*. Ἡ τῶν Ἑρμολύφων. Ἡ τῶν Κισιωποίων. Ἡ Ἑρία. Ἡ Εἰρκῆ. Μυρμηκῶν ὁδός. Ρύμη τρίτη.

Τρίποδες, a Way near the *Prytaneum*, wherein were Places largely stock'd with *Tripods* of Brass curiously wrought; amongst which was the famous *Satyr*, call'd by the *Greeks* Παιφόνιος, being one of the Master-pieces of *Praxiteles*. And concerning these *Heliodorus* is said to have written an entire Treatise (u).

It remains in the next Place, that I give you an Account of the Buildings of the lower City; in doing which I shall only mention such as were most remarkable, or had some History, or Custom depending upon them, for the rest referring the Reader to *Pausanias* and *Meursius's* larger Treatises.

Πομπῆιον, a stately Edifice, in which were kept the Sacred *Utenfils*, made use of at Festivals, and all Things necessary for the solemn Processions prepared. It was placed at the Entrance of the old City, which looks towards *Phalarum*, and adorn'd with many Statues of the *Athenian* Heroes. Indeed there was scarce any Place in the City that was not fill'd with such-like Representations.

The Temple of *Vulcan*, or of *Vulcan* and *Minerwa*, not far from *Ceramicus* within the City, seems to have been a publick Prison, frequent Mention being made of Persons being tortur'd there.

Near this Place was the Temple of the heavenly *Venus*, for they had a two-fold *Venus*, one of which was call'd Οὐρανία, and the other Πάνημος; the former presided over chaste and pure Love; the latter was the Patroness of Lust and Debauchery. And as their Natures and Characters were different, so were also the Ceremonies used in their Worship. They, that worshipp'd the former, behaved themselves with all Modesty and Gravity; but the latter was pleased only with Lewdness and Wantonness. Whence *Solon* permitted publick Strumpets to prostitute themselves in her Temple. Besides these, *Venus* had several other Temples, as those which were erected upon the Account of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, to *Venus Lamia*, and *Læna*, in Honour of two of his Mistresses, call'd by those Names. Nay, so gross Flattery did the *Athenians* degenerate into, that they enroll'd several of his Parasites in the Number of their Deities, and honour'd them with Temples and Altars (w).

The Temple of *Theseus* was erected by *Conon*, in the Middle of the City, near the Place where the Youth perform'd their Wrestlings, and other Exercises of Body, and was allow'd the Privilege of being a Sanctuary for Slaves, and all those of mean Condition that fled from the Persecution of Men in Power, in Memory that *Theseus*, while he

(u) *Harpocr.* V. Ἀθήνας.(w) *Plutarch.* in *Demetrio*.

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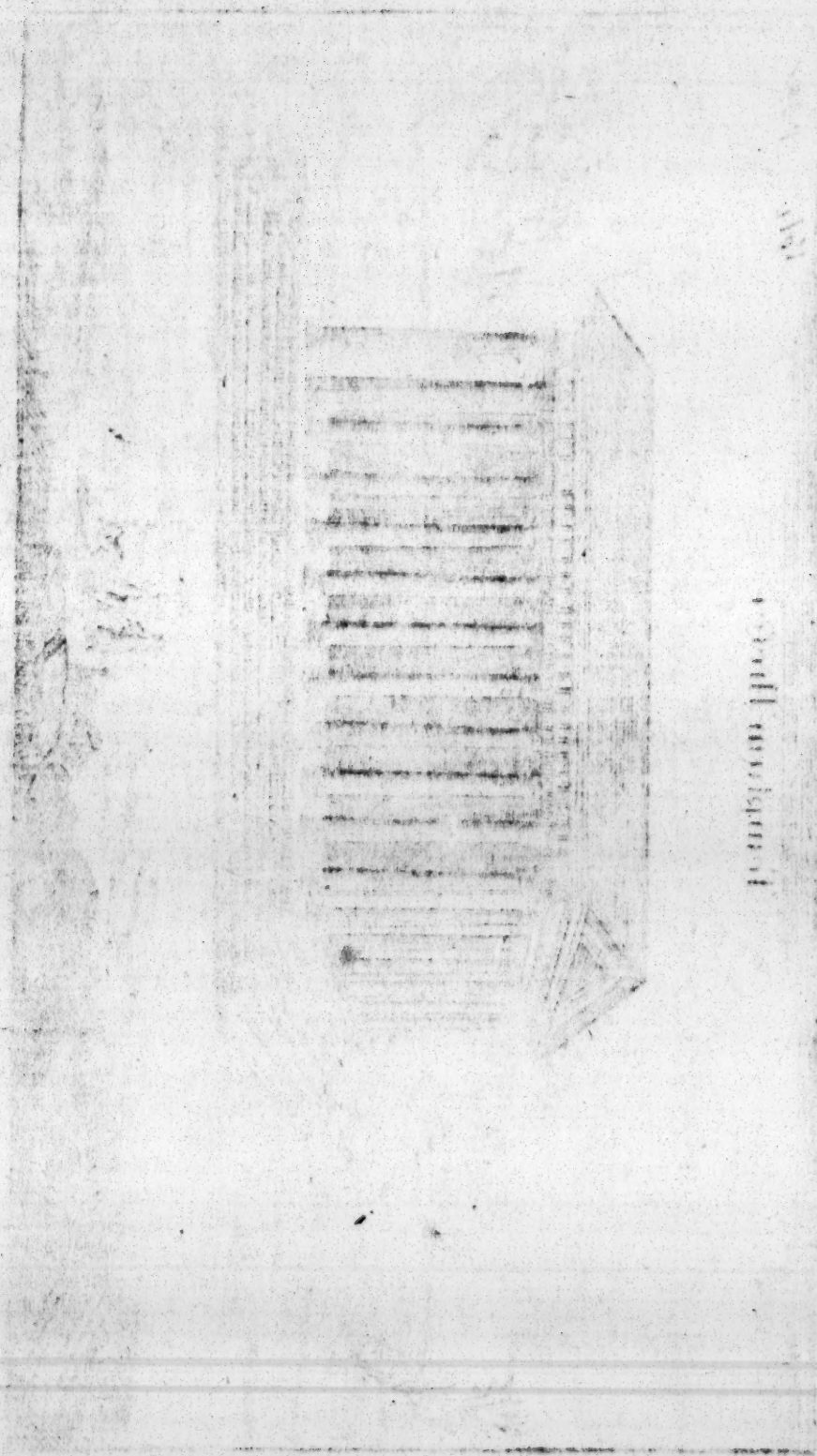
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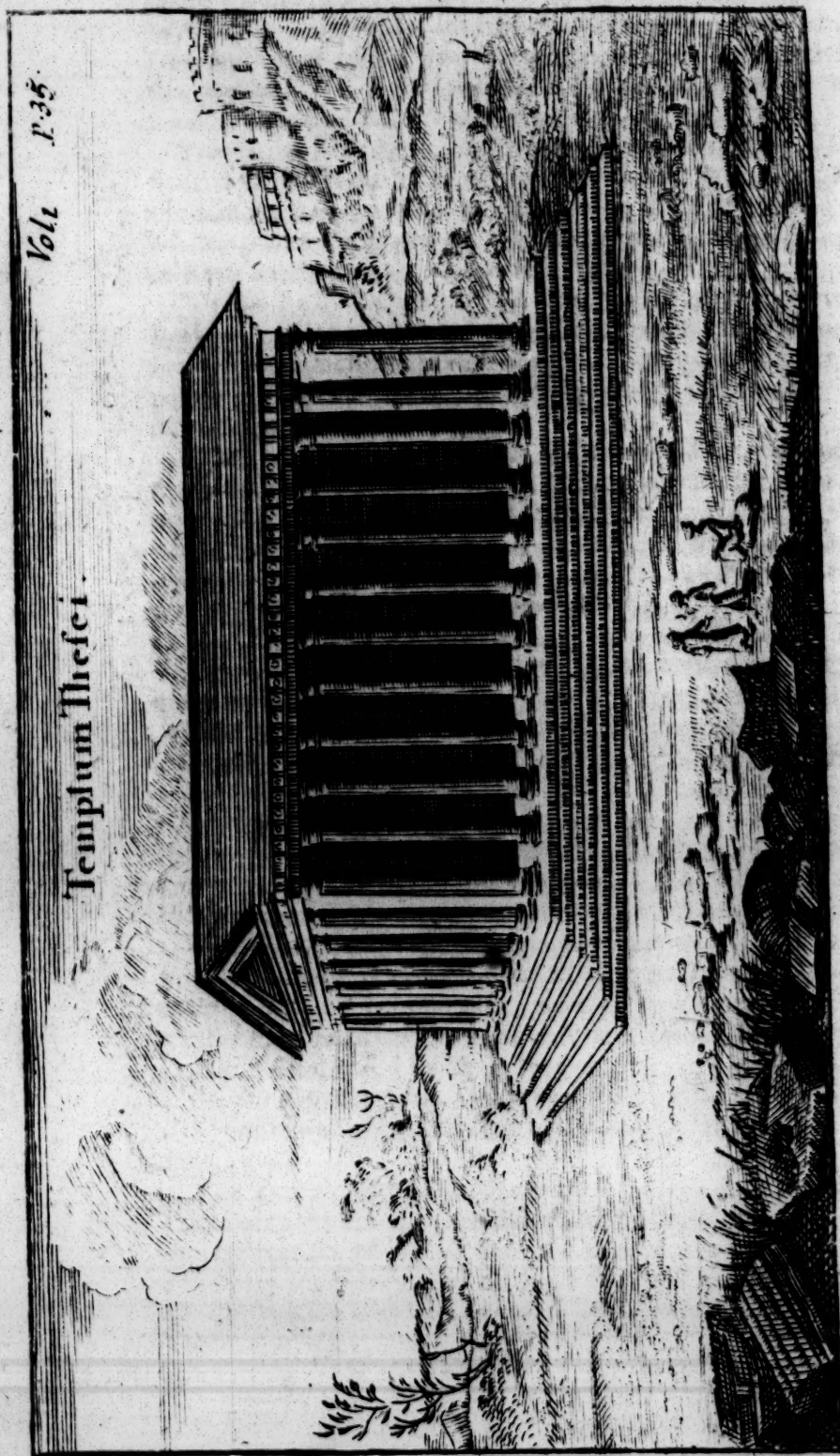
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Templum Thefei.



lived, was an Assister and Protector of the Distressed. And a great many other Temples were consecrated to him in his Life-time, as grateful Acknowledgments of the Benefits he had conferr'd upon the City; all which, four only excepted, he dedicated to *Hercules*, and changed their Names from *Θήσια*, to *Ἡρακλεία*, after he had been rescued by him from the King of the *Molossians*, as *Plutarch* reports out of *Philochorus* (y). One of these was put to divers other Uses, for certain Magistrates were created in it by the *Thesmothetæ* (z). Causes were also heard there, and it was a publick Prison (a), and therefore a Gaol-bird is wittily call'd *Θησίοτις*, in *Aristophanes*; such an one *Plautus*, with no less Elegancy, names *Colonus Carceris*.

The Temple of *Theseus* is to be seen at this Day, and is built, as *Sir George Wheeler* reports, in all Respects like the Temple of *Minerva* in the Citadel, as to its Matter, Form, and Order of Architecture, but not so large. It is dedicated to St. George, and still remains a Master-piece of Architecture, not easy to be parallel'd, much less exceeded, by any other.

Ἀνάκειον, or the Temple of *Castor and Pollux*, call'd *Ἀνάκτες*. In this Place Slaves were expos'd to Sale.

Ὀλύμπιον, or *Ὀλυμπιῶν*, a Temple erected in Honour of *Jupiter the Olympian*; it was the most magnificent Structure in *Athens*, being in Circuit no less than four *Stadia*, which was the Reason they were forced to support it with Pillars, a Thing unknown in *Athens* before that Time (b). The Foundations were laid by *Pisistratus*, and many succeeding Governors contributed to the building of it, but it was never completely finish'd till *Adrian's* Time, which was seven hundred Years after the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*.

The Temple of *Apollo and Pan*, at the Bottom of the Citadel on the North Side, in a Cave or Grotto, call'd *Μαυραὶ σήτραι*, or *Καρπωτίαι σήτραι*, where *Apollo* was feign'd to have deflower'd *Crensa*, the Daughter of *Erechtheus*, as we find it mention'd in *Euripides*:

οἷσθα Καρπωτίαι σήτραις
Πρόκορον, ἄντρον, αἷς Μαυραῖς κικλήσκουσαι;
Οἶδ', εἶδα Πανὸς ἄδυλον καὶ βωμὸν σήτραις (c).

The Temple of *Diana*, firnam'd *Ἀνσίλων*, because in it Women, after their first Child, us'd to dedicate their Girdles to her (d).

Πάνθειον was a Temple dedicated to all the Gods, who, as they were united in one Temple, so were they honour'd with one common Festival, call'd *Θεoxinia*. This was a very magnificent Structure, and supported by a hundred and twenty Marble Pillars; on the Outside were all the Histories of the Gods, curiously engraven, and upon the great Gate stood two Horses, excellently carv'd by *Praxiteles*. It is to be seen at this Day, as *Theodorus Zymogalas* reports, in an Epistle to *Martin Crucius*, written A. D. C1615LXXV, wherein he describes the then present State of *Athens*.

The Temple of the eight Winds, omitted by *Pausanias*, but mention'd and describ'd by *Sir George Wheeler* out of *Vitruvius*, who reports, that

(y) Idem, *Theseo*. (z) *Æschin. Orat. in Ctesiphone*. (a) *Etymologus*. (b) *Plinius, XXXVI. cap. vi.* (c) *Ionc.* (d) *Apollonii Schol. lib. I.*

such, as had made exact Observations about the Winds, divided them into eight; as, namely, *Andronicus Cyrrhæstes*, who gave this Model to the Athenians, for he built a Tower of eight Squares of Marble, on every Side of which he carv'd the Figure of a Wind, according to the Quarter it blew from. On the Top of a Tower he erected a little Pyramid of Marble, on the Point of which was placed a Brazen Triton, holding a Switch in his right Hand, wherewith turning about, he pointed to the Wind that then blew. All the Winds answer'd exactly to the Compass, and were represented by Figures answerable to their Natures, above which were written their Names in large Greek Letters, which are these that follow: ΕΥΡΟΣ, *Eurus*, South-East. ΑΠΗΛΙΩΤΗΣ, *Subsolanus*, East. ΚΑΙΚΙΑΣ, *Cæcias*, North-East. ΒΟΡΕΑΣ, *Boreas*, North. ΕΚΙΠΟΝ, *Corus*, North-West. ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ, *Occident*, West. ΝΟΤΟΣ, *Notus*, South. ΑΠΦ, *Libs*, *Africus*, South-West. This Tower remains entire, the Weather-cock only excepted.

Στωαί, or *Portico's*, they had a great many, but the most remarkable was that, which was call'd Πνευματικόν, and afterwards Ποικίλον, from the Variety it contain'd of curious Pictures, drawn by the greatest Masters in Greece; such were *Polygnotus*, *Micon*, and *Pandæus*, the Brother of *Phidias*. Here it was that *Zeno* taught Philosophy, and instituted that Sect, which received their Names from this Place, being call'd Στωικοί from *σῶα*. And the *Portico* itself is usually put for that Sect of Philosophers, as when *Athenæus* calls *Zeno* τῆς Στωῆς ἡγούμενον, the Founder of the *Stoicks* (e).

Μαρκίον was a Fort near the Citadel, so call'd from the old Poet *Museus*, the Scholar of *Orpheus*, that used to repeat his Verses in this Place, where also he was buried. This Fort was forced by *Antigonus* to entertain a Garrison, and his Son *Demetrius*, to make it the more secure, surrounded it with a Wall.

Ὀδῆον was a Musick Theatre, built by *Pericles*, and, for the Contrivance of it on the Inside, was full of Seats and Ranges of Pillars; and on the Outside, in the Roof or Covering of it, was made from one Point at the Top with a great many Bendings, all shelving downward; and it is reported, (saith *Plutarch*) that it was so framed in Imitation of the King of *Persia's* Pavilion (f). Here was also a Tribunal, as we learn from *Aristophanes*:

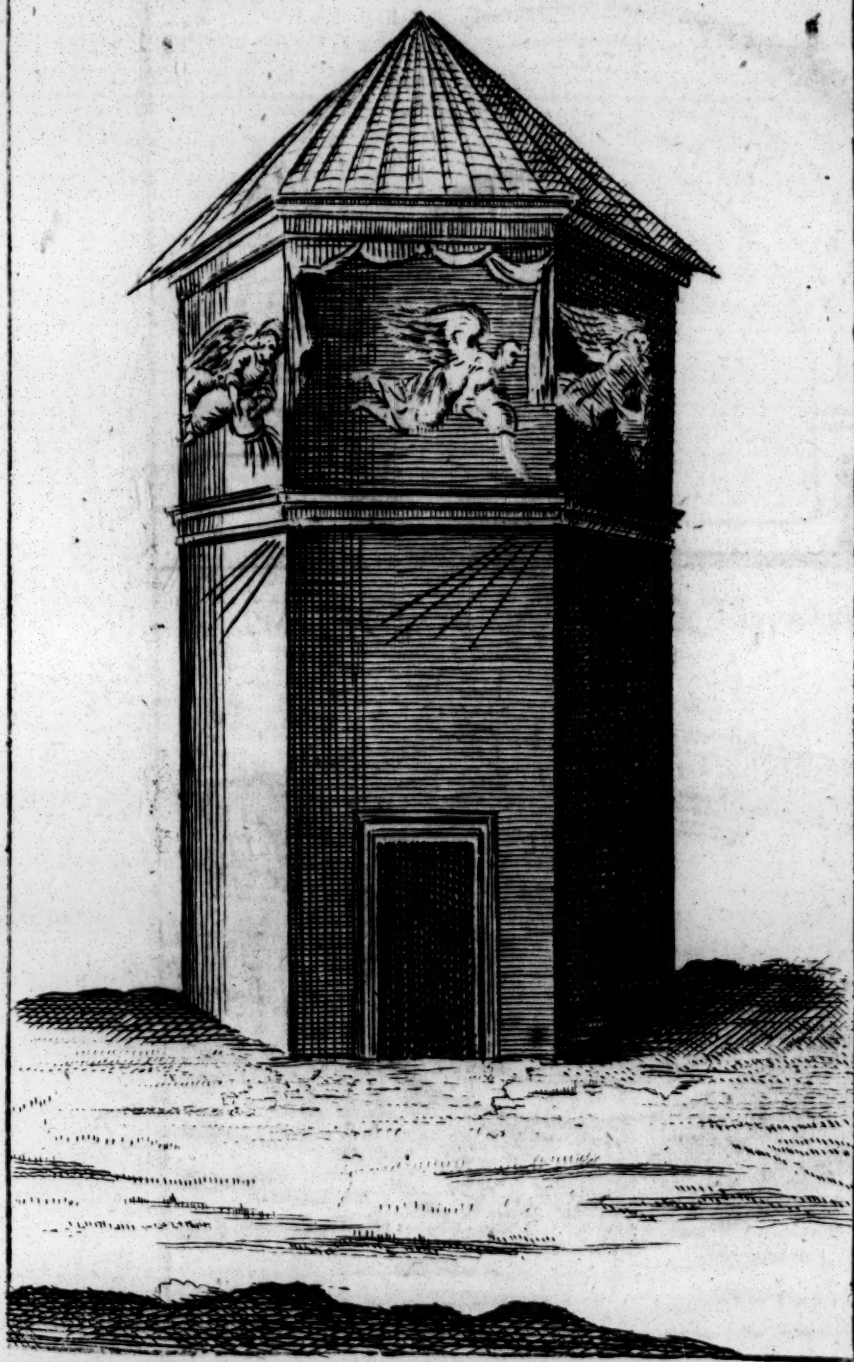
Οἱ μὲν ἡμῶν ἔμπρ' Ἀρχῶν· οἱ πρὸς τὰς Ἑδίδαι.

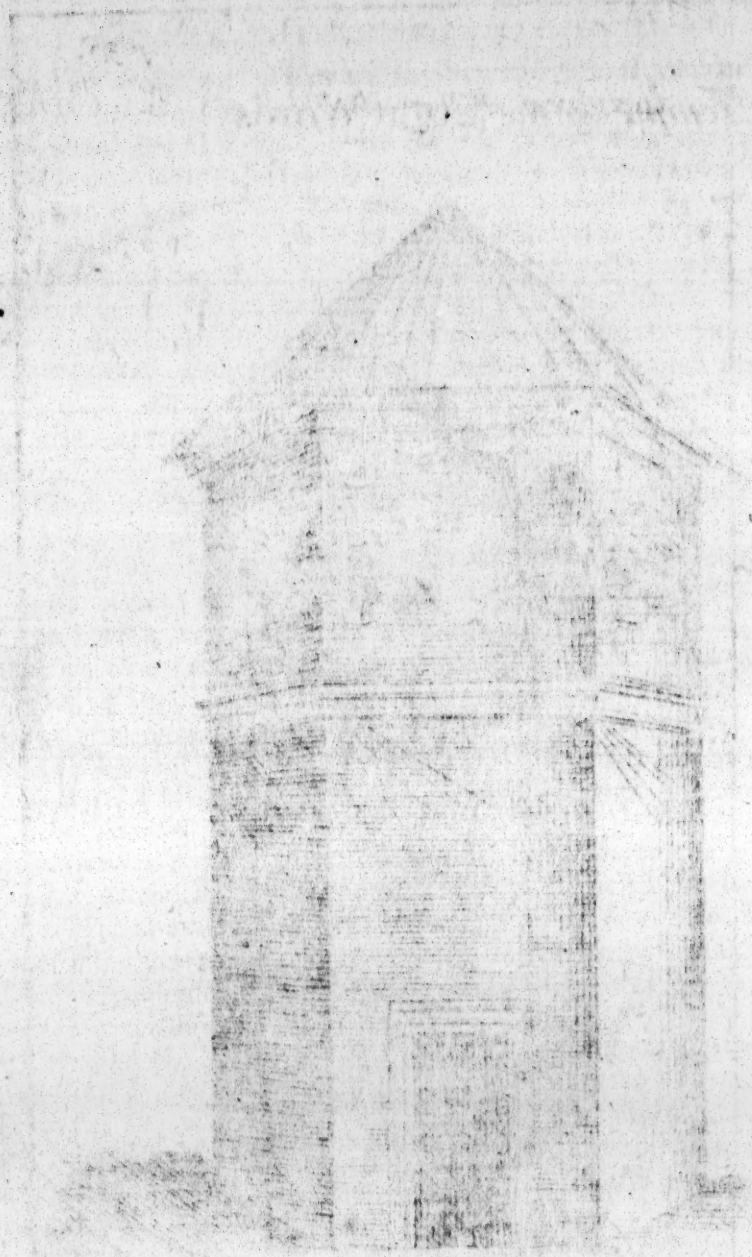
Οἱ δ' ἐν Ὀδῷ δικάζουσιν ————— (g).

It was very much beautified by *Lycurgus* (h), but, being demolish'd in the *Mithridatick* War (i), was re-edified by *Herodes Atticus*, with such Splendor and Magnificence, that, as *Pausanias* tells us, it surpass'd all the famous Buildings in Greece. It stood in the

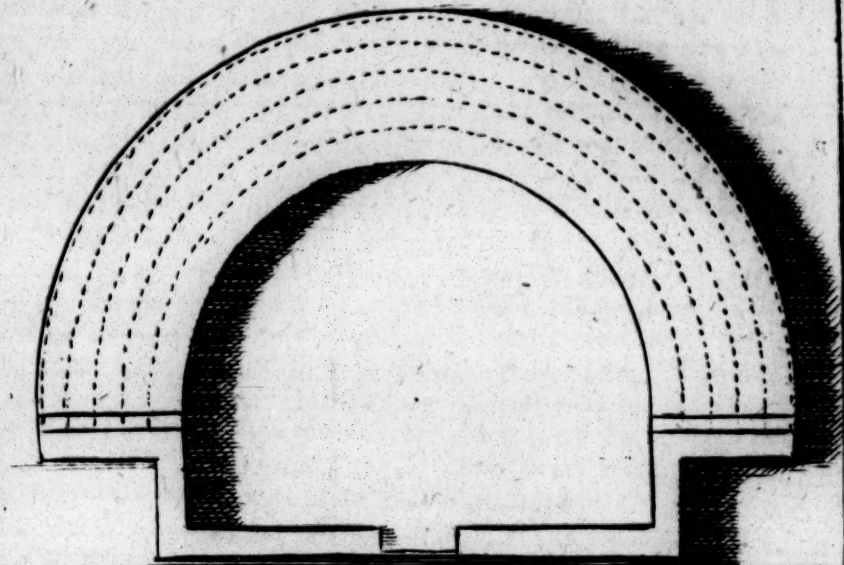
Ceramicus, of which Name there were two Places so call'd from *Ceramus* the Son of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne* (k); or ἀπὸ τῆς κεραμικῆς τέχνης, from the Potters Art, which was first invented in one of these Places by *Coræbus*. One of them was within the City, and contain'd in-

(e) *Delp.* l. VIII. (f) *Plutarch.* in *Pericle.* (g) *Vespis.* (h) *Hyperid.* Orat. pro *Lycurgo.* (i) *Appian.* in *Mithridatico.* (k) *Pausan.* *Suidas.* *Plin.* l. VII. c. 56.

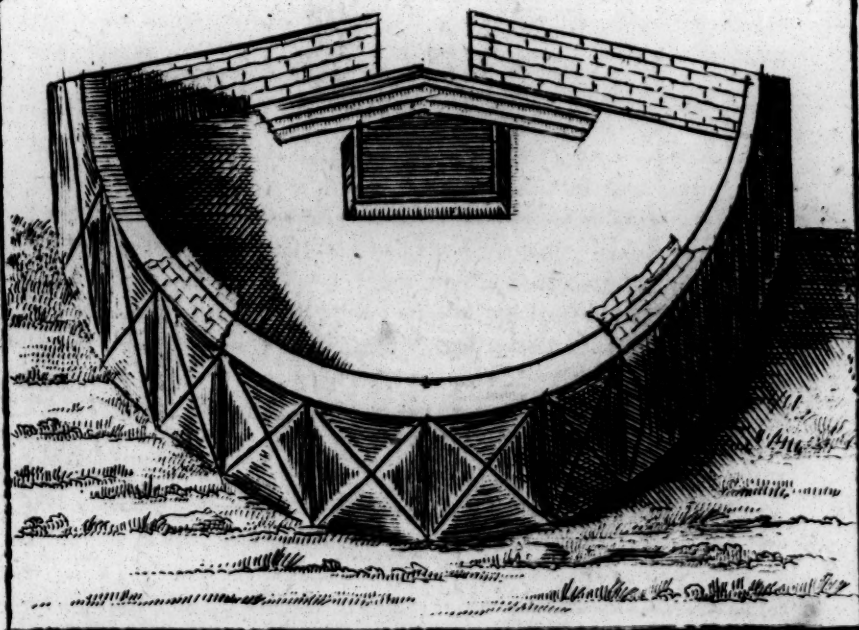
Temple of the Eight Winds

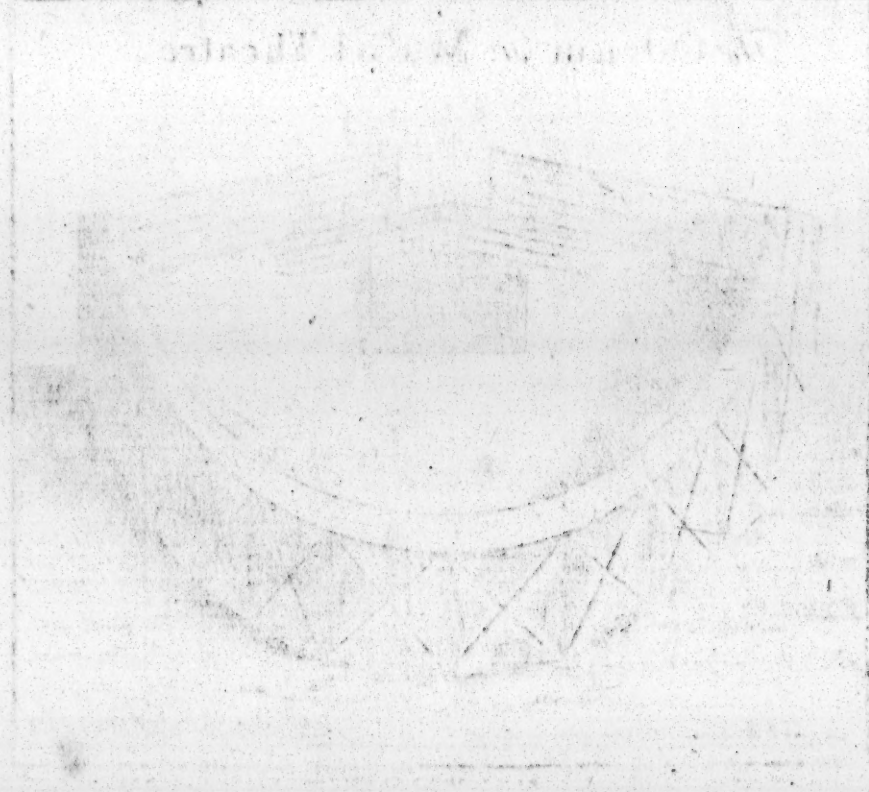
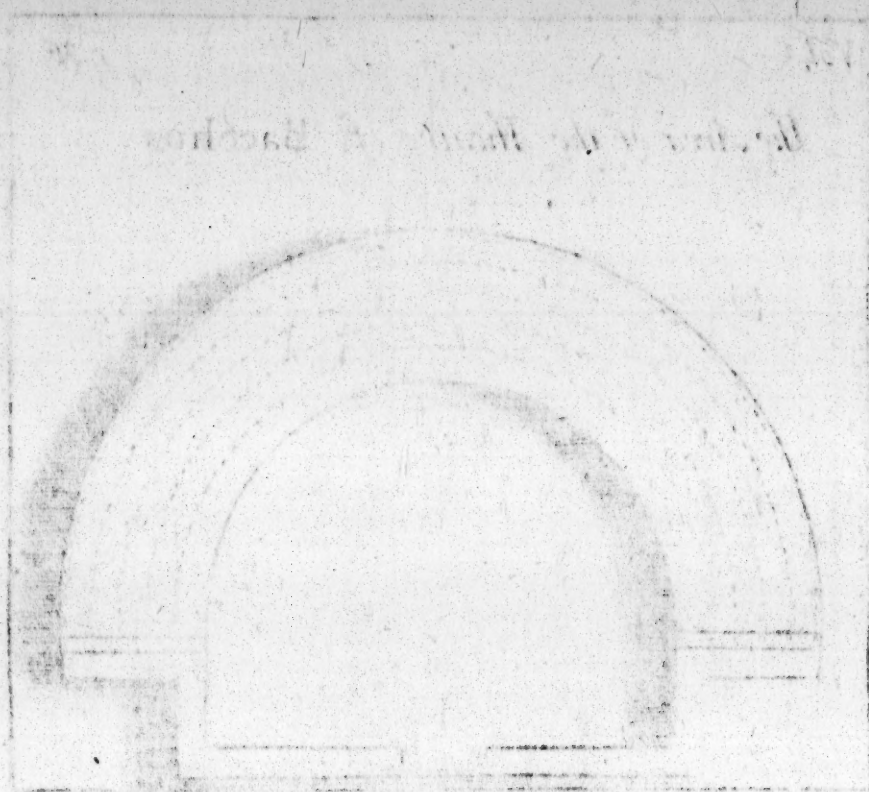


The Area of the Theatre of Bacchus



The Odeum or Musick Theatre.





numerable Buildings, as Temples, Theatres, Portico's, &c. The other was in the Suburbs, and was a publick Burying-place, and contain'd the *Academy*, and many other Edifices.

The *Athenian* Ἀγοαί, or *Fora*, were very numerous, but the most noted of them were two; the old *Forum*, and the new. The new *Forum* was in a Place call'd Ἐστρία by *Strabo* (l). Which it is probable was not far from *Zeno's* Portico, because, *Pausanias* tells us, that in his Time the *Forum* was near that Place. The old *Forum* was in the *Ceramicus* within the City, call'd ἀρχαία Ἀγορά. In it were held the publick Assemblies of the People; but the chief Design of it was for the Meeting of People to buy and sell, and therefore it was divided into different Parts, according to the Wares expos'd to Sale, for every Trade had a different Place assign'd to make their Markets in; and hence we read of Κύνδος, where Slaves and Vassals were sold (m); Ἀφροδίτης ἀγορά, ἰχθυόπων ἀγορά, and Γυναικεία ἀγορά, where Women's Clothes and Ornaments were expos'd; and others without Number. Sometimes they call'd the *Fora* by the single Names of Things sold in them, as Οἶνος, the Wine-market, Ἐλαιών, the Oil-market, &c. (n). An Instance of this we have in these Verses of *Eupolis*,

Περὶ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ τὰ σκύροισι, καὶ τὰ πρόμυρα,
καὶ τὸν λιγυράδην, καὶ εἰθὺ τῶν ἀρωμάτων,
καὶ περὶ τὰ γέγγυα

The Time in which Things were expos'd to Sale, was call'd πλήθυσσα Ἀγορά, full Market, from the Multitudes of People that assembled at such Times; and there seem to have been different Hours appointed for particular Wares, which, I suppose, is the Reason that *Suidas* in some Places tells us, the full Market was at the third Hour, in others that it was at the fourth, fifth, and sixth.

And besides these Places, the Tradesmen had their Βασιλίστρια, or publick Halls, wherein each Company met, and consulted about their Affairs: For Trades were very much encouraged at *Athens*; and if any Man objected the living by such Gain to another, as a Matter of Reproach, the Person affronted might have an Action of Slander against him (o). "Nay, Trades were so far from being accounted a mean and ignoble Way of living, that Persons of the greatest Quality did not disdain to betake themselves to such Employment, and especially to Merchandize, as *Plutarch* informs us; *Solon* (says he) apply'd himself to Merchandize, tho' some there are that report, that he travell'd rather to get Learning and Experience, than to raise an Estate. In the Time of *Hesiod*, a Trade was not dishonourable, nor did it debase its Followers; but Merchandize was a worthy Calling, which brought Home the good Things that barbarous Nations enjoy'd, was the Occasion of Friendship with their Kings, and Mother of Experience. Some Merchants have built great Cities, as the Founder of *Maffilia*, that Man so much esteem'd by the *Gauls*, that lived about the *Rhine*; some also report, that *Thales* and *Hippocrates* the Mathematician traded; and that *Plato* defray'd the Charges of his Travels by selling Oil in *Egypt*." Thus *Plutarch* (p).

(l) *Strabo* l. IX. (m) *Hejych.* (n) *Pollux* l. IX. c. 5. (o) *Demost.* Orat. in *Eubusidem.* (p) *Plutarchus, Solone.*

Aqueducts were not common at *Athens* before the *Roman* Times; and the Want of them was supply'd by Wells; some of which were dug by private Persons, others at the publick Expence; but because the Country having but few potable Rivers, (for *Eridanus*, *Strabo* (q) telleth us, was muddy, and not fit for Use) Lakes or large Springs, were but poorly furnish'd with Water, which gave Occasion to continual Quarrel, amongst the Citizens. *Solon* enacted a Law, that where there was a publick Well within an *Hippicon*, (that is, four Furlongs) all should have the Privilege of drawing at that; but those, that lived at a greater Distance, should be obliged to provide a private Well; and if they had dug ten Fathom deep, and could find no Water, they had Liberty to fetch ten Gallons a Day from their Neighbours; for he thought it prudent (saith my Author) to make Provision against Want, but not to encourage Laziness (r). *Adrian*, besides other magnificent Structures, laid the Foundations of a stately *Aqueduct*, which was finish'd by his Successor *Antoninus*. And one Part of it remains to this Day, sustain'd by *Ionick* Pillars; which, *Sir George Wheeler* is of Opinion, was the Frontispiece of the Repository, or Receiver of the Water.

Gymnasia are said to have been first in Use at *Lacedæmon*, but were afterwards very common in all the Parts of *Greece*, and imitated, very much augmented, and improved at *Rome*. They were not single Edifices, but a Knot of Buildings united, being so capacious as to hold many thousands of People at once, and having Room enough for Philosophers, Rhetoricians, and the Professors of all other Sciences to read their Lectures; and Wrestlers, Dancers, and all others that would, to exercise at the same Time without the least Disturbance, or Interruption. They consisted of a great many Parts, the chief of which were these:

1. *Στοαι*, the *Portico's*, which were full of *ἔξεδραι*, and Side Buildings furnish'd with Seats, and fit for Study or Discourse; and here it is probable the Scholars used to meet.

2. *Ἐφῆβαιον*, the Place where the *Ephebi*, or Youths, exercised; or as some say, where those that design'd to exercise met, and agreed what Kind of Exercise they should contend in, and what should be the Victor's Reward.

3. *Κωρίκειον*, *ἀποδυτήριον*, *γυμναστήριον*, the Undressing-room.

4. *Ἐλαιοθέσιον*, *ἀλειπτήριον*, the Place where those that were to wrestle, or had bathed, were anointed.

5. *Κοιμήτριον*, *κονίερα*, the Place where the Dust, with which they besprinkled those that had been anointed, was kept.

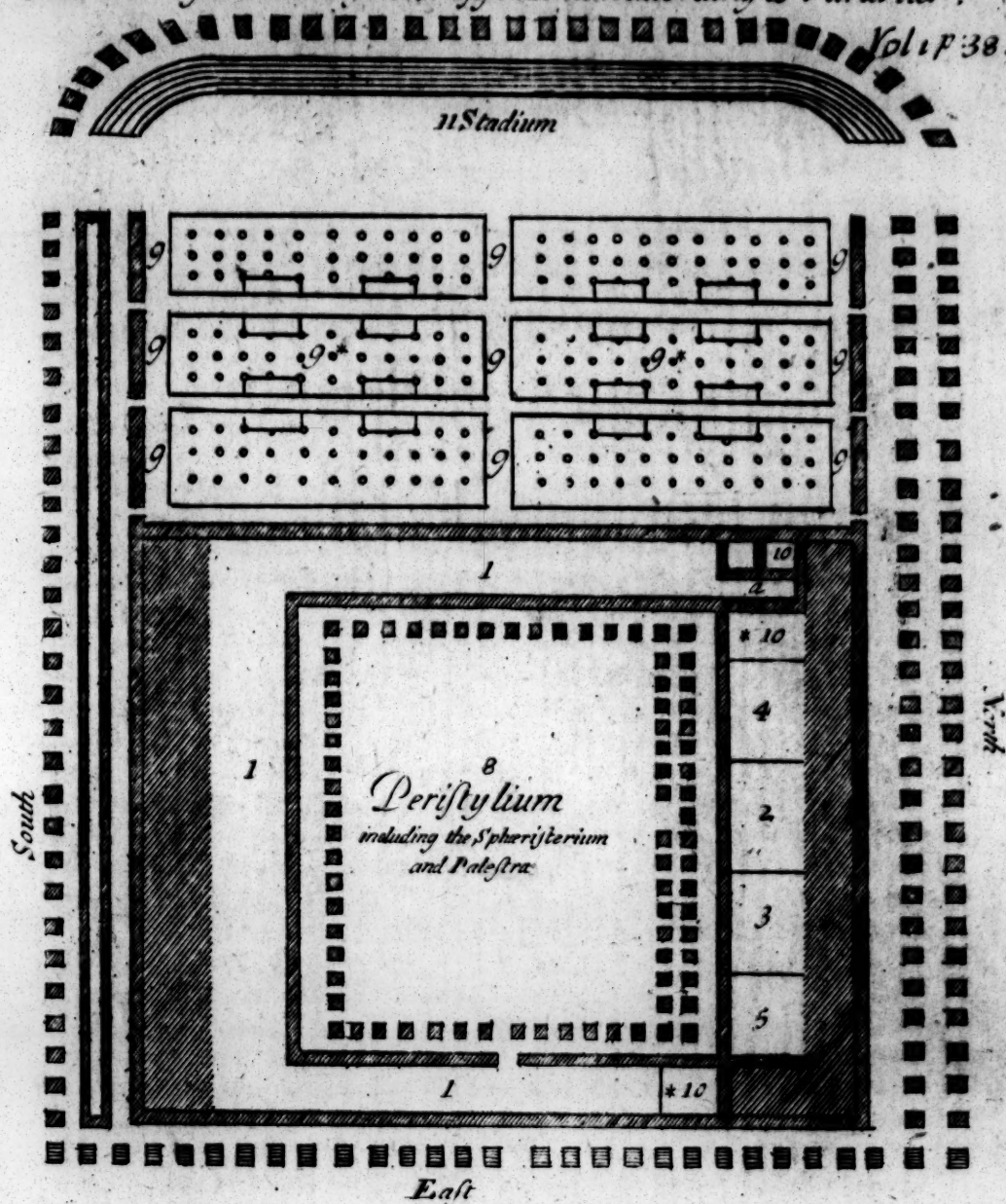
6. *Παλαίστρα*, which sometimes is taken for the whole *Gymnasium*, in its proper Acceptation signifies the Place, wherein all the Exercises of the *Πέπλοιστον*, or (say others) only Wrestling, and the *Πασκράτιον*, were perform'd; and lest the Combatants should slip, or hurt themselves by falling, the Bottom of it was cover'd with Dust, or Gravel. Also there was another Room in the *Gymnasium*, fill'd with Gravel, much deeper than that in the *Palæstra*.

(q) Lib. IX.

(r) *Plutarchus*, *Solone*.

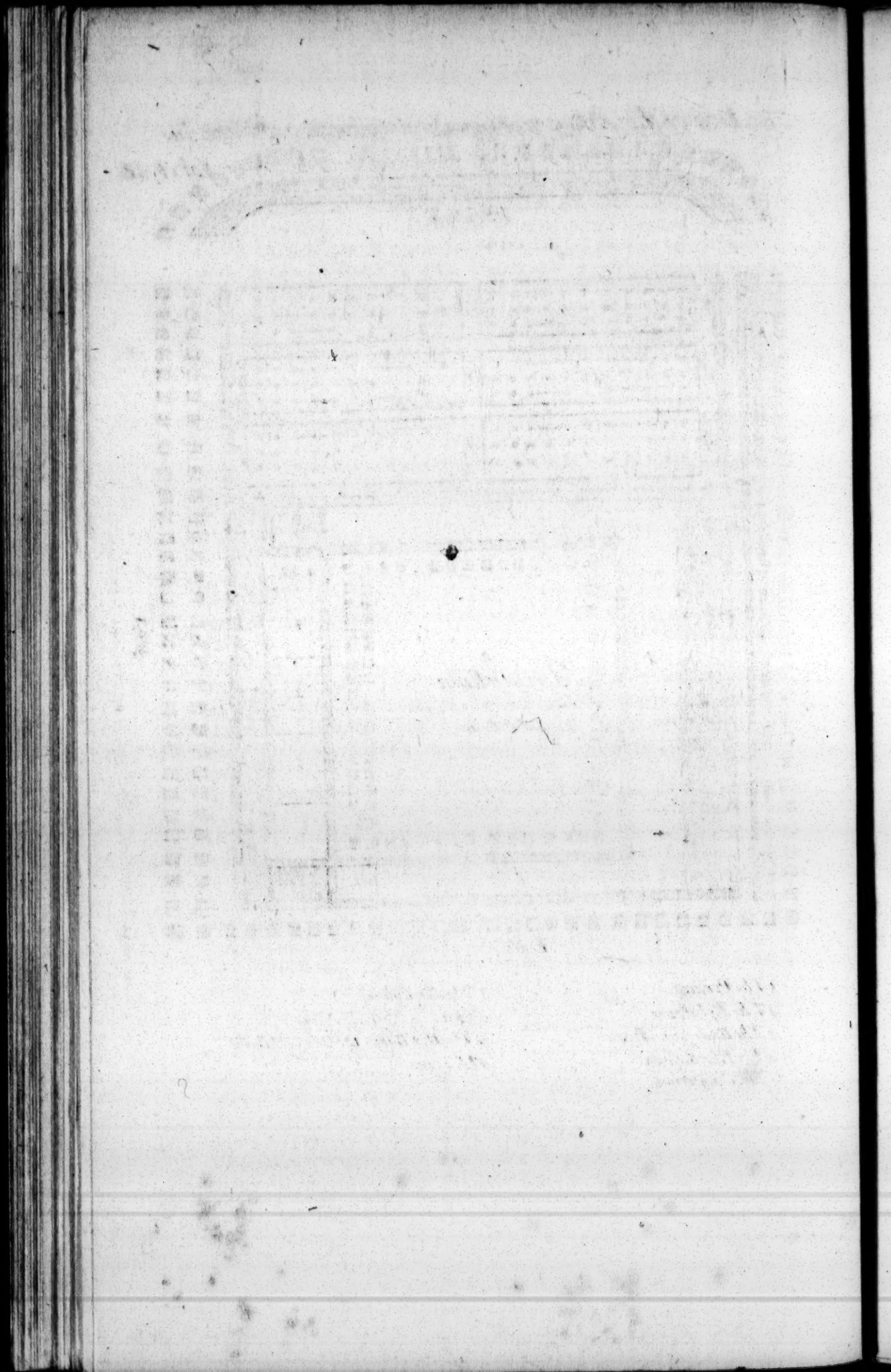
The Area of the Palæstra or Gymnasium according to Vitruvius.

Vol. I. p. 38.



- 1 The Porticos
- 2 The Ephebeum
- 3 The Undressing Room
- 4 The Elætheſium
- 5 The Coniſterium

- 8 The Periſtylum
- 9 Xyſta a. Xyſta cū ſilvis
- 10 The Hot Baths 10* The Cold Baths
- a The ſtove



7. *Σταδιστήριον*, a Place appointed for divers Sorts of Exercises, but more especially for the Ball.

8. The Spaces between the *Portico's* and the Wall, left void to admit the Light, and the *Area* of the *Περύλιον*, or *Piazza*, which was a large Place square, or sometimes oblong, in the Middle of the *Gymnasium*, design'd for Walking, and the Performance of those Exercises, which were not practis'd in the *Palaestra*, or the deeper Sand, or any other Place of the *Gymnasium*; such were (as some are of Opinion) Leaping, and the *Discus*.

9. *Ξυστοί*, and *Ξύστρα*, which were distinct Places both in *Greece*, and *Rome*. *Ξυστοί* were Places cover'd at the Top, design'd for the Exercise of Wrestlers, when the Weather did not permit them to contend in the open Air. *Ξύστρα*, sometimes call'd *Περὶ δρυμίδας*, were Walks open at the Top, design'd for Exercises, or Recreation in the Heat of Summer, and milder Seasons of the Winter.

10. The Baths, in which were Waters hot and cold in different Degrees, and in these they refreshed themselves, when they were wearied with Exercise, and at other Times. Amongst the ancient *Greeks*, Baths were not much frequented, being rarely used but after the Accomplishment of some very great Work, which required Abundance of Labour and Toil, as the Ending of a War, or, achieving any great and painful Enterprize (s). And thus *Agamemnon*, after the *Trojan War*, at his Return Home, went into the Bath, there to wash away the Remembrance of all his past Labours, and was slain by the Treachery of his Wife *Clytemnestra* (t). In latter Ages they became more common, and were frequently used for Health or Recreation by both Sexes, who at *Sparta* wash'd in one common Bath, but in other Cities had distinct Places appointed them.

11. The *Stadium* was a large Semicircle, in which Exercises were perform'd; and for the better Convenience of Spectators, which flocked thither in vast Multitudes, was built with Steps one above another, that the higher Ranks might look over the Heads of those that were plac'd below them. Several of these there were at *Athens* in their *Gymnasia*, and other Places; but the most remarkable was that which was built near the River *Ilissus* by *Lycurgus*, and afterwards enlarged by *Herodes Atticus*, one of the richest Citizens *Athens* ever had; it was built of *Pentelick Marble*, with so great Magnificence, that, when *Pausanias* comes to speak of it, he tells his Readers that they would hardly believe what he was about to tell them, it being a Wonder to all that beheld it, and of that stupendous Bigness, that one would judge it a Mountain of white Marble upon the Banks of *Ilissus*. Sir George Wheeler reports, that at this Day there remains some of the Stone-Work at the End towards the River, but the rest is only a *Stadium* of Earth above Ground. However, its Figure and Bigness continue, tho' the Degrees be all taken away. It is a long Place with two parallel Sides, closed up circularly to the East End, and open towards the other End; and is about one hundred twenty-five Geometrical Paces long, and twenty-six or twenty-seven broad, which

(s) *Artemidorus Oneirocrit.* lib. I.

(t) *Lycophron.*

gave it the Name of a *Stadium*, which was a Measure ordinarily used among the *Greeks*, being the eighth Part of a *Roman Mile*.

Athens had several *Gymnasia*, of which these three are of most Note, *Lyceum*, *Academia*, and *Cynesarges*. *Λυκείον*, *Lyceum*, was situated upon the Banks of *Ilissus*, it received its Name from *Apollo*, *Λυκοτρόφος*, or *Λύκος*, to whom it was dedicated; nor was it without Reason (saith *Plutarch*) that this Place was sacred to *Apollo*, but upon a good and rational Account, since from the same Deity that cures our Diseases, and restores our Health, we may reasonably expect Strength and Ability, to contend in the Exercises (u). The Building of this Structure is by some ascribed to *Pisistratus*, by others to *Pericles*, and by others to *Lycurgus*; which makes it probable that all of them might contribute something towards it; and perhaps *Pisistratus* laid the Foundations of it, *Pericles* raised it, *Lycurgus* enlarged and beautified it.

This was the Place where *Aristotle* taught Philosophy, and discoursed with such as resorted to him for Instructions, walking constantly every Day till the Hour of anointing; for the *Greeks* usually anointed before Meals; whence he and his Followers were call'd *Περπατητικοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς περπατητῆς*, *Peripateticks*, from walking (w). Tho' others report, that his walking and discoursing Philosophy with *Alexander* was the Occasion of that Name.

Ἀκαδημία was Part of the *Ceramicus* without the City, from which it was distant about six *Stadia*, so call'd from *Academos* an old Hero, who when *Helena* was stolen by *Theseus*, and conceal'd at *Aphidna*, discover'd her to *Castor* and *Pollux*, for which Reason he was extremely honour'd by them during his Life; and the *Lacedæmonians*, when in After-Ages they made several Incurfions into *Attica*, and destroy'd all the Country round about, always spared this Place for his Sake. But *Dicæarchus* writes, that there were two *Arcadians* in the Army of *Castor* and *Pollux*, the one call'd *Echedemus*, and the other *Marathus*; from the former, that which was afterwards called the *Academy*, was then nam'd *Echedemia*, and the Borough of *Marathon* had its Name from the latter. Thus *Plutarch* (x). It was beset with shady Woods and solitary Walks fit for Study and Meditation, as the Poets and others witness. This Verse is cited out of *Eupolis* (y).

Ἐν σκιαῖς δρόμων Ἀκαδημίδος Ἰδῶ.

In *Academos's* shady Walks.

And *Horace* speaks to the same Purpose,

Atque inter sylvas Hecademi querere verum (z).

In *Hecademos's* Groves to search for Truth,

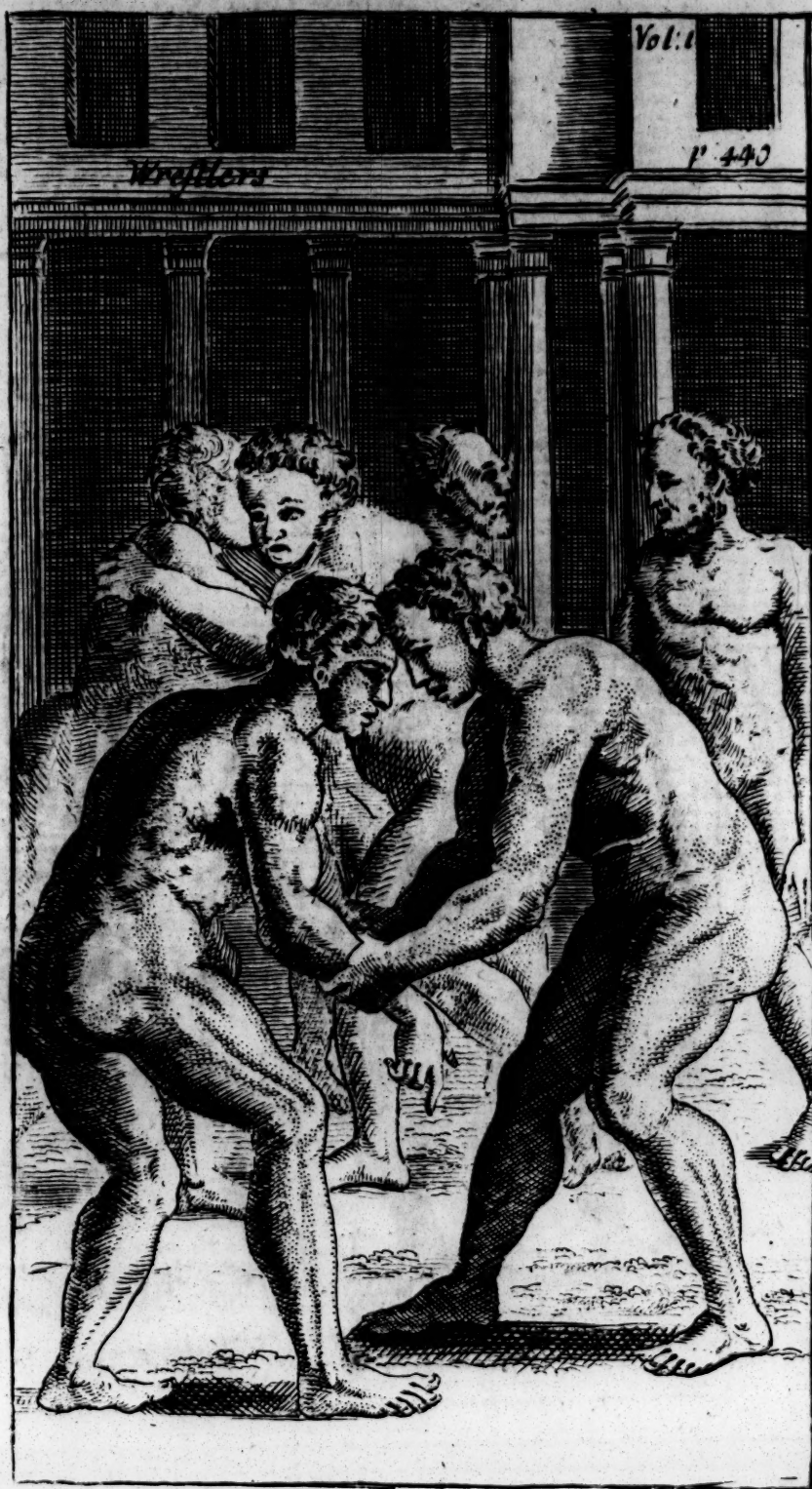
At the first it was a desert Place, and uninhabited by Reason of the Fens and Marshes that were in it, and rendered it very unhealthful; but they being drain'd by *Cimon*, it became pleasant and delightful, and was much frequented by all Sorts of People, especially such as applied themselves to the Study of Philosophy, for they resorted thither in great Number to *Plato's* Lectures, who read constantly in

(u) *Plutarch*, in *Symo.* I. VIII. Q. IV. (w) *Suidas*, &c. (x) *Theseo.* (y) In *Ἀγανέρτας.* (z) *Lib.* II. Ep. II.

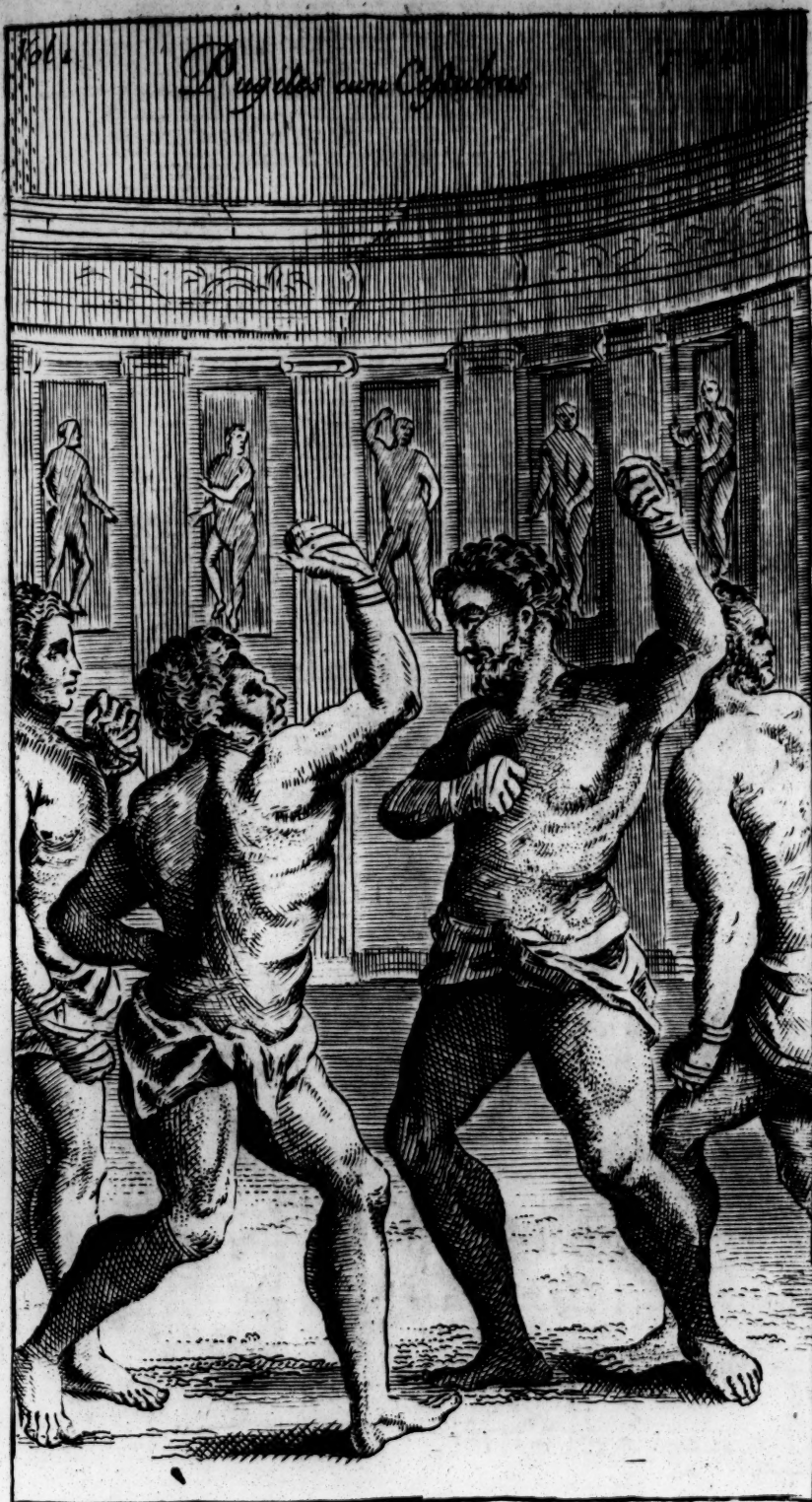
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this Place; whence having contracted a Distemper through the Un-wholefomeness of the Air, which was not yet wholly rectified, and, being advised by his Physicians to remove his School to the *Lyceum*, made Answer, that he chose the *Academy* to keep his Body under, lest by too much Health it should become wanton, and more difficult to be govern'd by the Dictates of Reason; as Men prune Vines, when they spread too far, and lop off the Branches that grow too luxuriant (a). I must not forget to add, that it was surrounded with a Wall by *Hipparchus* the Son of *Pisistratus*, who, to defray the Charges of it, laid so heavy a Tax upon the People, that ever after any chargeable and expensive Business was call'd *ἱππαρχικὸν τίμημα*.

Κυνόσαυρος was a Place in the Suburbs near the *Lyceum*, so call'd from a white or swift Dog, in Greek *κύων ἄργυρος*, that, when *Dionysus* was sacrificing to *Hercules*, snatch'd away Part of the Victim (b). It was adorn'd with several Temples, dedicated to *Hebe*, *Alcmena*, and *Iolaus*, all which bore some Relation to *Hercules*, the chief Deity of the Place, and he also was here honour'd with a magnificent Temple. But there was nothing in it so remarkable as the *Gymnasium*, in which Strangers, and those that were but of the Half-Blood, or had but one Parent an *Athenian*, were to perform their Exercises, because *Hercules*, to whom it was consecrated, was under some Illegitimacy, and was not one of the immortal Gods, but had a mortal Woman for his Mother: And therefore *Themistocles*, being but of the Half-Blood, persuaded divers of the young Noblemen to accompany him to anoint and exercise themselves at *Cynosarges*; in doing which, he seem'd with some Ingenuity to take away the Distinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger: And between those of the whole, and those of the Half-Blood of *Athens* (c). There was also a Court of Judicature in this Place, wherein Causes about Illegitimacy were heard, and Examination made concerning Persons that lay under a Suspicion of having falsely inserted their Names among the true-born *Athenians* (d). In this *Gymnasium*, *Antisthenes* instituted a Sect of Philosophers call'd *Κυνικοί*, *Cynicks*, from the Name of the Place (e), as some are of Opinion.

All *Theatres* were dedicated to *Bacchus* and *Venus* (f), the Deities of Sports and Pleasure; to the former of which they are said to owe their Original (g), and therefore Plays acted in them were call'd *Διονυσιακά*, and the Artificers that labour'd in the Building of them *Διονυσιακοὶ, τῆχνηται*, as belonging to *Διόνυσος* or *Bacchus*.

The most ancient *Theatres* were temporary, being composed of nothing but Boards placed gradually above each other, for the Convenience of Spectators, and therefore they were call'd *Ἱσπία* (h). But those slight Buildings had well nigh proved fatal to the Commonwealth, for almost the whole City, as well the Magistracy and Nobility, as those of inferior Ranks, being assembled, as their Manner was, to hear *Pratinas* act a Tragedy; the *Theatre*, too weak to support the vast Weight of thronging Multitudes, on a sudden tumbled

(a) *Basil. Mag. lib. de legend. Gentil. libris.* (b) *Hesych. aliiqve innumeri.*
(c) *Plutarch. Themistocle.* (d) *Nonnus Monachus in Collect. Hist.* (e) *Diog. Laert.*
Antisthenes. (f) *Lactant. I. VI.* (g) *Polydor. Virg. l. III. c. 13.* (h) *Hesychius.*
down,

down, and wanted not much of burying them in its Ruins (i). This narrow Escape made them more cautious, and was the Occasion of erecting a Theatre of Stone, for their better Security. And from this Time the Athenians, whose Example the rest of the Grecians follow'd not long after, erected fix'd and double Theatres of Stone, commonly of Marble, which by Degrees were increased to that Magnitude, that they exceeded almost all other Buildings in Greece.

The Figure of Theatres was semicircular, tho' they were not exact Semicircles, but contain'd the bigger Half of the Circle, and therefore *Amphitheatres*, which were made in the same Figure, as if two Theatres should be join'd together, were not nicely orbicular, but oval. They consisted of two Parts, *Σκηνή*, *Scena*, and *Καῖλον*, *Cavea*. *Scena* was a Partition assign'd for the Actors, reaching quite cross the Theatre, which at the first, agreeable to the ancient Simplicity, was dress'd with Boughs and Leaves, but in more expensive Ages was adorn'd with rich and costly Hangings, to hide the Management of Machines, and other Actions of the Players from the Spectators. It was either so framed as that it might be turn'd round, and then it was call'd *Versatilis*, or drawn up, and then it was *Ductilis*, and this Way is usually practis'd in our Theatres, in changing the Prospect. It had three principal Gates, one upon the right Hand, another upon the left, by which were presented meaner and smaller Edifices; and a third in the Middle, by which more magnificent Structures, as Temples of the Gods, or Palaces of Kings, were brought in View; and on each Side of the Gate was a lesser Entrance, thro' which the Persons either of Gods, or Men, were introduced by various Machines and Instruments, the Names whereof you may find explain'd in *Julius Pollux* (k). The whole Scene was divided into several Parts, the most remarkable whereof are these:

Βροντήιον, a Place underneath the Floor, wherein were kept brazen Vessels, full of Stones and other Materials, with which they imitated the Noise of Thunder.

Ἐπισκήμιον, a Place upon the Top of the Scene, in which all the Machines, whereby they presented the various Figures and Prospects, were moved.

Παρασκήμιον, the Tiring-room, a Place behind the Scenes, wherein the Actors dress'd and adorn'd themselves.

Προσκήμιον, the Stage, a Place before the Scenes, in which the Players acted. And *Ὀρχήστρα* was that Part in which the Chorus used to dance and sing, in the Middle of which was placed the Pulpit, in Greek *Δοξίον*, or *Θυμέλη*.

ὑποσκήμιον, a Partition under the Pulpit, appointed for the Musick.

The *Καῖλον*, or *Cavea*, was appointed for the Spectators, and consisted of three Parts placed in equal Degrees one above another; the lowest of which belonged to Persons of Quality and Magistrates; the Middle to the Commonalty; the Uppermost to the Women.

And because Theatres were open at the Top, they erected Portico's behind the *Cavea*, whither they retired for Shelter in rainy Weather.

(i) *Suidas* in *Περίτιμας*.

(k) *Onomast.* l. IV. c. 19.

Athens had three Harbours for Ships.

1. Πειραιὺς, *Piræus*, which belong'd to the Tribe of *Hippothoonis*, and was thirty-five or forty *Stadia* distant from the City, before the Buildings of the long Walls, which have been already mention'd. From which Time the Athenians, by the Direction of *Themistocles*, made this their chief Harbour. It contain'd three ἔρμωι, or *Docks*; the first call'd Κάβαρος, from an Hero of that Name. The second Ἀφροδίτην, from *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, who had there two Temples, one of which was consecrated by *Themistocles*, the other by *Conon*. The third Ζέα, from *Bread Corn*, which is call'd by the Grecians Ζυά. There were likewise in this Harbour five *Portico's*, which, being join'd together, compos'd one very large *Portico*, which was on that Account commonly term'd Μακρὰ σοά. The *Piræus* had farther two *Forums*; one near the long *Portico*, and the Sea; the other farther distant from the Sea; and for that Reason chiefly frequented by those who lived nearest the City. One of these seem to have been call'd Ἱπποδάμιον, from the Architect *Hippodamus*, who built the long Wall, whereby this Harbour was join'd to the City. Here was a most celebrated Mart, to which Merchants resorted from almost every Part of Greece. Whence came the proverbial Saying, Τὸν Πειραιέα κενὰ γὰρ μὴ φέρειν, That *Famine and Emptiness* do not come from *Piræus*. This Harbour, tho' once very populous and well inhabited, was reduced to a very few Houses in the Time of *Strabo*, who flourish'd under the Emperors *Augustus* and *Tiberius*; having been burnt by *Sylla* in the *Mithridatick War*.

2. Μουνυχία, *Munychia*, which was a Promontory not far distant from *Piræus*, extended not unlike to a *Peninsula*, and well fortified both by Nature, and afterwards, at the Instance of *Thrasybulus*, by Art. The Name was derived from one *Munychus*, who dedicated in this Place a Temple to *Diana*, firnam'd Μουνυχία, which yet others report to have been founded by *Embarus*.

3. Φαληρόν, *Phalerum*, which belong'd to the Tribe *Antiochis*, and was distant from the City thirty-five *Stadia*, according to *Thucydides*; but in *Pausanias's* Account (1) only twenty. This was the most ancient of the three Harbours: And from hence *Theseus* is reported to have fet Sail for *Crete*; and afterwards *Mnestheus* for *Troy*.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Citizens, Tribes, &c. of Athens.

THE Inhabitants of *Attica* were of three Sorts, 1. Πολῖται, or Freemen. 2. Μέτοικοι, or Sojourners. 3. Δέσλοι, or Servants. The Citizens surpass'd the others in Dignity and Power, as having the Government in their Hands, but were far exceeded by the Slaves in Number, many Slaves being often subject to one Citizen. The Number of Citizens in *Cecrops* Time, I have already said, was twenty

(1) *Arcadicis* p. 471. Edit. *Hanov.*

thousand; in *Pericles's* there were not so many, as appears from *Plutarch* (m); and when *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* was the Governor, they exceeded their first Number under *Cecrops* only by one thousand; at the same Time Foreigners were ten thousand, and the Slaves four hundred thousand, as appears from a Poll instituted at the Command of *Demetrius*, and mention'd in *Athenæus* (n).

Whence it is evident, that the Increase of the *Athenians* themselves was very inconsiderable, but those growing Numbers of Inhabitants, that swell'd the City to that Bigness, to which it was extended in After-Ages, were either of Slaves, or Strangers, who for the Advantage of Study, or Trade, or for other Conveniencies, settled themselves at *Athens*; and of these two Sorts, in the Time of *Cecrops*, it is probable there were few or none, because, through the Scarcity of Men in his new-form'd Government, for the Encouragement of Foreigners to settle there, he was forc'd to allow them the same Privileges that were enjoy'd by the Natives. And there is a very ancient Law mention'd by the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes* (o), whereby all Foreigners, who intended to live at *Athens*, were obliged, after a short Stay in that City, to be enroll'd amongst the free Citizens.

And for several Ages after, it was no difficult Matter to obtain the Freedom of the City; but when the *Athenian* Power grew great, and their glorious Actions rendered them famous thro' all *Greece*, this Privilege was accounted a very great Favour, and granted to none but Men of the greatest Birth, or Reputation, or such as had perform'd some notable Piece of Service for the Commonwealth. Nor was it without much Difficulty to be obtain'd even by them; *Menon* the *Pharsalian*, who had sent the *Athenians* a Supply of two hundred Horse, in the War against *Eon* near *Amphipolis*, desired it, and was rejected. And *Perdiccas*, King of *Macedonia*, after having assisted them against the *Persians*, could obtain no more than a bare *ἀριστεία*, or Immunity from Tribute, paid by those that sojourned amongst them, but no Right of Suffrage, or other Privileges common to the Freemen.

And after *Mardonius* and the *Persians* were defeated at *Platæa*, it was decreed by an express Law, that none but Men eminent for Merit should be admitted into the Number of Citizens (p).

But this peremptory Stiffness, which Success and Victory had put into them, did not always make them so obstinate, nor hinder, but that many Worthies, tho' neither equal in Birth, nor Fortune, to the former, were enroll'd amongst the Citizens; such were *Hippocrates* the Physician, *Euryfaces* the Son of *Ajax*, with many others, beside the whole City of the *Platæans*, to which they granted Freedom, for their signal Services in the *Persian* War. But by these Grants, though the Number of the Citizens may be said to have been increased, yet nothing was added to the Number of Inhabitants, which remain'd still the same, because the Persons, thus admitted, seldom made Use of their Privilege, and sued for it rather as a Title of Honour, than with a Design to be any ways advantaged by it.

(m) *Pericles*. (n) *Deipnos*. l. VI. (o) *Ranis*. (p) *Auctor Orationis in Nearam*.

This Privilege could not be conferr'd by any besides the popular Assembly, whence the Citizens thus admitted were call'd *Δημογενεῖς*, in Opposition to the Freeborn. Neither was the first Gift of the People to take Effect, unless they thought fit to ratify it in a second Assembly, wherein six thousand Citizens were required to be present. And, for Fear the Authority or Interest of any Person should sway them to comply with such Requests against their Inclinations, they gave their Votes privately, by casting little Stones into Urns, placed on Purpose in their Assemblies by the *Prytanes*, who were also obliged to provide a sufficient Number of Stones for the Suffragants; nay, farther, till all had done voting, the Strangers that petition'd for Freedom were not permitted to come into the Place of the Assembly. And after all this, if any one appear'd to be undeserving of the Honour they had conferr'd upon him, an Appeal might be made to a certain Court, which had Power to enquire into the Lives and Conditions of these Persons, and deprive such as they found unworthy, by recalling the Freedom which had been granted thro' the Ignorance and Inconsideration of the Multitude; and this Disgrace befel *Pytholaus*, the *Theffalian*, and *Apollonides*, the *Olynthian* (q). It was further provided by *Solon*, that none should live at *Athens* as free Citizens, except such as were banish'd from their own Country, or voluntarily came to reside at *Athens* with their whole Families. Whereby he, no doubt, intended to prevent all such from enjoying the Privileges of *Athens*, who had greater Alliances and Interests in other Places (r).

The Manner of Admission was by declaring that such an one was incorporated amongst the *Denizens* of *Athens*, and invested with all the Honours, Privileges, and Immunities belonging to them; and had a Right to partake of, and assist at the Performance of all their Holy Rites and Mysteries, except such as were appropriated to certain noble Families, such as were the *Eumolpidae*, *Ceryces*, *Cynidae*, which had certain Priesthoods and holy Offices peculiar to themselves; or (as others are of Opinion) they were excluded from all the Offices of Priesthood of whatever Denomination: Which is the more probable, because the freeborn *Athenians* were themselves excluded from those Offices which were appropriated to the sacred Families. Except also the Offices of the nine *Archons*, which none but freeborn *Athenians* were allow'd to execute; that neither the Religion, nor the Management of Publick Affairs might be entrusted in foreign Hands. Yet this extended not to the Children of Citizens thus adopted, who were allow'd all the Privileges of Natives. Lastly, they were admitted into a certain Tribe, and Hundred, and so the Ceremony ended (s).

Freeborn *Athenians* were those that had both, or one of their Parents an *Athenian*. *Aristotle* tells us, that in several Commonwealths, at the first, those were accounted free, that were born of a Free-woman; but when the Number of Inhabitants increased, such only were esteem'd free, as were descended from Parents that were both free (t). And so it came to pass in *Athens*; where it was decreed by *Solon*, that

(q) *Demost. Orat. in Neæram.* (r) *Plutarchus, Solone.* (s) *Demosthen. Orat. in Neæram.* (t) *Aristotel. Polit. lib. III. c. 5.*

none begotten out of lawful Marriage, which could then be celebrated only between Free-Citizens, should have Right to inherit their Father's Estate. This appears from the following Words of *Aristophanes*:

Ἐρῶ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σολῶνος σοὶ νόμον·

Νόμον δὲ μὴ εἶναι ἀσχετήριον (u).

But this Law was afterwards abrogated by the tacit Consent of the Commonwealth, till the Time of *Pericles*, who when he flourish'd in the State, and had Sons lawfully begotten, proposed a Law, that those only should be reputed true Citizens of *Athens*, who were born of Parents that were both *Athenians*; and having prevail'd with the People to give their Consent to it, little less than five thousand were deprived of their Freedom, and sold for Slaves; and those who enduring the Test, remain'd in the Government, and past Muster for true-born *Athenians*, were found in the Poll to be fourteen thousand and forty Persons in Number. But *Pericles* himself afterwards, having lost all his legitimate Sons, so far persuaded the *Athenians*, that they cancell'd the Law, and granted that he should enroll his Bastard Sons in the Register of his own Ward, by his paternal Name; thinking that by those Losses he had been sufficiently punished for his former Arrogance; and therefore being of Opinion, that he had been shrewdly handled by the Divine Vengeance, of which he had run so severe a Gantlope, and that his Request was such as became a Man to ask, and Men to grant. Thus *Plutarch* (w). But this Law was again repealed by *Aristophan* the Orator, after the Expulsion of the thirty Tyrants, *Euclides* being *Archon*; at which Time the ancient Law was revived, That all, whose Mothers were not Citizens, should be nothi, illegitimate (x). For legitimate Children are those who are born of lawful Wives, who must be Free-Citizens, others being only reputed Concubines. And thus Grammarians commonly explain *Nothus*: Νόθος ὁ ἐκ ξένης, ἢ παλλακίδος. *Nothus*, a Bastard, is one born of a Stranger, or an Harlot. But γήσιος, a legitimate Son, is interpreted by the same Persons, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀπὸς νόμιμης, ἢ ἐκ νομίμου γάμου, One born of a Citizen, and a Wife, or one born in lawful Matrimony (y).

And those that were only of the Half-Blood, when they were invested with Freedom, were always reputed inferior, and less honourable than those that were of the whole; and several Marks and Customs they had to distinguish them from the others, as particularly, that those, who had but one Parent an *Athenian*, were not allow'd to exercise themselves in any of the *Gymnasia*, that were frequented by those who had both; but only at the *Cynosarges*, a Place without the City; and that this was esteem'd a Mark of Disgrace, is evident from the Practice of *Themistocles*, who was but of the Half-Blood of *Athens*; and to take away, or at least lessen this Distinction, used to engage the noble *Athenians* to go and perform their Exercises with him (z). In the same Place there was a Court of Judicature, where Persons suspected of having fraudulently insinuated themselves into the Number

(u) *Avibus* p. 602. edit. *Amstelod.* (w) In *Pericle*. (x) *Corymbus* Ἰερόσιμον ἀπομνηστικῶν lib. III. (y) *Homeri Scholiastes* in *Iliad*. V. *Julius Pollux* lib. III. (z) *Plutarch*, in *Themistocle*.

and Privileges of Citizens were arraign'd. This was reputed a very great Offence; infomuch that whoever had *δίκη τῆς ἐξίας* (so this Action was term'd) preferr'd against him, was immediately made a close Prisoner, and put in Chains, before he could be brought before the Judges (a). Neither was it a sufficient Vindication to have been once acquitted by his proper Judges. But it was customary to bring the Cause to a second Hearing, before the *Thesmothetæ*, if there was any just Cause to suspect, that he had been too favourably treated.

And in order to clear the City of pretended and false Members, it was decreed in the second Year of the ninetieth Olympiad, *Archias* being then *Archon*, that a strict Inquisition should be made into Causes of this Nature by Men of the same Borough with the Criminal. This Inquisition was term'd *Διακρίσεις*, and perform'd in the following Method (b). When any Person was accused, the *Δημάρχος*, or Prefect of the Borough (*Δῆμος*) to whose Custody was committed the *ἐπιγραφὴν γραμματεῖον*, or Publick Register of the Citizens, convened together the Members of his Borough (*δημόται*). Then the Names of all the Citizens of that Borough being recited out of the Register, the Criminal was obliged to signify the particular *φρατρία*, or Ward, whereof he pretended himself a Member, and to prove his Right of Succession by sufficient Witnesses. Or in Case he claim'd his Freedom from the Gift of the People, and not by Inheritance, the publick Decree of the popular Assembly, whereby his Privilege had been conferr'd, was to be produced. Then the *δημόται*, having first taken an Oath to determine according to the Rules of Justice, and maturely deliberated upon the Evidence, privately gave their Opinions, in doing which they commonly used *Leaves* or *Beans*. If the white Beans were found superior in Number, the Prisoner was acquitted: But if the Black appear'd to be most numerous, then he was deprived of his Freedom, and after that call'd *ἀποκρίσιμος*, as the Action of condemning him was term'd *ἀποκρίσεις* (c). And this Verdict was to be given in before Sun-set; the Consequence whereof was this, that the Person deprived of his Freedom should be reckon'd amongst the *Μέτοικοι*, Sojourners. But if he would not acquiesce in the Determination of his own Borough, an Appeal was granted to the *Thesmothetæ*, who having assign'd proper Judges to hear his Appeal, he was either restored to his Family; or, if the former Sentence appear'd to be just and well grounded, he was sold for a Slave.

Farther to prevent all Frauds and Contentions of this Nature, all Fathers were obliged to enroll their Sons in the Register of their particular *φρατρία*, term'd *κοινὸν γραμματεῖον*. At which Time they made Oath, that every Son so registered was either born to them in lawful Matrimony, or lawfully adopted (d). Notwithstanding which, the *φράτορες*, or Members of that Ward, had the Liberty of rejecting any Person, against whom sufficient Evidence appear'd, concerning which they voted by private Suffrages (e). Yet if any Person was unjustly

(a) Demosthenes & Ulpianus in *Timocrat.* (b) Harpocratio. Olympiad, descriptor anonymus. (c) Demosthenes in *Eubul.* Pollux lib. VIII. Hesych. Suidas. (d) Isæus de *Apollodori* hæred. (e) Demosthenes in *Macart.*

rejected by the Men of his own Ward, he was allow'd to appeal to the Magistrates (f); by whom, if he was declared to be lawfully born or adopted, he was then register'd by his own and his Father's Name, in this Form, Θράσυλλος Ἀπολλοδώρου, *Thrasylus the Son of Apollodorus* (g). The adopted Sons were register'd upon the Festival *Thargelia*, in the Month *Thargelion*; the natural, upon the third Day of the Festival *Apaturia*, call'd *Καριώτης*, in the Month *Pyanepsion*. At what Age Children were thus register'd is not agreed. Some are of Opinion, that at every Return of the *Apaturia*, it was customary to register all the Children, who had been born that Year (h). Others affirm, that they were commonly three or four Years old before they were register'd (i). *Cnemon* in *Heliandorus* (k) is enroll'd after he has learn'd the Letters of the Alphabet. And the *Chorus*, in the *Ranæ* of *Aristophanes* (l), reflects upon *Archdemus*, as not having been admitted into the Number of the *φράτορες*, till he was *ἐπλήτης*, seven Years old:

Βέλεσθε δὴ τὰ κοινῇ

Σκώφωμαι Ἀρχέδημον,

Ὃς ἐπλήτης ὦν οὐκ ἔφουδε φράτορας.

Whereby they seem to intimate, that he had fraudulently insinuated himself into the Number of the Citizens, it being usual for those, who were freeborn, to be register'd before that Age, as we are there inform'd by the Greek Scholiast; tho' the Time of doing it appears from the foremention'd Instances to have been unfix'd and arbitrary.

There were two other Seasons when young *Athenians* were enroll'd in a publick Register, which, being by some learned Men confounded with the Time of registering already mention'd, may not unfitly be explain'd in this Place. The second Time therefore, wherein they were register'd, was when they arrived at the Age of eighteen Years, when (as we are expressly told by *Julius* (m) *Pollux*) they were admitted into the Number of the *Ἐφηβοί*. And this Registering seems to have been mistaken for the former, because both were done on the same Day, viz. the third Day of the Festival *Apaturia*, which, as some think, was call'd *Καριώτης*, ἀπὸ τοῦ καίρειν τὴν κόμην, because they, who were enroll'd amongst the *Ephēbi*, used then to shave their Hair, which it was customary to consecrate to some of the Gods; which Ceremony was never perform'd till a long Time after the Age, at which they were admitted amongst the *φράτορες*, and therefore must belong to the other Time of Registering.

The third Time of registering young *Athenians* was before the Festival *Panathenæa* (n), when those who were twenty Years old were introduced at a publick Meeting of the *δημόται*, Men of the same (δῆμος) Borough, and entered in a Register call'd *λεξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, wherein the Names of all Persons of that Borough, who were of Age to succeed in the *ἀθήκη*, or Inheritance of their Fathers, were enter'd (o).

(f) Idem in *Neæram*. (g) *Isæus* Orat. citat. (h) Etymologici magni Auctor. V. Ἀπαύρια. (i) *Proclus* in *Platonis Timæum*. (k) Lib. I. (l) *Act. I. Scen. VII.* p. 231. Edit. Aurel. Allobrog. (m) Lib. VIII. cap. 9. (n) *Demosthenes* in *Leocorrem*. (o) *Pollux* loco citato.

This was term'd *ἡ ἀνδρῶν ἐγγραφή*, to be registered amongst the Men; the Persons, thus enroll'd, being henceforwards their own Masters, and free from the Government of their Guardians.

After *Cecrops* had settled a Form of Government amongst the *Athenians*, for the better Administration of Justice, and the Prevention of Deceit, and over-reaching one another in Commerce, he divided them into four *Φυλαί*, or *Tribes*; each *Tribe* he subdivided into three Parts, call'd *Τριτύς*, *Ἔθνος*, or *Φαλῖα*; and each of these into thirty *Γέν*, or Families; which, because they consisted of thirty Men, were call'd *Τριακάδες*; and they that were Members of these were call'd *Ὀμοβίλαυτοι*, and *Γενήται*, not from any Relation to one another, but only because they liv'd in the same Borough, and were educated together, and join'd in one Body or Society; the same Persons were call'd *Ὀργάνες*, because they participated of the same Sacrifices, and worshipped the same Gods together, from *Ὀργία*, which, tho' it properly signifies only the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, yet is often taken for the Ceremonies used in the Worship of any other Deity (p).

The Names of the *Tribes* were these, 1. *Κεκροπίς*, from *Cecrops*, for it was usual with the Ancients, out of an earnest Desire of continuing their Memories to Posterity, to call Cities or Countries, or any Monuments that seem'd likely to remain to succeeding Ages, by their own Names. 2. *Αὐτόχθων*, from a King of that Name, reported by some to have reign'd in some Part of *Attica* before *Cecrops*; or rather from the Name of *Αὐτόχθονες*, in which the *Athenians* gloried not a little. 3. *Ἀκταία*, from *Αἰαεύς*, or *Αἰαέων*, another of the Kings before *Cecrops*; or from *ἀκτὴ*, which signifies a *Shore*, because a great Part of *Attica*, and that in particular, where this *Tribe* inhabited, lay towards the Sea: And this was the Reason why the whole Country was sometimes call'd *Αἰε*. And the same Cause is given for the Name of the fourth *Tribe*, which they call'd *Παραλία*, from its Nearness to the Sea.

In the Reign of *Cranaus*, new Names were impos'd upon them, and they were call'd, 1. *Κραναις*, from the King's Name. 2. *Ἀρθίς*, from a young Lady, the Daughter of *Cranaus*. 3. *Μισόβεια*. 4. *Διακρίς*. And both these, I suppose, were nam'd from their Situation; the latter being seated upon a craggy Shore, and the former in the inland Part of the Country.

Erichthonius, being advanced to the Kingdom, call'd them after the Names of *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, *Neptune*, and *Vulcan*, 1. *Διάς*. 2. *Ἀθηνίης*. 3. *Ποσειδωνίης*. 4. *Ἡφαιστίης* (q).

Afterwards, under *Erechtheus*, they received new Names from the Sons of *Ion*, a Man of great Repute amongst the *Athenians*, and General of their Armies, as *Herodotus* reports (r). The Names were, 1. *Γελοῖον*. 2. *Ὀπλῖται*. 3. *Αἰγυρόεις*. 4. *Ἀσπιδες*. And of these Names *Euripides* is to be understood, when he introduces *Minerva* speaking thus of *Ion* (s):

Δαῖσσα τόνδε παῖδα, Κεκροπίαν χθόνα
Χῶρει, Κρήσσα, καὶς θρόνος τυραννικῆς.

(p) *Pollux*, lib. III. cap. 4. l. VIII. cap. 9. (q) *Pollux*, l. VIII. c. 9. (r) *Lib. VIII* cap. 44. (s) *Ion*. ad finem:

Ἰφυσὸν ἐκ γὰρ τῷ Ἐρεχθέως γένει,
 Δίκαιον ἄρειον τῆσιν ἐμῇς ὁδῇ χθονός,
 Ἔσται τὰν Ἑλλάδ' εὐκλής· οἱ τῶδε γὰρ
 Παῖδες γινόμενοι τέσσαρες ἔχουσιν μῆας
 Ἐπώνυμοι γῆς, καπιφυλίας χθονός
 Λαῶν ἔσονται, σκωπελὸν αἰ ναῖσιν ἐμὸν.

Here, Nurse *Creüsa*, since this Child by Birth
 Claims the just Priv'lege of *Erechtheus'* Line.
 Take him to *Athens*, and proclaim him King,
 For he hath just Pretensions to the Crown;
 His blooming Courage is a previous Sign,
 With how much Prowess, Policy, and Art
 Greece's Dominions he will sway; the Gods
 Shall bless him with four Sons, by whom, in *Tribes*,
 High seated *Athens* shall divided be,
 And bear her sev'ral Names derived from them. J. A.

And *Herodotus* (1) and *Pollux* are of the same Opinion, tho' they are herein contradicted by others, as we find in *Plutarch*, who hath likewise made some Alteration in the Names; his Words are these,
 "Some affirm that the *Tribes* did not take their Names from the
 "Sons of *Ion*, but from the different Sorts of Occupations, which
 "they followed; the Soldiers were call'd *Ὀπλίται*; the Craftsmen,
 "Ἐργάται; and of the remaining three, the Farmers, *Γεωργοὶ*; the
 "Shepherds and Grafiers, *Αἰγυκόται* (u)."

Afterwards, when the Number of Inhabitants was increased, *Cliff-benes*, having first advised with *Apollo's* Oracle, as it was usual to do in every Concern of Moment, alter'd the Number of the Tribes, increasing them from four to ten, and gave them new Names, taken from certain ancient Heroes, all born in *Attica*, except *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon*, to whom he gave a Place amongst the rest, as being a Neighbour, Friend, and Companion in the Wars (w); for, as *Homer* reports, *Ajax's* Forces were join'd to those of *Meneſtheus*, the *Athenian* General,

Αἶας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνός ἄγει δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
 ἔθηκε δ' ἄγων ἐν Ἀθηναίων ἱερὰντο φάλαγγας.

Twelve Ships from *Salamis* stout *Ajax* brought,
 And rank'd his Men, where the *Athenians* fought.
 Mr. Creech.

And *Plutarch* reports, that, when the *Athenians* and *Megarensians* both made Pretensions to *Salamis*, and chose the *Spartans* to decide the Controversy, these Lines of *Homer*, being produced by *Solon*, did the *Athenians* a considerable Kindness, serving very much to strengthen

(1) Lib. V. c. 66. (u) *Plutarch. Solone.* (w) *Herodot. & Pollux, loc. citatis.*
 their

their Title to that Island. To return, these Heroes, from the Names they gave to the Tribes, were call'd *κλάνες*, and honour'd with Statues erected near the Senate-house. Their Names, as recorded by Pausanias, are these, *Erechtheus*, *Cecrops*, *Ægeus*, *Pandion*, *Acamas*, *Antiochus*, *Leo*, *Oeneus*, *Hippothoon*, *Ajax*. And the Names of the Tribes are these, *Ἐρεχθίδης*, *Κεκροπίς*, *Αἰγυῖς*, *Πανδονίς*, *Ἀκαμαντίς*, *Ἀντιόχης*, *Λεωνίς*, *Οἰνίς*, *Ἱπποθωνίς*, *Αἰανίς*.

Afterwards, when *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* freed the *Athenians* from the *Macedonian* Slavery, they augmented their Tribes, adding two to their former Number, which, in Honour of their Deliverers, they call'd, from their Names, *Ἀντιγονίς* and *Δημητριάς* (x). But the Gratitude of the *Athenians* being no longer liv'd, than the good Fortune and Successes of those two Princes, the Tribes soon chang'd the first Names, for those of *Ἀττάλις* and *Πτολεμαῖς*, the former of which was derived from *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*; the latter from *Ptolemy*, King of *Ægypt*, from both of which the *Athenians* had receiv'd signal Favours (y).

This was the constant Number of the *Athenian* Tribes, which lasted as long as the City maintained its Liberty and Form of Government. Each of these was at the first divided into several Parts, which have been already mentioned. And the better to maintain a mutual Correspondence, and for the Promotion of good Fellowship and Kindness amongst them, they had publick Feasts, first instituted by *Solon*, where they all met together, and made merry (z). These Meetings were nam'd from the Persons assembled at them; if the whole Tribe came together, then they call'd it *δεῖπνον φιλετικόν*; if only one *φρατρία*, then it was *δεῖπνον φρατρικόν*, or of a *δήμος*, it was *δεῖπνον δημοτικόν*.

These *Δῆμοι* were little Boroughs in *Attica*, several of which belonged to every Tribe, and, though they were reckon'd together in the Business of the Commonwealth, yet had separate Habitations, distinct Rites and Ceremonies in the Performance of Holy Worship; nay, and different Gods too, for each of them ador'd peculiar Deities, and yet all unanimously agreed in worshipping *Minerva*, who was the Tutelar Goddess of the whole Country, whereas the other Deities had only certain Parts assign'd them, and in those they were inferior to *Minerva*, the supreme Governess. And this Difference in Religion was very ancient, being of no less Duration than the Commonwealth itself; for when *Theseus* had prevail'd upon them to leave their Country Seats, and unite themselves in one City, they thought it would be impious and unpardonable to desert the Gods of their Ancestors, and therefore judg'd it agreeable to the Respect due from them to their Tutelar Deities, to pay them the same Honours, and frequent the same Places of Worship they had formerly done (a).

The greatest Use of these *Δῆμοι* was in their Forms of Law and Contracts, whereby sufficient Provision was made against all Fraud, Deceit, and Mistakes. Hence we read of such punctual Clauses in their Writs, as these, *N. the Son of N. of the Tribe of Aiantus, of the Borough of Rhamnus, &c.*

(x) *Plutarch. Demetrio.* (y) *Stephan. V. Ἀττάλις & Πτολεμαῖς.* (z) *Athen. Deip. l. XV.* (a) *Livius, Pausan. Atticis.*

The Number of them was an hundred seventy-four (b), some of which, having the same Names, were distinguished by their Situation, being call'd καθύπερθε and ὑπέρθε, Upper and Lower. All of them were divided into Greater and Less; the μικροί, or Less, were these (c): *Alimufians, Zoster, Prospaltians, Anagyrasians, Cephale, Prasæis, Lampreis, Phyleis, Myrrbinusians, Atimonians, Acharnæ, Marathen, Brauron, Rbanus.* The rest were Greater, and may not unfitly be thus divided according to their Tribes.

Κ Ε Κ Ρ Ο Π Ι Σ.

Αἰζώνη	Συπαλητῖος
Δαυδαλίδαι	Τρηνιμεῖς
Ἐπικειδαι	Ἀθμονόν, ἢ Ἀθμονία
Εὐπήτη	Ἀλαί
Πόθθ	Φλύα.

Ε Ρ Ε Χ Θ Η Ι Σ.

Ἀβραύλη, ἢ Ἀβροίλη	Παμβωλίδαι
Εὐωνυμία, ἢ Εὐώνυμθ	Περσασή
Θήμακοι, ἢ Θήμακθ	Συδριδαι
Κηφισία	Φηγῆς
Δαμπερὰ καθύπερθε	Ἀναγυρεῖς
Δαμπερὰ ὑπέρθε, ἢ παρὰ ἄλγθ	Κήδαι.

Π Α Ν Δ Ι Ο Ν Ι Σ.

Ἀγγελή	Παιανία ὑπέρθε
Κυδαυνάων	Προβόλινθθ
Κυθέρων	Στεμιά
Ἄα, ἢ Ὀεῖς	Φηλαία
Παιανία καθύπερθε	Μυρζίνες.

Α Ι Γ Η Ι Σ.

Ἀλαί	Ἐρχθία
Ἀραφηνίδες, ἢ Ἀράφην	Ἐρίπρια
Βατή	Ἐχρία
Γαρήπτος	Ἰκαρία, ἢ Ἰκάριθ
Διομεία	Κολυτῖος.

(b) Eustatb. II. β' Strabo, I. IX. (c) Pausan. Atticis.

Κυδαλίδαι
Γλωθιαὶ
Τίθρας
Φηγαίαι

Φιλαίδαι
Χολλίδαι
Ίωμίδαι.

ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΣ.

Ἄλῃς
Εἰρισίδαι
Ἑρμῆς, ἢ Ἑρμοῖ
Ἡφαιτιάδαι
Θόρικ⊕
Ἰτιά

Κίκινα
Σφητῖδς
Χολαργεῖς, Χολαργία, ἢ Χόλαργος
Κεφαλή
Πρόσπαλτα
Κυρτιάδαι.

ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣ.

Λιθαλίδαι, ἢ Λιθαλία
Ἄφιδια
Διυράδες
Ἑκάλη
Εὐπυρίδαι
Κητίοι
Κρωπίαι
Λευκόμιον
Οἶον Κεράμεικον
Παιονίδαι

Πήληκες
Ποταμὸς
Σκαμβωνίδαι
Σόνιον
Ἵθάδαι
Φρέαρες
Μαραθῶν
Ἄλμιες
Χολεῖδαι.

ΙΠΠΟΘΟΩΝΤΙΣ.

Ἄζηρία
Ἀμαξαντιῶα
Ἀνάκαια
Ἀχραδῆς
Δικίλεια
Ἐλαιῦνς, ἢ Ἐλαιῶς
Ἐλεύσις
Ἐρσιάδαι

Θυμοιάδαι
Κειριάδαι
Κορυθαλλὸς
Οἶον Δεκελεικόν
Οἶνῃ πρὸς Ἐλευθέρας
Σφινδάλῃ
Κοίλα.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣ.

Αἰγίλια, ἢ Αἰγίλ⊕
Ἀλωπικὴ, ἢ Ἀλωπικαῖ

Ἀμφιτροπή
Ἀνάφλυς⊕

Ἀττική, ἢ Ἀττική
Βήσσα
Θοραί
Κριῶα
Λευκοπύρα
Μελαίνεις, ἢ Μέλαιναί

Παλλήνη
Πειρίη
Σημαχίδαί
Φάληρον
Λίκκον.

ΑΙΑΝΤΙΣ.

Οἶνη, πρὸς Μαραθῶν
Τιτακίδαί
Τρικέρυθ.

Ῥαμνῆς
Ψαφίδαί.

ΟΙΝΗΙΣ.

Βέτια, ἢ Βετιάδης
Ἐπικηφισία
Θρία, ἢ Θρίω
Ἰπποδαμάδαί
Λακία, ἢ Λακιάδαί
Λεσία
Μελίτη

Οἶ, ἢ Οἶη
Περθοίδαί
Πτελέα
Φυλῆ
Ἀχάρναι
Τυρμίδαί.

ΠΤΟΛΟΜΑΙΣ, ἢ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΙΣ.

Βερεικίδαί
Θυργωνίδαί

Κονθύλη.

ΑΤΤΑΛΙΣ, ἢ ΔΕΜΕΤΡΙΑΣ.

Ἀπολλωνεῖς.

Besides these there were several other Boroughs, of which it is uncertain what Tribes they belong'd to: Such are these,

Ἄγρια
Ἀγχῆσμος
Ἀμφιάδη
Ἀρχιλαία
Ἀρετάλαια
Ἀταλάντη

Βελεῖνη
Βρατέρων
Ἰδρυσσα
Ἰμῆτης
Φορμίσιοι
Χιτώνη

Βελησσός	Λαύριον
Ἐνα	Ἀθηαῖον
Ἐχελίδα	Λίμνη
Ζωστήρ	Μενυχία
Θριών	Παρεῖς
Κοθολίδα	Πυξ
Κυόσαργες	Πατρόκλη βέθρος
Σποργιλῆς	Σίρον
Ἰστιαί	Φαύρα
Φρίθιοι	Φερών
Ὀρωπός	Ψυτταγία
Κικεραμεικός ἔξω τῆς πόλεως	Φαρμακῶσαι, &c.

C H A P. X.

Of the Sojourners, and Servants, in Athens.

THE second Sort of the Inhabitants of *Attica* were call'd Μέτοικοι, by which Word were signified Persons that came from a foreign Country, and settled in *Attica*, being admitted by the Council of *Areopagus*, and enter'd in a publick Register (d). They differ'd from the Πολῖται, or Citizens, because they were not free Citizens of *Athens*, but either came from another City themselves, or were descended from such as did; and from the Ξένοι, or Strangers, because they took up their Lodgings only for a short Time; whereas the Μέτοικοι had fix'd Habitations, and constantly resided upon the Place, whither they had transplanted themselves.

They were permitted to dwell in the City, and follow their own Business without Disturbance, but could not be intrusted with any publick Office, give their Votes in the Assemblies, or have any Share in the Government; being obliged to sit still, as Spectators in a Theatre, without intermeddling, or any Way concerning themselves with State Affairs, and patiently submit to the Decrees enacted by the Citizens, and observe all the Laws and Customs of the Country. And therefore *Aristophanes* in *Suidas* compares them to Chaff, as being an unprofitable and useles Part of the Commonwealth:

Τὰς γὰρ Μέτοικους ἀχυρὰ τῶν ἀστῶν λέγω.

The Sojourners (if I may speak my Mind)
Are, as it were, the City's Chaff and Scum.

J. A.

They were not allowed to act any Thing, or manage any Business in their own Names, but were obliged to chuse out of the Citizens one, to whose Care and Protection they would commit themselves, and

(d) *Aristophanis Scholiastes* in *Aves*.

whose Duty it was to defend them from all Violence and Oppression. This is intimated in *Terence's Eunuchus*, where *Thais* puts herself into the Hands of *Phædria's* Family,

—————CH. *Tum autem Phædriæ,*

*Meo fratri, gaudeo amorem esse omnem in tranquillo, una est domus,
Thais patri se commendavit, in clientelam & fidem
Nobis dedit se—————(e).*

My Brother's good Success in his Amour
Doth glad my Soul, for *Thais* now's his own,
Since the Protection of herself she leaves
To my old Father's Care and Management.

J. A.

The Person to whom they committed themselves was call'd *Προστάτης*, and was allow'd to demand several Services of them, in which, if they fail'd, or if they neglected to chuse a Patron, an Action was commenced against them before the *Polemarchus*, call'd *Ἀγορασις Δικη*, whereupon their Goods were confiscated.

In Consideration of the Privileges allow'd them, the Commonwealth requir'd them to perform several Duties; for Instance, in the *Panathenæa*, a Festival celebrated in Honour of *Minerva*, the Men were oblig'd to carry certain Vessels call'd *Σκάφαι*, whereby are meant not *Spades*, as *Meursius* and the Translator of *Harpocration* have explain'd this Word, but *Naviculæ*, little Ships, which were Signs of their foreign Extraction; which few have hitherto rightly understood. Hence they were term'd *σκαφεῖς*, or *σκαφηφόροι*, by the ancient Writers of Comedy. The Women carried *ὕδριας*, Vessels of Water, or *οὐαδῖνα*, *Umbrellas*, to defend the free Women from the Weather, and are thence nam'd *ὕδριαφόροι*, and *οὐαδιφόροι*. This last Custom was begun after *Xerxes* and the *Persians* had been driven out of *Greece*, when the *Athenians*, becoming insolent with Success, set a greater Value upon the Freedom of their City, than they had formerly done (f).

Besides this, the Men paid an annual Tribute of twelve *Drachms*, tho' *Hesychius* mentioneth ten only, and the Women, that had no Sons, were liable to be taxed six; but such, as had Sons that paid, were excused. This Tribute was call'd *Μισθόνιον*, and was exacted not only of those that dwelt in *Athens*, but of all such as settled themselves in any Town of *Attica*, as appears from the Instance given us by *Lyfias* (g) in *Oropus*, which was an *Athenian* Town, situated upon the Confines of *Boeotia*. About the Time of *Xerxes's* Invasion upon *Greece*, *Themistocles* having, by his eminent Service, raised himself to great Power in the Commonwealth, prevail'd so far upon the *Athenians*, that they remitted this Exaction, and continued the Sojourners in the Enjoyment of their Privileges, without acquiring any such Acknowledgment from them (h). How long they enjoy'd this Immunity, I cannot tell; but it is certain they kept it not long, and probably it might be taken from them, and the Act repeal'd, as soon as *The-*

(e) Act. ult. Scen. ult. (f) *Æliani* variz Historiz, Lib. VI. c. i. (g) Orat. in *Pbilonem*. (h) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. XI.

misfores fell into Disgrace. Upon Non-payment of this Imposition, the Delinquent was immediately seized by the Tax-masters, and carried away to the Market set apart for that Purpose, (call'd by *Plutarch* Μετοίκιον (i), and by *Demosthenes* (k) Πωλητήριον τῆς Μετοικίης,) where they were exposed to Sale by the Πωληταί, who were Officers concern'd in the publick Revenues. And this Fate had the famous Philosopher *Xenocrates* undergone, had not *Lycurgus* rescued him out of the Hands of the Officers, as *Plutarch* reports (l); *Diogenes Laertius* (m) tells us, he was actually sold, because he had not wherewithal to pay the Tribute, but was redeem'd by *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, who, because he would not violate the Laws of the City, nor yet could endure to see so great and useful a Man reduced to so miserable a Condition, restored him his Liberty, and paid for him what the Tax-master demanded.

But tho' these Men were incapable of having any Preferment, or bearing any Office in the Commonwealth, yet they were not wholly destitute of Encouragements to the Practice of Virtue, and the Undertaking of noble Actions, and being serviceable to the Publick. For such, as signalized themselves by any notable Exploit, were seldom passed by neglected, or unrewarded; but were taken into publick Consideration, and, by a special Edict of the People, honour'd with an Immunity from all Impositions, Taxes, and other Duties, except such as were required of the freeborn Citizens; and therefore they call'd this Honour ἱσοτέλεια, and the Persons that enjoy'd it ἱσοτέλεις, because they did ἴσα τελεῖν τοῖς ἀποῖς, pay only an equal Proportion with the Citizens. This was a Sort of an Half-freedom, being the same with what we sometimes find call'd Ἀτίλεια, of which I have spoken already, and was granted to Foreigners that had deserved well of the Publick, but not merited enough to be enroll'd amongst the true Citizens; an Instance of which we have in *Perdiccas* King of *Macedon*, and sometimes in whole Cities and Commonwealths, that had by some special Service demonstrated the Kindness and good Affection they bore to *Athens*; two Examples of this we have in the *Thebans* and *Olynthians* in *Theophrastus*, as he is cited by *Suidas*, to whom, with *Harpocration* and *Hesychius*, we are chiefly obliged for these Accounts.

I proceed, in the next Place, to speak of the third and most numerous Part of the Inhabitants of *Attica*, I mean the *Servants*, of which there were two Sorts; the first was of those that thro' Poverty were forced to serve for Wages, being otherwise freeborn Citizens, but not having any Suffrage in publick Affairs, by Reason of their Indigence, it being forbidden at some Times (for this Prohibition was not perpetual) that Persons, not having such an Estate as was mention'd in the Law, should have the Privilege of giving their Voices. These were properly call'd Θῆτες, and Παλάται (n), and were the most genteel Sort of *Servants*, being only in that State during their own Pleasure and Necessities; and having Power either to change their Masters, or (if they became able to subsist by themselves) wholly to release themselves from Servitude.

(i) *Flaminio*. (k) *Orat. I. in Aristogit.* (l) *Loc. cit.* (m) *Xenocrate*. (n) *Pollux*, lib. III. c. 8.

The second Sort of *Servants* were such as were wholly in the Power and at the Disposal of their Lords, who had as good a Title to them, as to their Land and Estates, a considerable Part of which they were esteem'd. They were wholly at their Command, to be employ'd as they saw convenient, in the worst and most wretched Drudgeries; and to be used at their Discretion, pinch'd, starv'd, beaten, tormented, and that in most Places, without any Appeal to superior Power, and punish'd even with Death itself. And, which yet farther enhanced the Misery of their Condition, they had no Hopes of recovering their Freedom themselves, or procuring it for their Posterity, but were to continue in the same Condition as long as they lived, and all the Inheritance they could leave their Children (for their Masters not only allow'd but encouraged them to marry, that they might increase in Number) was the Possession of their Parents Miseries, and a Condition scarce any Way better than that of Beasts.

The Ancients were very sensible of the hard Usage *Slaves* met with; and the earnest Desire of Liberty, that reign'd in their own Breasts, and made them always forward to expose their Lives in the Defence of it, was a sufficient Cause to beget in them a Jealousy of the like in other Persons; Men being generally very apt to suspect others of the same Passions and Inclinations, which themselves have been guilty of. And we find them very industrious to prevent and suppress all such Motions, by keeping the Slaves at a very great Distance from them, by no means condescending (I speak of the Generality of them) to converse familiarly with them; by instilling into them a mean Opinion of themselves; debasing their Natures, and extinguishing in them (as much as possible) all Sparks of Generosity and Manhood, by an illiberal Education, and accustoming them to Blows and Stripes, which they thought were very disagreeable to ingenuous Natures, and subduing them with hard Labour and Want; and, in short, by using them almost in the same Manner, nay sometimes worse than we do brute Animals. A sufficient Proof whereof (were there no more) we have in the famous *Roman Cato*, a Man celebrated in all Ages for his exact Observance of the nicest Rules of Justice; nor doth it at all invalidate the Evidence, that this was done by a *Roman*, since both at *Rome*, and in *Greece*, and most other civiliz'd Countries, the Usage of *Slaves* seems to have been much the same, some few Alterations excepted. This *Cato* (*Plutarch* tells us) when his Servants grew old and unfit for Labour, notwithstanding they had been very faithful and serviceable to him, and had spent their Youth and Strength in labouring for him; for all this, when Years came upon them, and their Strength fail'd them, would not be at the Charge of maintaining them, but either turn'd them away, unable to provide for themselves, or let them starve to Death in his own Family (o). It is true, this Barbarity was not practis'd in all Places, and my Author thinks the *Censor* blame-worthy for it, imputing it to a savage and unnatural Temper; yet hence appears the miserable Condition of *Slaves*, that were forced to undergo the most arbitrary and unjust Imposi-

(o) *Plutarch, Catone.*

tions of the cruelest and most barbarous Tyrants. Now the better to shew you what State they were in, I will give you a Taste of the constant Behaviour of their Masters towards them in a few Instances, which were not the Effects of the Passion, Pride, or Humour of private Persons, but the common and general Practice of the whole Country.

It was accounted an unsufferable Piece of Impudence for a *Servant* to imitate the Freemen in any Thing, or affect to be like them in their Dress, or any Part of their Behaviour. In those Cities, where they let their Hair grow long, for a *Servant* to have long Hair was an unpardonable Offence, insomuch that the Comedian, speaking it proverbially of one that does what becomes him not, says,

Ἐπειτα δὴτα δῶλον ὦν κόμην ἔχεις (p).

Then you, disdaining your own State, affect
To wear long Hair as Freemen——

J. A.

They had a peculiar Form, after which they cut their Hair, call'd *ὀπίε ἀνδραποδώδης*, which they laid aside, if ever Fortune was so propitious, as to restore them their Liberty. And because *Slaves* were generally rude and ignorant, therefore *ἔχειν τὰς ἀνδραποδώδεις ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τρεῖσας*, was proverbially applied to any dull, stupid Fellow (q). The Freemen's Coats were *ἀμφιμάσχαλοι*, had no Sleeves; whereas those of *Slaves* were *ἑτερομάσχαλοι*, had only one Sleeve (r).

At Athens, it was common to be in Love with Boys. *Socrates* and *Plato's* Amours are notorious enough, and *Solon* himself was too weak to resist this Passion, but thought it neither unlawful, nor scandalous, but on the contrary honourable, and well becoming an ingenuous Education; therefore he forbade *Slaves* the Use of this Pleasure, "as it were invading the Worthy to practise, when he commanded the Unworthy to forbear," says *Plutarch* (s). The same Lawgiver forbade them to anoint, or perfume them with sweet Odours, allowing those Pieces of Gentility only to Persons of better Birth and Quality. *Slaves* were neither permitted to plead for themselves, nor to be Witnesses in any Cause. Thus *Terence*, the Scene of whose Action is laid in Athens, expressly affirms in his *Phormio* (t):

*Servum hominem causam orare leges non sinunt,
Neque testimonii dictio est.*

Yet it was customary to extort Confessions from them by Tortures, which, because they were often so violent as to occasion the Death of the *Slave*, or to disable him from being serviceable to his Master; whoever demanded any *Slave* for this End (which was call'd *προκαλῆναι*, and the Action *προκαλῆσαι*) was obliged to give his Master a sufficient Security to answer the Loss of his *Slave* (u). The several Ways of torturing *Slaves* are briefly compriz'd in the following Verses of *Aristophanes* (w):

(p) *Aristophan. Avibus.* (q) *Eupatb. II. á p. 59. Edit. Bas.* (r) *Pollux, On. I. VII. c. 13.* (s) *Solone.* (t) *Act. II. Scen. I.* (u) *Demosthenes Orat. adv. Panætum.* (w) *Ranis, Act. II. Scen. VII.*

The second Sort of *Servants* were such as were wholly in the Power and at the Disposal of their Lords, who had as good a Title to them, as to their Land and Estates, a considerable Part of which they were esteem'd. They were wholly at their Command, to be employ'd as they saw convenient, in the worst and most wretched Drudgeries; and to be used at their Discretion, pinch'd, starv'd, beaten, tormented, and that in most Places, without any Appeal to superior Power, and punish'd even with Death itself. And, which yet farther enhanced the Misery of their Condition, they had no Hopes of recovering their Freedom themselves, or procuring it for their Posterity, but were to continue in the same Condition as long as they lived, and all the Inheritance they could leave their Children (for their Masters not only allow'd but encouraged them to marry, that they might increase in Number) was the Possession of their Parents Miseries, and a Condition scarce any Way better than that of Beasts.

The Ancients were very sensible of the hard Usage *Slaves* met with; and the earnest Desire of Liberty, that reign'd in their own Breasts, and made them always forward to expose their Lives in the Defence of it, was a sufficient Cause to beget in them a Jealousy of the like in other Persons; Men being generally very apt to suspect others of the same Passions and Inclinations, which themselves have been guilty of. And we find them very industrious to prevent and suppress all such Motions, by keeping the Slaves at a very great Distance from them, by no means condescending (I speak of the Generality of them) to converse familiarly with them; by instilling into them a mean Opinion of themselves; debasing their Natures, and extinguishing in them (as much as possible) all Sparks of Generosity and Manhood, by an illiberal Education, and accustoming them to Blows and Stripes, which they thought were very disagreeable to ingenuous Natures, and subduing them with hard Labour and Want; and, in short, by using them almost in the same Manner, nay sometimes worse than we do brute Animals. A sufficient Proof whereof (were there no more) we have in the famous *Roman Cato*, a Man celebrated in all Ages for his exact Observance of the nicest Rules of Justice; nor doth it at all invalidate the Evidence, that this was done by a *Roman*, since both at *Rome*, and in *Greece*, and most other civiliz'd Countries, the Usage of *Slaves* seems to have been much the same, some few Alterations excepted. This *Cato* (*Plutarch* tells us) when his *Servants* grew old and unfit for Labour, notwithstanding they had been very faithful and serviceable to him, and had spent their Youth and Strength in labouring for him; for all this, when Years came upon them, and their Strength fail'd them, would not be at the Charge of maintaining them, but either turn'd them away, unable to provide for themselves, or let them starve to Death in his own Family (o). It is true, this Barbarity was not practis'd in all Places, and my Author thinks the *Censor* blame-worthy for it, imputing it to a savage and unnatural Temper; yet hence appears the miserable Condition of *Slaves*, that were forced to undergo the most arbitrary and unjust Imposi-

(o) *Plutarch, Catone.*

tions of the cruelest and most barbarous Tyrants. Now the better to shew you what State they were in, I will give you a Taste of the constant Behaviour of their Masters towards them in a few Instances, which were not the Effects of the Passion, Pride, or Humour of private Persons, but the common and general Practice of the whole Country.

It was accounted an unsufferable Piece of Impudence for a *Servant* to imitate the Freemen in any Thing, or affect to be like them in their Drefs, or any Part of their Behaviour. In those Cities, where they let their Hair grow long, for a *Servant* to have long Hair was an unpardonable Offence, insomuch that the Comedian, speaking it proverbially of one that does what becomes him not, says,

Ἐπιταῖα δὲλα ὦν κόμην ἔχεις (p).

Then you, disdaining your own State, affect

To wear long Hair as Freemen——

J. A.

They had a peculiar Form, after which they cut their Hair, call'd *Θριξ ἀνδραποδῶδης*, which they laid aside, if ever Fortune was so propitious, as to restore them their Liberty. And because *Slaves* were generally rude and ignorant, therefore *ἔχει τὰς ἀνδραποδῶδεις ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τρεῖς*, was proverbially applied to any dull, stupid Fellow (q). The Freemen's Coats were *ἀμφιμάσχαλοι*, had no Sleeves; whereas those of *Slaves* were *ἑτερομάσχαλοι*, had only one Sleeve (r).

At *Athens*, it was common to be in Love with Boys. *Socrates* and *Plato's* Amours are notorious enough, and *Solon* himself was too weak to resist this Passion, but thought it neither unlawful, nor scandalous, but on the contrary honourable, and well becoming an ingenuous Education; therefore he forbad *Slaves* the Use of this Pleasure, "as it were invidious the Worthy to practise, when he commanded the Unworthy to forbear," says *Plutarch* (s). The same Lawgiver forbad them to anoint, or perfume them with sweet Odours, allowing those Pieces of Gentility only to Persons of better Birth and Quality. *Slaves* were neither permitted to plead for themselves, nor to be Witnesses in any Cause. Thus *Terence*, the Scene of whose Action is laid in *Athens*, expressly affirms in his *Phormio* (t):

*Servum hominem causam orare leges non sinunt,
Neque testimonii dictio est.*

Yet it was customary to extort Confessions from them by Tortures, which, because they were often so violent as to occasion the Death of the *Slave*, or to disable him from being serviceable to his Master; whoever demanded any *Slave* for this End (which was call'd *προκαλεῖν*, and the Action *προκαλέσις*) was obliged to give his Master a sufficient Security to answer the Loss of his *Slave* (u). The several Ways of torturing *Slaves* are briefly compriz'd in the following Verses of *Aristophanes* (w):

(p) *Aristophan. Avibus.* (q) *Eustath. II. & p. 59. Edit. Bas.* (r) *Pollux, On. I. VII. c. 13.* (s) *Solone.* (t) *Act. II. Scen. I.* (u) *Demosthenis Orat. adv. Panætum.* (w) *Ranis, Act. II. Scen. VII.*

ΞΑΝΘ. Βασάνει γὰρ τὸν παῖδα τῆτον λαβῶν.

ΔΙΑΚ. Καὶ πῶς βασάνισω : ΞΑΝΘ. Πάντα τρόπον, ἐκλίμακι
 Δήσας, κρεμάσας, ὑφ' ἰχθὺς μαγνῶν, δέρων,
 Στρεβλῶν, ἐπί τε τὰς εἰσας ὄξ' ἐγχείων,
 Πλίνθας ἐπιτιθεῖς, πάντα τ' ἄλλα, πλὴν πρᾶσσω
 Μὴ τύπῃ τούτου, μήτε γηθείω νύω.

Slaves were not permitted to communicate at the Worship of some of the Deities, but were accounted unholy and prophane; and thought to be offensive to the Gods, and to pollute the Worship by their Presence; as, for Instance, at the Worship of the *Eumenides*, or *Furies*, at *Athens*; and *Hercules*, at *Rome*. Of which I shall have Occasion to speak something more hereafter.

Their Education was quite different from that of freeborn Children; these were instructed in all the liberal Arts, the others only taught how to obey, and drudge in their Master's Business. And whereas the common Method was to win those of ingenuous Births, by gentle Means, into a Performance of their Duty; the Manner of tutoring *Slaves* was the same which they used to tame wild Beasts, namely Stripes, and the cruelest Severity. For all this, there wanted not some, whom Nature had bless'd with a more happy Genius, and a larger Share of Parts than the rest, and Fortune directed to kind and gentle Masters, that, by their great Improvements in Learning and Wisdom, were a sufficient Evidence, that Nobility of Soul, and Greatness of Understanding, are not confin'd to any Rank or Quality, but that even the meanest and most abject Persons may dive into the most hidden Secrets of Nature, and be admitted to the most intimate Converse with the Muses. To prove this, we need only mention *Æsop*, the Author of the Fables; *Alcman* (x) the Poet, and *Epicætetus* the famous *Moralist*, of whose Poverty and servile Condition we have mention in this *Epigram*:

Δεῶλ' Ἐπί τε καὶ γένοντο, καὶ σώματι πηρὲς.
 Καὶ πένιν Ἰσ', καὶ φιλ' Ἀθανάτοισι.

The Gods to me great Favours do dispense,
 Tho'n Bondage, crippled, and in Indigence.

J. A.

They thought it a Presumption, and a Sort of lessening the freeborn Citizens, to call *Slaves* by any Name that was in Use amongst them; But if any Man was so bold, as to give his *Servant* the Name of a Person of Quality, or Honour, it was a signal Affront. *Domitian* is said to have punish'd *Metius Pomposianus*, for calling his *Slaves* by the illustrious Names of *Hannibal* and *Mago*; and, to come nearer to our Purpose, the *Athenians* enacted a Law, that no Man should presume to call any of his *Servants* by the Names of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, two famous Patriots, that with Courage and Resolution opposed the Tyranny of *Pisistratus's* Sons (y). At the same Place

(x) *Ælian*. V. H. (y) *Alex. ab Alex.* l. III. c. 20.

there was a Law, whereby they were prohibited to derive the Name of their *Slaves* from any of the solemn Games: Whence this Question is propounded by *Athenæus* (x), How came it to pass that *Nemea* the Minstrel derived her Name from the *Nemean Games*? For the most Part, as *Strabo* reports, they were call'd after the Names of their native Countries, as *Λυδοί*, or *Συριοί*, if they were born in *Lydia* or *Syria*; or, by the Names which were most used in those Nations, as *Manes*, or *Midas* in *Phrygia*; *Tibias* in *Paphlagonia*. The most common Names in *Athens* were *Geta* and *Davus*, being taken from the *Getes* and *Daci*, who, as my Author thinks, were formerly call'd *Δαῦοι*, or *Davi* (a). They seldom consisted of above two Syllables, and therefore *Demosthenes* having objected to *Æschines*, that his Father was a *Slave*, tells him farther, as a Proof of what he affirm'd, that he had falsified his Name, calling him *Atrometus*, whereas in Truth it was *Tromes* (b). The Reason of this seems to have been, that their Names, being short, might be more easily and quickly pronounced. Upon the same Account, *Oppian* advises to give Dogs short Names:

— Οὐδὲ μάλ' αὖ σκυλάκεισσι

Βαῖα τίθει, δοὰ πάντα, δὲν ἵνα βᾶξιν ἀνέη (c).

Let Hounds, which are design'd for Game and Sport,

Have Names impos'd that easy be, and short;

Lest at the Huntsman's Call they trace in vain,

And run with open Cry confus'dly o'er the Plain.

J. A.

Hence it was common for *Slaves*, who had recover'd their Freedom, to change their servile Names for others, which had more Syllables. Thus *Stephanus* is said, in the *Epigram*, to have changed that Name for *Philostephanus* (c):

Ἦς Στέφανος πλωχός, καὶ παῖς ἄμα· οὗν δὲ προκόψας

Πλουτὶ, καὶ γυγνῆναι εὐθὺ Φιλοστέφανον.

Above all Things, especial Care was taken that *Slaves* should not bear Arms, which (since their Number was almost twenty Times as great as that of the Citizens) might have been dangerous to the Publick. For this Reason it was not usual for them to serve in the Wars; and therefore when *Virgil* speaks of a *Slave's* assisting in the War of *Troy*, he tells us it was contrary to Law and Custom,

— Vix unus Helenor,

Et Lycus elapsi, quorum primævus Helenor;

Mæonio regi quem serva Licymnia furtim

Sustulerat, vetitisque ad Trojam miserat armis (d).

Scarce *Lycus* and *Helenor* 'scap'd away

From the sad Ruins of that dismal Day,

Against th' enacted Law for *Slaves*, in Arms

Helenor had stole off to War's Alarms.

(x) *Deipnosoph.* lib. XIII.

(a) *Strabo*, I. VII.

(b) *Orat.* περί Στεφάνου.

(c) *Κόνηγετικ.* (d) *Æneid.* I. IX. v. 545.

For he a spurious Issue was brought forth
By a Bond-woman of Plebeian Worth
To the *Maonian* King ———

J. A.

Yet sometimes we find the *Slaves* arm'd in the Defence of their Masters and themselves; but this was never allow'd except in Cases of most extreme Danger, when all other Means of preserving the Commonwealth were taken away. The first Time it was practis'd, is said to have been when the *Persians* under *Darius* invaded the *Athenians*, and received a total Overthrow by them in *Marathon* (e). The like was afterwards put in Practice by other Commonwealths, but not without great Caution; *Cleomenes*, King of *Sparta*, being fore press'd by the *Macedonians* and *Acheans*, and finding himself unable to make Head against them, arm'd two thousand of the *Helotæ*, or *Lacedæmonian Slaves*, that he might make a fit Body to oppose *Antigonus's* *Leucaspides*, or white Shields; but ventur'd not to list any more of them, though *Laconia* was at that Time furnish'd with much greater Numbers (f). And their Prudence in this Case deserves Commendation, for, having exasperated them so much by their hard Usage, they had no Reason to expect any Mercy from them, if ever they should get the upper Hand. And it is very wonderful, that four hundred thousand Men should groan under the Oppression of twenty or thirty thousand, (for those, I have told you already, were the Number of the *Slaves*, *Citizens*, and *Sojourners* in *Attica*) without ever (some few Times excepted) attempting to assert their Liberty; when, it is evident, they wanted not Strength to turn the State upside down; neither could they be destitute of Opportunities, especially in Times of War, Sedition, and Tumults, in which this City was continually embroil'd, to accomplish such a Design. But this must be ascribed partly to the watchful Eye their Masters and the whole State had upon them; and partly to that Cowardice and Degeneracy, which usually debase the Minds of those, whom Fortune has placed in a servile Condition, however noble and daring they are by Nature; for it is a true Saying of *Homer*,

Ἥμισι γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίονται εὐρύπια Ζεὺς
Διέξω εἴ τ' αἶν μιν κατὰ δέλιον ἦμαρ ἴδῃσι.

True Valour ne'er can animate that Mind,
Whose inbred Seeds by Slav'ry are confin'd.

J. A.

But neither the Care of the State, nor the great Power which Oppression has to debase Men's Souls, could always keep them in Subjection; but Nature sometimes would exert itself, when either a fair Opportunity invited, or some insufferable Oppression compell'd them to endeavour the Recovery of their Liberties, that is, their Lives and Fortunes into their own Hands. *Athenæus* reports, that in *Attica* they once seized upon the Castle of *Sunium*, and committed Ravages throughout the Country; and at the same Time made their second Insurrection in *Sicily*, for in that Country they frequently rebell'd, but were at last reduced with great Slaughter, no less than a Million of them being

(e) *Pausanias*.(f) *Plutarch*, *Cleomenes*.

kill'd (g). Several other Efforts we find made by them in other Places, to the great Danger, and almost utter Subversion of those Countries. Sometimes in Times of War, the Slaves deserted to the Enemy, the doing which they call'd *αὐτομολίῃ* (b), which, excepting Theft, a Crime almost peculiar to them, was the most common Offence they committed, being, in most Places, the only Way they had to deliver themselves; but if they were taken, they were made to pay dearly for their Desire of Freedom, being bound fast to a Wheel, and unmercifully beaten with Whips, as the Comedian tells us,

Ἡ δὲ αὐτομολίῃ παρσκειασμένῃ.

Ἐπὶ τροχῷ χ' ἔλκοιτο μαστιγόμενῃ (i).

If wretched Slaves, harrafs'd and weary'd out
Under the Thralldom of dire Servitude,
Should but anticipate sweet Freedom's Joys,
And make Revolt to their more gentle Foes,
Fast to a Wheel being bound with Cords, they're whipt.

J. A.

The same Punishment was inflicted on them for Theft, as we learn from Horace (k),

Non furtum feci, nec fugi, si mihi dicat
Servus, habes pretium, loris non ureris, aio.

Suppose my Slave should say, I neither fly
Nor steal: Well thou hast thy Reward, say I,
Thou art not scourg'd.——

Mr. Creech.

Sometimes they were rack'd upon the Wheel, (a Cruelty never practis'd upon any freeborn Person) to extort a Confession from them, when they were suspected to have been accessary to any villainous Design, as *Aristophanes* informs us in his first Comedy, where one says to a Slave,

Ἐπὶ τῷ τροχῷ γὰρ δὴ σ' ἐκεῖ σπρεσλέμενον

Εἰπὺν ἂν πεπανάργηκας.——

We ought to rack you with incessant Pain,
To force you to reveal your Rogueries.

J. A.

The common Way of correcting them for any Offence, was to scourge them with Whips; whence a Villain, that had been guilty of any Crime that deserved Punishment, was said *μαστιγῶν*, to stand in need of, and as it were itch for a Scourge. Sometimes to prevent their shrinking, or running away, they were tied fast to a Pillar; and therefore *Hyperides* in *Pollux* saith, *κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ κίονῳ*, *ἐξέδειραν*. For so I think, that Place ought to be read, and not *κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ κίονῳ*, *ἐξέδειραν* (l), as the vulgar Editions have it.

They, who were convicted of any notorious Offence, were condemned to grind at the Mill; a Labour exceeding toilsome in those

(g) *Atbenæus* Deipn. l. VI. (b) *Aristoph.* Equit. (i) *Aristoph.* Pace. (k) *Epiq.* lib. I. (l) *Onomast.* l. III. c. 8.

Days, when they were forced to beat their Grain into Meal, being unacquainted with the easy Way of grinding, which is used amongst us, and was the Invention of later Ages. And therefore when they had a Mind to express the Greatness of any Labour or Toil, it was usual to compare it to grinding in a Mill, *Tibi mecum erit, Crasse, in eodem pistrino vivendum*, says Tully (m), that is, You and I, Crassus, must undergo the same troublesome Course of Life. But, beside the Labour they were put to, they were beaten with Rods, or Scourges sometimes, if their Offences was very great, to Death, as we learn from Terence, the Scene of whose Drama is laid in Attica,

Verberibus cæsum te in pristinum, Dave, dedam usque ad necem (n).

I'll have you flead, you villainous Cur, to Death. J. A.

Or else, as others understand this Place, they were condemned to that Punishment as long as they lived.

These Mills were call'd in general Μύλωνες, which Word, because of the Cruelty there exercised upon poor Slaves, Pollux tells us was ἐκ εὐφημῶ, unlucky, or inauspicious, and not to be nam'd, and therefore he calls it Σιλοποιικὸς οἶκος. They had several Names from the different Sorts of Grain that was ground in them, as, Χονδροκόπεια, or Χονδροκοπέια, Ἀλφιλεῖα, ζώτια, Ζώνηια, or ζώνηια, and Ζητρίαι, whence comes the Word ζατρίουν, to examine upon the Rack, as was usual in that Place (o).

It was likewise customary to stigmatize Slaves, which was usually done in the Forehead, as being most visible; sometimes other Parts were thus used, it being customary, as Galen observes (p), to punish the Member that had offended: If the Slave was a Glutton, his Belly must suffer; if a Tell-tale, his Tongue must be cut out, and so of the rest. The common Way of stigmatizing was, by burning the Member with a red-hot Iron mark'd with certain Letters, till a fair Impression was made, and then pouring Ink into the Furrows, that the Inscription might be the more conspicuous: Persons thus used were call'd Στυγματίαι, and Ζρίγωνα, saith Pollux; or Attagæ, because that Bird was ποικιλόπτερος, of divers Colours, as Aristophanes tells us (q). Pliny calls them *Inscripti* (r); and others *Literati*, as Plautus,

————— *si hic literatus me finat.*

And what the same Author means by *Trium literarum homo*, no Man can be ignorant. This Punishment was seldom or never inflicted upon any but Slaves, and with them it was so frequent, that the Samians, when they gave a great Number of Slaves their Liberty, and admitted them to Offices in the State, were branded with the infamous Name of *Literati*,

Σαμίων ὁ Δῆλος ἐστὶ πολυγράμματος,

The Samian People (sic for Shame)

For Store of Letters have great Fame.

Dr. Littleton.

(m) De Orat. (n) Andria. (o) Pollux, lib. III. c. 8. Hesychius, Suidas, Etymolog. (p) Lib. VI. (q) Avibus. (r) Lib. XVIII. c. 3.

faith *Aristophanes* in *Plutarch* (s); tho' others, and amongst them *Plutarch* himself, assign different Reasons for this Appellation (t). This was the greatest Mark of Infamy that could be inflicted on them; and therefore *Phocylides* advises to forbear it, even in *Slaves*:

Στίγματα μὴ ὑπάλλης, ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ δεσπότου (u).

Brand not your *Slaves* with Characters of Infamy.

On the contrary, in *Thrace*, *Herodotus* tells us, it was accounted a Badge of Honour, and us'd by none but Persons of Credit, nor omitted, but by those of the meanest Rank (w): Τὸ μὲν ἱστῆσαι, εὐρυτε; κέρταται, τὸ δὲ ἀσικλον ἀγνῆτε; to be stigmatized, says he, is reputed a Mark of Quality, to want which is a Disgrace. The same is affirmed by *Claudian* of the *Geloni*, who inhabited a Part of *Scythia* (x):

Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus.

And some relate that the ancient *Britons* *tenellis infantibus notas certasque figuras animalium ardenti ferro imprimebant*: Imprinted upon the Bodies of their Infants the Figures of Animals, and other Marks, with hot Irons (y). The same is likewise affirmed by *Tertullian* (z), who reports, that the *Britons* were distinguished by such Marks or *Stigmata*, in the same Manner as the *Garamantes* by their Feathers, the *Barbarians* by their Curls, and the *Athenians* by their Grasshoppers. And *Claudian* mentions the same Custom (a):

— — — *Ferroque notatas*

Perlegit exsangues Picto moriente figuras.

But it must not be forgotten in this Place, that *Slaves* were not only branded with *Stigmata* for a Punishment of their Offences; but (which was the common End of these Marks) to distinguish them, in Case they should desert their Masters. For which Purpose, it was common to brand their Soldiers; only with this Difference, that whereas *Slaves* were commonly stigmatiz'd in their Forehead, and with the Name of some peculiar Character belonging to their Masters, Soldiers were branded in the Hand, and with the Name or Character of their General. After the same Manner, it was likewise customary to stigmatize the Worshipers and Votaries of some of the Gods. Whence, *Lucian*, speaking of the Votaries of the Syrian Goddess, affirms, *They were all branded with certain Marks, some in the Palms of their Hands, and others in their Necks. Whence it became customary for all the Assyrians thus to stigmatize themselves.* And *Theodoret* is of Opinion (b), that the *Jews* were forbidden to brand themselves with *Stigmata*, because the Idolaters, by that Ceremony, us'd to consecrate themselves to their false Deities. The Marks used on these Occasions were various. Sometimes they contained the Name of the God, sometimes his particular Ensign (παράσημον); such were the *Thunderbolt* of *Jupiter*, the *Trident* of *Neptune*, the *Ivy* of *Bacchus*: Whence *Ptolemy Philopater* was by some nick-nam'd *Gallus*, διὰ τὸ φύλλα κισσοῦ κατεσῆχθαι, because his Body was mark'd with the Figures of *Ivy-Leaves* (c). Or, lastly, they marked themselves with

(s) *Pericle*. (t) *Eras*m. Adag. (u) V. 212. (w) Lib. V. (*) Lib. I. in *Rufinum*. (y) *Lucas de Linda Descr. Orbis*. (z) *De Veland. Virgin.* (a) *De Bellis Getic.* (b) *Quæst. in Levit. XVIII.* (c) *Etymolog. Magni Auctor. V. γάλλος.*

some mystical Number, whereby the God's Name was describ'd: Thus the Sun, who was signify'd by the Number DCVIII, is said to have been represented by these two Numerical Letters XH (d). These three Ways of stigmatizing are all express'd by St. John, in the Book of Revelation (e); and he saith, *all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a Mark in their right Hand, or in their Foreheads: And that no Man might buy or sell, save he that had the Mark, or the Name of the Beast, or the Number of his Name.* But to return from this Digression.

Slaves were treated with more Humanity at Athens than in most other Places, for, if any of them were grievously oppress'd, they were allow'd to fly for Sanctuary to Theseus's Temple, whence to force them was an Act of Sacrilege (f). And those, that had been barbarously treated by their Masters, had the Privilege of commencing a Suit at Law against them, which they call'd *Ἰσχυρὸς Δίκην*, or *Αἰτιάς Δίκην*, the former of which was against such as had made any violent Attempts upon the Chastity of their Slaves; the latter against those that had us'd too much Severity in punishing them; and if it appear'd that the Complaint was reasonable and just, the Master was oblig'd to sell his Slave. This is plainly prov'd by Julius Pollux (g), out of Aristophanes's *Horæ*, whence he cites the following Verses:

Εἰ μὴ κράτιστον ἔστιν εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον
Δραμῆν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἔως ἂν εὐρωμεν πρᾶσιν,
Μένειν.

Unless it be most expedient to fly to the Temple of Theseus, and there remain till we are sold to another Master. The same he observes out of Eupolis's Πόλις:

Καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας πάσχειν, εἰδὲ πρᾶσιν
Αἰτῶσιν ———

They endure these Evils, and do not demand to be sold. Neither did the Law secure them only from their own Masters, but, if any other Citizen did them any Injury, they were allow'd to vindicate themselves by a Course of Law (h).

Besides their being deliver'd from the injurious Treatment of Tyrants, the Slaves at Athens had a great deal the Advantage of their Brethren in other Places, in many Respects; they might use their Tongues with far greater Freedom, as appears every-where from the Comedies of Aristophanes, Plautus, and Terence; and indulge themselves in the Enjoyment of a great many Pleasures, which in other Places they had not the smallest Taste of; insomuch that Demosthenes tells us, the Condition of a Slave in Athens was preferable to that of a free *Denixon* in some other Cities (i); and Plautus sufficiently testifies the Truth of what he saith,

Atque id ne vos miremini, homines servulos
Potare, amare, atque ad carnem condicere;
Licet hoc Athenis ——— (k).

(d) Conf. Martianus Capella. (e) Cap. XIII. v. 16, 17. (f) Plutarch. Theseus. (g) Lib. VII. c. 2. (h) Athenæus Deipnosoph. Lib. VI. (i) Philop. 11. (k) Sticks. The

The Laws at Athens don't our Slaves restrain
From Pleasure, Mirth, and Gaiety of Life,
For they may revel, be inflam'd with Love,
And live as much at Ease, as some free *Denizens*. J. A.

Farther, they were permitted to get Estates for themselves, paying only a small Tribute to their Masters every Year out of them; and, if they could procure as much as would pay for their Ransom, their Masters had no Power to hinder them from buying their Liberty, as may be observ'd from the same Author, who introduces a *Slave* speaking in this Manner,

*Quid tu me verò libertate territas?
Quod si tu nolis, filiusque etiam tuus,
Vobis inuitis, atque amicum ingratis;
Una libella liber possum fieri (l).*

Pray, Sir, good Words, since nor you, nor your Son,
Can me my Liberty deny, although
You pour out Threat'nings with such rigorous Awe,
For, if I please, one Pound can me release,
And purchase Freedom.

Sometimes, if they had been faithful and diligent in their Master's Business, they dismiss'd them of their own Accord; and, upon the Performance of any remarkable Service for the Publick, the State usually took Care to reward them with Liberty. Such of them as were admitted to serve in the Wars, were seldom left in the Condition of *Slaves*, either for fear the Remembrance of their former Oppression might move them to revolt to the Enemy, or raise a Sedition at Home, so fair an Opportunity being put into their Hands; or to animate them with greater Courage and Constancy to oppose the Invaders, when they were to receive so great a Reward for the Dangers they underwent; or because it was thought unreasonable, that such, as hazarded their Lives in Defence of their Country's Liberty, should themselves groan under the heavy Yoke of *Slavery*, and be depriv'd of even the smallest Part of that, which was in a great Measure owing to their Courage and Loyalty; for one, I say, or all these Reasons, such, as upon emergent Occasions took up Arms for the publick Safety, seldom fail'd of having their Liberty restor'd to them. An Instance whereof, to mention no more, we have in the *Slaves*, that behav'd themselves valiantly in the Sea-Fight at *Arginusæ*, where the *Athenians* obtain'd a signal Victory against *Callicratidas*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral; and therefore the *Slave* in *Aristophanes*, being almost ready to faint under an heavy Burthen, accuseth his own Cowardice, that hindered him from lifting himself amongst the Marine Forces, and thereby recovering his Liberty,

Οἱμοι κακοδαίμων· τί γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐκ ἐναντίας; (m);

Pox take this Heart, that durst not meet
In boist'rous Seas the *Spartan* Fleet.

(l) *Casim.*

(m) *Ranis, AÆ, I. Scen. I.*
F 2

Slaves, as long as they were under the Government of a Master, were call'd Οἰκέται, but, after their Freedom was granted them, they were Δούλοι, not being, like the former, a Part of their Master's Estate, but only oblig'd to some grateful Acknowledgments and small Services (n), such as were required of the Μέτοικοι, to whom they were in some few Things inferior; but seldom arrived to the Dignity of Citizens, especially if they had received their Freedom from a private Person, and not upon a publick Account; for such as were advanced for publick Services, seem to have liv'd in great Repute, and enjoy'd a larger Share of Liberty than others, that had only merited their Freedom by the Obligations they had laid upon particular Persons. These therefore were sometimes advanced to be Citizens; yet not without the Opposition or Dislike of many:

Καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ τὰς μὲν ναυμαχῆσαι μίαν,
καὶ Πλαταιᾶς εὐθὺς εἶναι, κρῖντι δούλων διαπότας.

It being dishonourable to rank those, who had been in one Engagement at Sea, with the Plataeans, that is, to honour them with the Privileges of Athenian Citizens, and from Slaves to make them Masters, as one affirms in Aristophanes (o). Whence there was a Law enacted, whereby the publick Criers were forbid to proclaim the Freedom of a Slave in the Theatre, that being a Place of publick Concourse, and frequented by Men of other Cities, who would, on that Account, have less Value for the Privileges of Athens (p). Lastly, the ἀπαλεύθεροι, Slaves made free, were term'd ὀδοί, Bastards; ὀδοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι πρὸς τὰς ἐν γένεσι ἐλευθέρους; they being under a Sort of Illegitimacy, if compar'd with the genuine and free-born Citizens (q).

A Tribute of twelve Drachms was exacted of the Μέτοικοι, and the same with an Addition of three Oboli was required of the Freemen (r). Also they were obliged to chuse a Προστάτης, who was to be no other than the Master, out of whose Service they had been releas'd; upon him they attended almost in the same Manner with the Roman *Liberti* and *Clientes*; but in Case they behav'd themselves stubbornly, and ungratefully towards him, he had Power to arrest them, and carry them before a Judge, by whom, if they were found guilty, they were depriv'd of their Liberty, and reduced to their former miserable Condition. But, if the Judge acquitted them, they became τελὲς ἐλεύθεροι, entirely free from their Master. This Action was term'd ἀπογραφῆς δίκη, which Name was also given to the Complaints made by *Servants* and *Freedmen* against their Masters and *Patrons*, which both of them were allow'd to prefer, if they were not treated with all the Humanity that was due to their respective Conditions: But because all the *Freedmen's* publick Business, like that of the Μέτοικοι, was to be managed chiefly by Proxies; at their Restoration to Liberty, both of them had the Privilege of chusing an Ἐπίτροπος, or Curator, who, in Case his *Client* receiv'd any Injury from his *Patron*, was to defend him, to appeal for him, and plead his Cause before the Judges, who, out of Respect to the *Patron*, were appointed out of his own Tribe (s).

(n) Chrysippus de Concord. l. II. (o) Ranis AÆ. VII. Scen. VI (p) Aeschinus Orat. in Ctesiphontem. (q) Nonnus in Naëtanienē Στυλῆτας. (r) Harpocrat. (s) Suidas, Harpocrat.

This was the Condition of *Slaves* in *Athens*, which, tho' in itself deplorable enough, yet, if compar'd with that of their Fellow-Sufferers in other Cities, seems very easy, at least tolerable, and not to be repin'd at. I might here give you an Account of the various Conditions of *Slaves* in the several Countries of *Greece*, such as the *Penestæ* in *Thes-saly*; the *Clarotæ* and *Mnoitæ* in *Crete*; the *Corynephori* at *Sicyon*; the *Gymnitæ* at *Argos*, and many others: But I shall only at present lay before you the State of the *Helotæ* in *Sparta*, which, because of the frequent Mention made of them in Authors, must not be omitted; and from their Treatment (tho' they were a more genteel Sort of *Slaves*, and enjoy'd more Privileges (a) than the rest) will appear the Truth of what *Plutarch* tells us was commonly said of *Sparta*, 'Εν Δακεδαίμονι τὸν ἐλεύθερον μάλιστα ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, καὶ τὸν δέσλον μάλιστα δέσλον, that in *Sparta*, he that was free, was most so; and he that was a *Slave*, was the greatest *Slave* in the World (b).

The *Helotæ* were so call'd from *Helos*, a *Laconian* Town, conquer'd by the *Spartans*, who made all the Inhabitants Prisoners of War, and reduced them into the Condition of *Slaves* (c).

The Freemen of *Sparta* were forbidden the Exercise of any mean or mechanical Employment, and therefore the whole Care of supplying the City with Necessaries was devolved upon the *Helots*, the Ground was till'd, and all Sorts of Trades manag'd by them; whilst their Masters, Gentlemen-like, spent all their Time in Dancing and Feasting, in their Exercises, Hunting-matches, and the *Λίσχαι*, or Places where good Company used to meet (d).

But the being condemned to such Drudgeries, all their Lives, had been at least supportable, had they not been also treated in the most barbarous Manner, and often murder'd without committing any Fault, and without any Shew of Justice. And of this the *Κρυπία*, or secret Law, the Invention whereof some ascribe to the *Ephori*, others to *Lycurgus*, is a sufficient Proof. "It was an Ordinance, (these are *Plutarch's* own Words) by which those, who had the Care of the young Men, dispatch'd privately some of the ablest of them into the Country from time to time, arm'd only with Daggers, and taking a little necessary Provision with them; these in the Day-time hid themselves in the Thickets and Clefts, and there lay close; but in the Night issued out into the Highways, and murder'd all the *Helots* they could light upon; sometimes they set upon them by Day, as they were at Work in the Field, and kill'd them in cool Blood, as *Thucydides* reports in his History of the *Peloponnesian* War. The same Author tells us (saith *Plutarch*) that a good Number of them being crown'd by Proclamation, which was a Token of their being set free, enfranchis'd for their good Services, and led about to all the Temples in Token of Honour, disappear'd of a sudden, being about the Number of two thousand, and no Man either then, or since, could give any Account how they came by their Deaths. *Aristotle* adds, that the *Ephori*, so soon as they were entered into their Office, used to declare War against them, that they might be massacred with a Pretence of Law."

(a) Pollux, l. III. c. 8. (b) *Plutarch. Lycurg.* (c) *Strabo*, l. VIII. *Harpocrat.* (d) *Plutarch. Lycurgo.*

It is confess'd on all Hands, proceeds my Author, that the *Spartans* dealt with them very hardly; for it was a Thing common to force them to drink to Excess, and to lead them in that Condition into their publick Halls, that their Children might see, *what a contemptible and beastly Sight a drunken Man is*. They made them to dance uncomely Dances, and sing ridiculous Songs; forbidding them expressly to use any that was serious and manly, because they *would not have them profan'd by their Mouths*. For this Reason, when the *Thebans* made an Incurfion into *Laconia*, and took a great Number of the *Helots* Prisoners, they could by no Means persuade them to sing the Odes of *Terpander*, *Aleman*, or *Spendon*, Poets in Repute at *Lacedæmon*, for, said they, *they are our Masters Songs, we dare not sing them* (e).

Having given you a Survey of the Usage *Slaves* generally met with among the Ancients, it remains that I give you an Account how they came to fall into this deplorable Condition, from that Liberty, which all Men are by Nature made Masters of. And it seems to have happen'd these three Ways. *First*, from Poverty, whereby Men being unable to subsist of themselves, and perhaps deeply in Debt, were forced to part with their Freedom, and yield themselves *Slaves* to such as were able to maintain them; or sell their Bodies to their Creditors, and pay them in Service what they were not able to do in Money. *Secondly*, vast Numbers were reduced to Slavery by the Chance of War, by which the Conquer'd became wholly at the Disposal of the Conquerors. *Thirdly*, by the Perfidiousness of those who traded in *Slaves*, who often stole Persons of ingenuous Birth and Education, and sold them. *Aristophanes* tells us, the *Theffalians* were notorious for this Sort of Villainy:

ΠΕ. Πόθεν ἔν' ἔξεις Δεράπονας;

XP. Ὀπισσόμει' ἀργυρίῳ δῆπιν. ΠΕ. Τίς δ' ἔσται πρῶτον ὁ πωλῶν,
Ὅταν ἀργύριον κακῶν ἔχη; XP. Κερδαίνειν βεβλόμενος τις
Ἐμποροῦ, ἥκων ἐκ Θετταλίας παρὰ πλείων ἀνδραποδιστῶν (f).

POV. How will you, Sir, get *Slaves*? CHR. I'll buy with Coin.

POV. But where? Since all the Merchants leave off Sale,

Having got Wealth enough. CHR. I'll warrant you,
Slave-mongers will come here from *Theffaly*,

Driv'n by Hopes of getting more. —

J. A.

But, if any Person were convicted of having betray'd a Freeman, he was severely punished by *Solon's* Laws, except it was his Daughter, or Sister, whom the Laws permitted him to sell for *Slaves*, when convicted of Fornication (g).

At *Athens*, several Places in the *Forum* were appointed for the Sale of *Slaves*, of which I have spoken already; and upon the first Day of every Month the Merchants, call'd Ἀνδραποδοκῆπηλοι, brought them into the Market, and expos'd them to Sale (h), the Crier standing upon a Stone erected for that Purpose, call'd Πρατὴν λίθος, and calling the

(e) *Plutarch. ibidem.* (f) *Plut. Aët. II. Sc. V.* (g) *Plutarch. Solone.* (h) *Aristoph. Equit.*

People together (i); whence *Cicero* opprobriously calls the *Tribunes*, *emptos de lapide*, because they were suspected to have been hir'd to the Management of a certain Affair (k).

At *Athens*, when a *Slave* was first brought Home, there was an Entertainment provided to welcome him to his new Service, and certain Sweet-meats were pour'd upon his Head, which for that Reason they call'd *Κάλαχυσμάλα* (l). But I do not find that this Ceremony was practis'd in other Places, tho', in all Countries, *Slaves* were bought and sold like other Commodities; the *Thracians* are particularly remarkable for purchasing them with Salt, and therefore they were call'd *Πρὸς ἅλως ἡρασμένα*; *Eustathius* adds, that *Ἀλάνηλα δολάρια* signified those that were bought at a very low Rate. The *Chians* are reported to have been the first that gave Money for *Slaves* (m), whereas, before, they had usually been exchange'd for other Commodities, which was the ancient Way of trading before the Invention of Money. *Homer's* Heroes are often said to have exchange'd their Captives for Provisions, and particularly at the End of the Seventh *Iliad*:

Ἔρθεν ἄρ' εἰς ἔσθλο κακηκομένους Ἀχαιοί,
Ἄλλοι μὲν χαλκῷ, ἄλλοι δ' αἰθωνί σιδήρῳ,
Ἄλλοι δὲ ῥινόις, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτοῖσι βόεσσιν,
Ἄλλοι δ' ἀνδραπόδεσσι, τίθειτο δὲ δαῖτα δάλειαν.

The Grecian Chiefs, by bart'ring of their Ware,
Their choice Provisions and their Wine prepare;
Some Brags exchange, some Iron, some Beasts Hides.
Some *Slaves* of War, some Cattle———

J. A.

Whence it appears, that the barbarous Oppression and Cruelty, used towards *Slaves*, was not an Effect of the Pride of later Ages, but practis'd in the most primitive and simple Times; how long it continued is not certain.

Adrian is said to have been the first that took away from Masters the Power of putting their *Slaves* to Death, without being call'd to Account for it. And in the Reign of *Nero*, and other cruel Emperors of *Rome*, the Masters were forced to give them civil Treatment, for Fear they should accuse them, as Persons disaffected to the Government.

But the Growth of *Christianity* in the Word seems to have put a final Period to that unlimited Power, that Lords in former Ages claim'd over their *Slaves*; for the *Christians* behav'd themselves with Abundance of Mildness and Gentleness towards them; partly, to encourage them to embrace the *Christian* Religion, the propagating of which they aim'd at more than the Promotion of their own private Interests; and partly, because they thought it barbarous and unnatural, that Persons endu'd by Nature with the same Powers and Faculties, the same Tempers and Inclinations with themselves, should be treated with no

(i) *Pollux*, l. III. c. 8. (k) *Orat. in Pisonem*. (l) *Aristoph. Flu*, & *Pollux* loc. cit. (m) *Cael. Rhod. Antiquit.* l. XXV. c. 9.

more Kindness than those Creatures, which are without Reason, and have no Power to reflect on their own Condition, nor be sensible of the Miseries they lie under.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

THE Magistrates of Athens are divided by *Æschines* (n) into three Sorts; the Ground of which Distinction is taken from the different Methods of their Election and Promotion.

1. *Xucolovret*, were such as receiv'd their Dignity from the People, met together in lawful Assembly, which on this Occasion was held in the *Pnyx*; and were so called from the Manner of their Election, in which the People gave their Votes, by holding up their Hands.

2. *Kλeρωτοι*, were those that ow'd their Promotion to Lots, which were drawn by the *Thesmothetæ*, in *Theseus's* Temple. But it must be observ'd, that no Person was permitted to try his Fortune by the Lots, unless he had been first approv'd by the People; who likewise reserv'd to themselves a Power to appoint whom they pleas'd, without referring the Decision to Lots; and thus *Aristides* was nominated to the Office of *Archon*. The Manner of casting Lots was thus; the Name of every Candidate, inscribed upon a Table of Brass, being put into an Urn, together with Beans, the Choice fell upon those Persons, whose Tablets were drawn out with white Beans. If any Man threw more than one Tablet into the Urn, he suffer'd capital Punishment (o).

3. *Αιρετοι*, were extraordinary Officers, appointed by particular Tribes or Boroughs, to take Care of any Business; such were the Surveyors of the publick Works, and such-like.

According to *Solon's* Constitutions, no Man was capable of being a Magistrate, except he was possessed of a considerable Estate; but, by *Aristides's* Means, the poorer Sort were admitted to a Share in the Government, and every free *Demizon* rendered capable of appearing for the highest Preferments. Yet such was the Modesty of the Commons, that they left the chief Offices, and such as the Care of the Commonwealth depended upon, to Persons of superior Quality, aspiring no higher than the Management of petty and trivial Businesses (p). Yet they seem to have been afterwards made incapable of bearing Offices. *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Phacion*, mentions some who were ἀπολυσισθῆναι τὸ πολιτικόν διὰ τὴν πτωχείαν, incapable of the Government by reason of their Poverty. Neither is it improbable, that, as different Factions and Interests became prevalent, sometimes the Nobility admitted the Commons to a Participation of Employments and Offices, and sometimes again excluded them.

But, tho' no Man's Quality or Condition could exempt him from bearing publick Offices, yet his Course of Life and Behaviour might;

(n) Orat. in Ctesiphont. Ulpian in Androtiana. (o) Demosthenis Orat. in Boeotum de Nomis. (p) Xenophon, de Rep. Athen.

for, if any Man had liv'd a vicious and scandalous Life, he was thought unworthy of the meanest Office; it being improbable that a Person, that could not behave himself so as to gain Reputation in a private Capacity, should be able to demean himself prudently and wisely in a publick Station; or that he, who had neglected his own Concerns, or fail'd in the Management of them, should be capable of undertaking publick Business, and providing for the Commonwealth. And therefore, before any Man was admitted to a publick Employment, he was obliged to give an Account of himself, and his past Life, before certain Judges in the *Forum*, which was the Place appointed for his Examination, which they call'd *Δικιμασία* (q). Nor was this alone thought sufficient, for, tho' at this Time they pass the Trial with Credit, yet in the first Ordinary (*κυρία*) Assembly after their Election, they were a second Time brought to the Test, when, if any Thing scandalous was made out against them, they were deprived of their Honours (r). And of the Magistrates appointed by *Lots*, whoever had the Misfortune to be deprived, after his Election, was prohibited from coming to the publick Assembly, and making Orations to the People (s). But it was a capital Crime for any Man to enter upon the Magistracy, whilst unable to pay his Debts. And Actions of this Nature were heard by the *Thesmothes* (t). And, when their Offices expired, they were obliged to give an Account of their Management to the *Notaries* (*γραμμαῖς*) and the *Logistæ*, which was call'd *Εἰσὶν*, and if any Man neglected to do it, or had not undergone the former Probation, the People were forbidden, by an express Law, to present him with a Crown, which was the usual Reward of such as had gain'd themselves Honour and Reputation, by the careful and wise Management of publick Employments. Also till their Accounts were pass'd, they were not permitted to sue (u) for any other Office, or Place of Trust, or to travel into any foreign Country, or to dispose of their Estates, or any Part of them, whether by Will, or consecrating them to pious Uses, or any other Way; but the Whole was to remain entire, that, in Case they should be found to have embezzled the publick Revenues, the City might not lose by them. The (*Λογισταί*) *Logistæ*, who examined the Accounts, were ten. If any Magistrate neglected to give in his Accounts, they prefer'd against him an Action, which was term'd *ἀλογίᾳ δίκη* (w). If any Controversy happen'd, it was determined by proper Judges. If it was concerning Money, the *Logistæ* themselves were impower'd to decide it. If it concerned Affairs which belonged to the popular Assembly, they referred thither. If it was about Injuries committed, it was brought before the Judges, who used to have Cognizance of such Causes (x). Every Man was permitted to offer his Complaint, Proclamation being usually made by the publick Crier in this Form, *Τὸ βέλτερον καλῶμεν; Who will accuse* (y)? The Time limited for Complaints was thirty Days; which being past, no Magistrate could

(q) *Lyfæ Orat. in Ewandr. Æschines contra Timarchum.* (r) *Demosthen. in Theocr.* (s) *Demosthenes in Aristogit.* (t) *Demosthenis Leptinea & Timocratea.* (u) *Suidas, Hesychius, Æschin. Orat. de Ement. Legat. Æschin. in Ctesiphont.* (w) *Hesychius.* (x) *Ulpianus in Demosthenis Orat. de falsa Legat. Pollux.* (y) *Æschin. Orat. adv. Ctesiphontem.*
have

have any farther Trouble. If any Person, against whom a Complaint was preferr'd, refused to appear at the Time appointed, he was summon'd to defend himself before the Senate of *five hundred*; where, if he did not make his Appearance, he was punish'd with ἀρμία, *Infamy*.

This was the Method of examining into the Behaviour of Magistrates after the Expiration of their Offices. Neither were they exempted from being brought to Trial during their Magistracy; it being the Custom for the nine Archons, in every ordinary and stated (ἐνστα) Assembly of the People, to propound this Question, Whether the Magistrates were faithful in the Discharge of their several Duties? If upon that any of them was accused, the Crier made Proclamation, that such, as thought the Accusation just, should lift up their Hands; which Action was term'd καταχειροτονία. This being over, the rest of the Assembly, to whom the Magistrate appear'd innocent, held up their Hands, which was ἀποχειροτονία (x). Then the Voices being number'd on both Sides, the Majority carried it.

The Day, in which the Magistrates entered upon their Offices, was the first of *Hecatombæon*, the first Month in the *Athenian* Calendar; it was a solemn Festival, which from the Occasion had the Name of Εἰοντήρεια, and was celebrated with all the Expressions of Mirth and Joy, usual on such Occasions. Also Sacrifices were offer'd to the Gods by the Senators, and most of the other Magistrates; and Prayers made for the Prosperity of the City, in the Chapel of *Jupiter* and *Minerva* the Counsellors (a).

C H A P. XII.

Of the nine Archons, &c.

THE chief Magistrates of Athens were nine in Number, and had all the common Name of *Archontes*, or Rulers. They were elected by Lots, but were not admitted to their Offices, till they had undergone a two-fold Trial; one in the Senate-house, call'd Ἀρχοντεῖον, and a second in the Forum, call'd Δορυμῆα. The Questions, which the Senate propos'd to them, were such as these, Whether they were descended from Ancestors, that had been Citizens of Athens for three Generations? Of what Tribes and Hundred they were, and whether they bore any Relation to *Apollo Patrius* and *Jupiter Herceus*? Whether they had been dutiful to their Parents, had served in the Wars, and had a competent Estate (b)? Lastly, whether they were ἀπερῆς, *perfect in all the Members of their Bodies*? It being otherwise unlawful for them to be Archons. And, as some are of Opinion, the same Questions were demanded of all other Magistrates (c). We must not omit in this Place, that, by the foremention'd Question concerning their Relations to *Apollo Patrius* and *Jupiter Herceus*, was enquired,

(x) Suidas, cujus elegans est hac de re locus. (a) Suidas, Ulpian, in Median. Antipbon. Orat. de Choreuta. (b) Demosth. in Eubulid. Pollux Onom. l. VIII. c. 9.

(c) Diarchus contra Aristogit.

whether they were freeborn Citizens of Athens, (they alone being permitted to execute the Office of *Archon*) for all the Athenians claim'd a Sort of Relation to these Gods. Hence we are told by the *Scholiast* on *Aristophanes* (d), that the *Archons* honour'd Apollo Patrius as their Progenitor, when they were admitted into their Office; ἐν γὰρ τῇ μὴ ἰδέναι, ζῆναι αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπον, because such, as had no Acquaintance with him, were reputed Foreigners. Whence that Saying of *Aristophanes* (e),

ὅθεν ὁ πατριὸς ἐστίν.
ὅ γὰρ εἰς Βάρβαροι,

For they are not Barbarians who live with Apollo Patrius. But afterwards, when the Athenian Glory was in the Declension, not only Men of the Half-blood of Athens, but even Foreigners, who had been admitted into the City, were made *Archons*. Examples whereof are *Hadrian*, before he was advanced to be Emperor of Rome (f); and *Plutarch*, who relates (g), that himself was honour'd with the Freedom of Athens, made a Member of the Tribe *Leontis*, and afterwards bore the Office of *Archon*.

But what was more peculiar to these *Magistrates*, was the Oath required of them before their Admission, in the *Portico*, call'd *Βασιλειῶσα*, or *πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ*, at the Stone Tribunal in the Forum, to this Effect; that they would observe the Laws, and administer Justice without Partiality, would never be corrupted by Bribes, or, if they were, would dedicate a Statue of Gold of equal Weight with their own Bodies to the *Delphian Apollo*; from thence they went into the Citadel, and there repeated the same Oath. This Custom was instituted by *Solon*, as we are inform'd by *Plutarch* in his Life of that Lawgiver. He mentions only the *Thesmothetæ*; but that the other *Archons* took the same Oath, is evident from *Plato*, by whom *Phædrus* is introduced, promising to dedicate at *Delphi* a Golden Statue equal to himself in Weight, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐννέα Ἀρχόντες, after the Manner of the nine *Archons*.

This done, they undertook their Charge, some Parts of which were to be executed by them separately, according to their respective Offices, others equally concern'd them all. They had all the Power of punishing Malefactors with Death, were all crown'd with Garlands of Myrtle; they had a joint Commission of appointing the *Δυναταί*, and *Ἀποθέται*, by Lots, electing out of every Tribe one; as also of constituting the *Ἰππαρχοί*, *Φύλαρχοί*, and *Στρατηγί*, of enquiring into the Behaviour and Management of other *Magistrates*, and deposing such as were by the Suffrages of the People declared to be unworthy of bearing any Office, which had been committed to them (b). And as a Recompence of their Services, they were free from all Taxes and Contributions exacted of other Citizens for the Building of Ships of War, which was an Immunity never granted to any besides themselves. If any Person had the Insolence to strike, or publicly affront any of

(d) *Nubibus*. (e) *Avibus*, p. 566. *Amstelod.* (f) *Xiphilinus Hadriana*, *Phlegon Trallianus*. (g) *Symposiac.* Lib. I. Problem. X. & Lib. X. Probl. ultimo. (b) *Pollux* ibid. Idem ubique laudatur in his capitibus.

the *Archons*, adorn'd with their Crowns, or any other to whom the Citizens had given a Crown, or other Honour or Immunity, he was to be punish'd with *Infamy*, (*ἀτιμία*) as guilty of a Disrespect not only to the Person whom he had injur'd, but to the whole Commonwealth (*i*).

And thus much of the nine *Archons* in common, I shall now speak of them severally; only first begging Leave to tell you, that concerning the first Original of their Names nothing certain is recorded; but *Sigonius* conjectures, that the Names of *Βασιλεὺς*, and *Ἀρχων*, were in Imitation of the chief *Magistrates* of former Ages, wherein the City was first govern'd by *Kings*, and then by *Archons*; and that of *Πολέμαρχος*, in Memory of the *General* of the Army, an Officer usually created by the first *Kings* to assist them in Times of War. And the *Θεσμοθέται*, as their Name imports, seem to have been constituted in Behalf of the People, to protect them in the Possession of their *Laws* and *Liberties*, from the Usurpation of the other *Archons*, whose Power before *Solon's* Regulation of the Commonwealth seems to have been far greater, and more unbounded, than afterwards; for by that Lawgiver it was order'd, that their Offices should chiefly consist in these Things which follow:

Ἀρχων, so call'd by way of Eminence, was Chief of the Nine, and is sometimes nam'd *Ἐπώνυμος*, because the Year took its *Denomination* from him. His Jurisdiction reach'd both Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs. It was his Business to determine all Causes betwixt Men and their Wives; concerning Wives brought to Bed after the Death of their Husbands; concerning Wills and Testaments, concerning Dowries and Legacies; to take Care of Orphans, and provide Tutors and Guardians for them; to hear the Complaints of such as had been injur'd by their Neighbours, and to punish such as were addicted to Drunkenness; also to take the first Cognizance of some publick Actions, such as those call'd *Εἰσαγγελίαι*, *Φάσεις*, *Ἐνδείξεις*, *Ἐφηγήσεις*, of which in their Place. He kept a Court of Judicature in the *Odeum*, where Trials about Victuals, and other Necessaries, were brought before him. It was his Duty also to appoint *Curators*, call'd *Ἐπιμεληταί*; to make Provision for the Celebration of the Feasts, call'd *Διονύσια*, and *Θαργήλια*, with some other Solemnities; to take Care for the Regulation of Stage-players, and to provide Singers, Choristers, and other Necessaries for them (*k*). He was to be punish'd with Death, if convicted of being overcome with Drink during the Time of his Office.

Βασιλεὺς, had a Court of Judicature in the *Royal Portico*, where he decided all Disputes which happen'd amongst the Priests, and the sacred Families, such as were the *Ceryces*, *Eteobutadæ*, &c. to whom certain Offices in the Celebration of Divine Worship belong'd by Inheritance. Such also as were accused of Impiety, or Prophanation of any of the Mysteries, Temples, or other sacred Things, were brought before him. It was his Business to assist in the Celebration of the *Eleusinian* and *Leuean* Festivals, and all those, in which they ran Races with Torches in their Hands, *viz.* *Panathenæa*, *Hephestia*, and *Promothea*; and to offer publick Sacrifices for the Safety and Prosperity of the Common-

(i) *Demosthenes* in *Midiana*. (*k*) *Pollux* Onomastic. *Lyfias* in *Alcibiadem*, *Demosthenes* in *Macar*, *Suidas*, *Harpocra*t. & ubique in his capitibus.

wealth. It was required that his Wife, whom they term'd *Baethioa*, should be a Citizen of the whole Blood of *Athens*, and a Virgin: Which was likewise enjoined by the *Jewish* Law to the High Priest, otherwise neither of them was duly qualified to preside over the Mysteries and Rites of their several Religions (*l*). Besides this, he had some Concernment in secular Affairs, for Disputes about inanimate Things were brought before him; as also Accusations of Murder, which it was his Business to take an Account of, and then refer them to the *Areopagites*, amongst whom he had a Right of Suffrage, but was obliged to lay aside his Crown (which was one of the Badges of his Office) during the Trial (*m*).

Πολίμαρχος, had under his Care all the Strangers and Sojourners in *Athens*, and exercised the same Authority over them, which was used by the *Archon* towards the Citizens. It was his Duty to offer a solemn Sacrifice to *Enyalios*, (who is by some taken for *Mars*, by others for one of his Attendants) and another to *Diana*, surnam'd *'Apyōleca*, from one of the *Athenian* Boroughs; to celebrate the Exequies of the famous Patriot *Harmodius*; and to take Care that the Children of those Men; that had lost their Lives in their Country's Service, should have a competent Maintenance out of the publick Exchequer.

But because these three Magistrates were often, by Reason of their Youth, not so well skill'd in the Laws and Customs of their Country, as might have been wish'd, that they might not be left wholly to themselves, it was customary for each of them to make Choice of two Persons of Age, Gravity, and Reputation to sit with them upon the Bench, and direct them as there was Occasion. These they call'd *Πάριδες*, or Assessors, and obliged them to undergo the same Probation in the Senate-house, and publick Forum, with the other Magistrates; and, like them too, to give an Account how they had behav'd themselves in their respective Trusts, when their Offices expired.

The six remaining *Archons* were call'd by one common Name, *Thesmothetæ*. They received Complaints against Persons guilty of false Accusations, of Calumniating, of Bribery, of Impiety, which also was Part of the *King's* Office, but with this Difference, that the Accusers did only *φαίναν τὸν ἀσεβῆ*, inform against the Impious, by Word of Mouth at the *King's* Tribunal; whereas, before the *Thesmothetæ*, they did *γράφειν*, deliver their Indictment in Writing, and prosecute the Criminal. Also all Causes and Disputes between the Citizens, and Strangers, Sojourners or Slaves, and Controversies about Trade and Merchandize were brought before them. Appeals to the People were prefer'd, the publick Examination of several of the *Magistrates* perform'd, and the Suffrages in publick Assemblies taken by them. They ratified all publick Contracts and Leagues, appointed the Days upon which the Judges were to sit and hear Causes in their several Courts of Judicature, took Care that no Laws should be established, but such as conduced to the Safety and Prosperity of the Commonwealth, and prosecuted those that endeavour'd to seduce the unwary Multitude, and persuade them to give their Consent to what was contrary to the Interest of the Commonwealth.

(*l*) *Demosthenes* in *Neæram*. (*m*) *Demosthenes* in *Locritum* & in *Neæram*.

Εὔθυμοι, were ten Officers appointed to assist the *Archons*, to pass the Accounts of the *Magistrates*, and to set a Fine upon such as they found to have embezzl'd the publick Treasures, or any Way injur'd the Commonwealth by their Male-administration. *Aristotle* (n) tells us, they were sometimes call'd *Ἐξέτασαι* and *Συνήγοροι*, and others will have them to be the same with the *Λογισταί*; but these are by *Aristotle* said to be distinguish'd from them.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

Οἱ ἑνδεκά, the *Eleven*, so call'd from their Number, were elected out of the Body of the People, each of the ten *Tribes* sending one; to which there was added a *Γραμματεὺς*, or Register, to make up the Number; sometimes they were call'd *Νομοφύλακες*, Keepers of the Laws; which Appellation was taken from their Office, being in some Things not unlike to that of our *Sheriffs*; for they were to see Malefactors put to Execution, and had the Charge of such as were committed to the publick Prison. They had also Power to seize Thieves, Kidnappers, and Highwaymen upon Suspicion, and, if they confess'd the Fact, to put them to Death; if not, they were obliged to prosecute them in a judicial Way.

Φύλαρχοι, were *Magistrates* that presided over the *Athenian Tribes*, one of which was allotted to each of them. Afterwards this Name became peculiar to a military Command, and the Governors of *Tribes* were call'd *Ἐπιμεληταὶ Φυλῶν*. Their Business was to take Care of the publick Treasure, which belong'd to each *Tribe*, to manage all their Concerns, and call them together to consult as oft as any Thing happen'd, which required the Presence of the whole Body.

Φυλοβασιλεῖς seem to have had, in most Things, the same Office, with respect to particular *Tribes*, that the *Βασιλεὺς* had, with respect to the Commonwealth. They were chosen out of the *Εὐπατρίδαι*, or Nobility, had the Care of publick Sacrifices, and other divine Worship peculiar to their respective *Tribes*, and kept their Court in the *Portico*, call'd *Βασιλειον*, and sometimes in the *Βεκολεῖον*.

Φρατρίαρχοι, and *Τριτῆαρχοι*, had in the several *Φατρίαι*, and *Τριτῆαι*, the same Power that the *Φύλαρχος* exercised over the whole *Tribe*.

Δήμαρχοι, had the same Offices in the *Δῆμοι*, took Care of their Revenues, out of which they paid all the Duties required of them, assembled the People in the Boroughs under their Jurisdiction, all whose Names they had written in a Register, and presided at the Election of Senators, and other Magistrates chosen by Lots. Sometimes we find them call'd *Ναυκεῖροι*, and the Boroughs *Ναυκεῖραι*, because each of them was obliged, besides two Horsemen, to furnish out one Ship for the publick Service.

(n) *Polit. l. VI. cap. ultimo.*

Ληξιαρχοι, were six in Chief, but were assisted by thirty inferior Officers, in laying Fines upon such as came not to publick Assemblies, and making Scrutiny amongst those that were present; such also, as were busy in the Market, they compell'd to leave their Buying and Selling, and attend on the publick Business, the which they did by the Help of the *Τοξόται*, who were certain inferior Officers, or rather Servants, much like the *Roman Liſtors*, and our *Sheriff's Liſt-wrymen, Bailiffs, &c.* the City of *Athens* had a thousand of them, that liv'd in Tents, erected in the Middle of the *Forum*, and were afterwards removed to the *Areopagus*. Their Name seems to have been taken from the Arms they usually carried with them, in the same Manner that the Life-guards of Kings are call'd *Δορυφόροι*. Sometimes they are call'd *Δημόσιοι Ἐπόπται*, a Name which was taken from their Offices; sometimes *Πεισῖται*, from *Peisius*, one of the Primitive *Athenians*, that either first instituted this Office, or gave Rules for the ordering of it; and sometimes *Σκυθαι*, from the Country of *Scythia*; for generally Men of that Country were chosen into this Place, as being brawny, sturdy Fellows; and therefore one of them is introduced by *Aristophanes*, speaking in an uncouth and barbarous Manner (o). But to return to the *Lexiarchi*. They were the Persons that had the keeping of *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, or *λεῖνωμα*, or publick Register of the whole City, in which were written the Names of all the Citizens, as soon as they came to be of Age to enter upon their paternal Inheritance, which they call'd *Λῆξις*.

Νομοφύλακες, were Officers, whose Business it was to see that neither the *Magistrates* nor common People made any Innovation upon the *Laws*, and to punish the stubborn and disobedient (p). To this End in publick Assemblies they had Seats appointed with the *Πρόεδροι*, that they might be ready to oppose any Man that should act contrary to the *Laws*, and received Customs, or promoted any Thing against the publick Good. As a Token of the honourable Station they were placed in, they always wore a white Ribband in the solemn Games, and publick Shews, and had Chairs erected for them over-against those of the nine *Archons*.

Νομοβέται, were a thousand in Number, who were commonly chosen by Lot out of such as had been Judges in the Court *Heliaea*: Their Office was not (as the Name seems to imply) to enact new *Laws* by their own Authority, for that could not be done without the Approbation of the Senate, and the People's Ratification, but to inspect the old; and if they found any of them useless, or prejudicial, as the State of Affairs then stood, or contradictory to others, they caused them to be abrogated by an Act of the People. Besides this, they were to take Care that no Man should plough, or dig deep Ditches within the *Pelasgian Wall*, to apprehend the Offenders, and send them to the *Archon*.

(o) *Aristophanes* ejusque *Scholias*t. *Acarn. & Thesmoph.* (p) *Cicero de Legib.* lib. III. *Columella de Re Rust.* lib. XII. cap. 3.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

THE *Treasurers* and *General Receivers* of *Athens* were of several Sorts; but, before I proceed to give an Account of their Offices, it will be necessary to premise a Word or two concerning the publick Revenues; which are by the accurate *Sigonius* divided into these four Sorts:

1. *Τέλη*, signify those Revenues that were brought in by Lands, Mines, Woods, and other publick Possessions, set apart for the Use of the Commonwealth; and the Tributes paid by the *Sojourners*, and the *Freed-Servants*; as also the Customs requir'd of certain Arts and Trades, and particularly of Merchants for the Exportation and Importation of their Goods.

2. *Φόροι*, were the annual Payments exacted of all their tributary Cities, which, after *Xerxes's* Overthrow, were first levied by the *Athenians*, as Contributions to enable them to carry on the War, in Case, as was fear'd, the Enemy should make a new Invasion upon them. The first Collector of this Tax was *Aristides*, who, (as *Plutarch* reports in his Life) assess'd all particular Persons, Town by Town, according to every Man's Ability; and the Sum raised by him amounted to four hundred and sixty Talents. To this *Pericles* added near a third Part (proceeds my Author) for *Thucydides* reports, that, in the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, the *Athenians* had, coming in from their Confederates, six hundred Talents. After *Pericles's* Death, the *Orators*, and Men powerful amongst the People, proceeded to increase it by little and little, till it amounted to one thousand and three hundred Talents; and that not so much, because of the extraordinary Expensiveness of the Wars, as by exciting the People to Largeesses, Play-house Expences, and the Erecting of Statues and Temples.

3. *Εισφοραί*, were Taxes laid upon the *Citizens*, as well as *Sojourners* and *Freed-Servants*, by the Order of the Assembly and Senate, for the defraying of extraordinary Charges, occasion'd by long and unsuccessful Wars, or any other Means.

4. *Τυμμήματα*, were Fines and Amercements, all which were carried into the Exchequer; except the tenth Part, which was given to *Minerva*, and the fiftieth Part which belong'd to the rest of the Gods, and the Heroes call'd *ἑρῶνυμοί*. Having said thus much of the publick Money, I shall now proceed to the Persons that had the Disposal and Management of it.

Ἐπιστάτης, was elected by Lot out of the *Prytanes*; and had in his Custody the Keys of the publick Exchequer, which Trust was thought so great, that no Man was permitted to enjoy it above once. Of the rest of the Honours and Offices of this *Magistrate* I shall speak in another Place.

Πωληταί, were ten in Number, and, together with those that had the Care of the Money allow'd for Shews, had the Power of letting out the Tribute Money, and other publick Revenues, and selling Estates
that

that were confiscated; all which Bargains were ratified in the Name of their *President*. Besides this, it was their Office to convict such as had not paid the Tribute, call'd *Μετοίκιον*, and sell them by Auction. Under these were certain Inferior Officers, call'd *ἑλωσίαι*, whose Business it was to collect the publick Money, for such as had Leases of the City's Revenues, whom they call'd *Τελῶναι*; these were always Persons of good Credit themselves, and, besides their own Bonds, were obliged to give other Security for the Payment of the Money due according to their Leases, in which, if they fail'd any longer than till the ninth *Prytand*, they were under a Forfeiture of twice the Principal, to be paid by themselves or their Sureties, upon Neglect of which they were all cast into Prison, and their Estates confiscated (g). After the Expulsion of the thirty Tyrants; certain Officers, call'd *Σύνδικοι*, were created with Power to take Cognizance of all Complaints about the Confiscation of Goods, as appears from an Oration of *Lyfias* in Behalf of *Nicias*.

Ἐπιγραφῆς, were Officers that rated all those of whom Taxes and Contributions were required according to every Man's Ability, kept the publick Accounts, and prosecuted such as were behind-hand with their Contributions.

Ἀποδέκται, were ten general Receivers, to whom all the publick Revenues, Contribution-money, and Debts ow'd to the Publick were paid: Which done, they registered all their Receptions, and cross'd out of the publick Debt-book such as had discharg'd their Debts in the Presence of the whole Senate. If any Controversy happen'd about the Money or Taxes, they had Power to decide it, except it was a difficult and knotty Point, or of high Concern, for such they referred to the Hearing of some of the Courts of Judicature.

Ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς, was a publick Notary, appointed at the first Institution of the Office by Election, and afterwards by Lot, to take a Counter-part of the Accounts of the *Ἀποδέκται*, for the Prevention of all Deceit and Mistakes.

Ἑλληνιστάριαι, or *Ἑλληνιστάριαι*, had the same Offices in the tributary Cities that belong'd to the *Ἀποδέκται* in their own Territories.

Πράξιες, were those that receiv'd the Money due to the City from Fines laid upon Criminals.

Ταμίαι τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τῶν Θεῶν, were those that received that Part of the Fines which was due to *Minerva*, and the rest of the Gods, which was done before the Senate. They were ten in Number, were chosen by Lots out of the *Πεπτακόσιοι μύητοι*, or Nobles, and had Power of remitting any Man's Fine, if it was made appear to them, that the Magistrates had unjustly imposed it. *Pollux* tells us, they were the same with those they call'd *Κωλαρχεῖται*, and these, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* reports, used to receive not only the Money due to the Gods from Fines, but other Incomes design'd for Civil Uses, and particularly, the *Τρωβόλαι*, distributed amongst the Judges, and therefore call'd *Δικαστικὸς μισθός*. They were so nam'd (g) *Κωλαρχεῖται*, because they were a Kind of Priests, and used to claim as their Due the Relicks of Sacrifices, amongst which were the Skins and the *Κωλαί* (r).

(g) *Suidas*, *Ulpianus* in *Demosthen.* &c. (r) *Aristoph. Schol.* *Avibus Vespis.*

Zētai, were Officers appointed upon extraordinary Occasions to enquire after the publick Debts, when thro' the Neglect of the *Receivers*, or by other Means, they were run up to large Sums, and began to be in Danger of being lost, if not call'd in.

The Distinction of the Officers, hitherto mention'd, has been taken chiefly from the different Receptions of the publick Money; I shall proceed in *Sigonius's* Method, and give you an Account in the next Place of those that were distinguished by the different Manners of disbursing it. And, to this End, you must know the publick Treasure was divided into three Sorts, according to the various Uses to which it was employ'd; the first they called,

1. *Χρήματα τῆς δημοσίας*, being such as were expended in civil Uses.
2. *Στρατιωτικά*, those that were required to defray the Charges of the War.

3. *Θεωρικά*, such as were consecrated to pious Uses; in which they included the Expences at Plays, publick Shews, and Festivals, because most of them were celebrated in Honour of some of the Gods, or in Memory of some deceased Hero; and *Pollux* tells us, the Money given to the Judges, and the People, that met in the publick Assemblies, was call'd by this Name. There is a Law mention'd by *Demosthenes* (s), whereby this Money was commanded, when the necessary Expences of War could not otherwise be provided for, to be applied to that Use. This *Eubulus* (to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, who were generally more concern'd to maintain the publick Shews and Festivals, than the most necessary War) caused to be abrogated, and at the same Time to be declared a capital Crime, for any Man to propound, that the *Θεωρικά χρήματα* should be applied for the Service of the War (t).

Ταμίης τῆς Διοικήσεως, otherwise call'd *Ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν κοινῶν προσόδων*, was the principal Treasurer, being far superior to all the rest in Honour and Power, created by the People, and continued in his Office for five Years; after which, if he had behaved himself with Honesty and Integrity, it was an usual Thing for him to be elected a second and third Time.

Ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς Διοικήσεως, seems to have been one that kept a Counterpart of the chief *Treasurer's* Accounts to preserve them from being falsified or corrupted.

Ταμίης τῶν Στρατιωτικῶν, was the *Pay-master General* of the Army.

Ταμίης τῶν Θεωρικῶν, or *Ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Θεωρικῷ*, had the Disposal of the *Θεωρικά χρήματα*, for the Uses above-mention'd. But the greatest and most troublesome Part of his Office consisted in distributing them to the poor Citizens, to buy Seats in the Theatre; which Custom was first begun and enacted into a Law by *Pericles*, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty (u); for, as *Libanius* observes, in the Primitive Ages of the Commonwealth, when the Theatres were composed of Wood, the People, being eager of getting Places, used to quarrel among themselves, and sometimes beat and wounded one another; to prevent which Inconvenience, it was order'd that every one, before he entered into the Theatre should pay two *Oboli*, or a *Drachm*, according to *Harpo-*

(s) Orat. in *Nearam*. (t) *Ulpianus* in *Olympiac*. d. (u) *Plutarch*. *Pericle*.

eration, for Admittance; and, left by this Means the poorer Sort should be deprived of the Pleasure of seeing, every Man was allow'd to demand that Sum of the publick Exchequer (w).

C H A P. XV.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

Σταύραι, were so call'd from their Office, which was to lay in Corn for the Use of the City; and to this End the Ταμίης τῆς δειψήσεως was to furnish them with as much Money as they had Occasion for. Athens was seated in a barren and unfruitful Country, which was not able to furnish its own Inhabitants with necessary Provisions, whereby they were forced to fetch Corn from foreign Nations, and supply their own Wants by the Superfluities of others: And this it was that caused them to institute this Office.

Στοφύλακες, were fifteen in Number, ten of which officiated in the City, and five in the Piræus; their Business was to take Care, that Corn and Meal should not be sold at too dear a Price, and to appoint the Size of Bread. Nearly related to these were the Στομέτραι, or Ἀποδοκταῖς, whose Office was to see, that the Measures of Corn were just and equal.

Ἀγοράνομοι, sometimes term'd Δεσιῖται (x), were ten in Number, five belonging to the City, and as many to the Piræus. Others make them fifteen, ten whereof they gave to the City, and five to the Piræus, which was reckon'd a third Part of Athens. To these Men a certain Toll or Tribute was paid by all those who brought any Thing to sell in the Market. Whence *Dicaopolis* is introduced by *Aristophanes* (y), demanding an *Eel* of a *Bæotian* for the τίλῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, Toll of the Market:

Ἀγορᾶς τίλῳ ταύτην γίγναι δώσεις ἔμοι.

This thou shalt give me for Toll of the Market; for their Business lay in the Market where they had the Care of all Vendibles except Corn; and were especially obliged to see that no Man wronged, or any Way circumvented another in Buying or Selling (z).

Μετρονόμοι, were Officers that inspected all Sorts of Measures, except those of Corn; there were five of them in the City, and double that Number in the Piræus, in which the greatest Mart in Attica was kept.

Ὀψονόμοι, were Officers who took Care of the Fish-Market. They were two or three in Number, and chosen by the Senate (a). Their Name is derived from ὄψω, which, tho' originally of a more general Signification, is many Times appropriated to Fish. Thus *Plutarch* (b) has inform'd us: Πολλῶν ὄντων ὄψων ἐκνεύετο ὁ ἰχθύς μόνον, ἢ μάλιστα γὰρ ὄψων καλεῖται. Many other Things being call'd ὄψα, that Name is nevertheless now apply'd only, or chiefly to Fish. Whence ὄψάριον is used in that Sense by Saint *John* (c).

(w) In *Olynthiac*. (x) *Aristophanis Scholiast*. in *Acarn.* (y) *Acarnens.* Act. I. Scen. VI. (z) *Theophrast.* de *Legibus*. (a) *Athenæus* lib. VI. *Eusebius* ad *Iliad.* λ'. (b) *Symposiac.* lib. IV. Problem. IV. (c) *Evangelii* cap. VI. vers. 9.

Ἐμπορίαι ἐπιμεληταί, were Officers that belong'd to the Haven; they were ten in Number, and the chief Part of their Business was to take Care that two Parts, at least, of all the Corn which was brought into the Port, should be carried into the City; and no Silver should be exported by any private Person, except such as design'd to trade in Corn (d).

Ναυλοδίκαι, or Ῥευστοδίκαι, had Cognizance of Controversies that happen'd between Merchants and Mariners, and examin'd Persons, that, being the Children of Strangers both by the Father and Mother's Side, had by Fraud inserted their Names into the publick Register, thereby claiming the Privileges of freeborn Citizens; this they did upon the twenty-sixth of every Month. Not much different from these were the Ἐπαγωγίαι, according to Sigonius and Emmius's Account of them; only they were to hear such Causes in Matters of Trade, as required Dispatch, and could not be deferr'd to the monthly Sessions of the Ναυλοδίκαι. But Pollux tells us, that, besides those Trials, they had Cognizance of Controversies about Feasts and publick Entertainments.

Ἀσυνόμοι, were Officers who took Care of the Streets, and several other Things, especially such as any Way concern'd the Streets, *πρὸς τὰς αὐλητικαῖς, καὶ κομπολόγων, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, Of the Minstrels and Singers, and Scavengers, and such like.* Aristotle, as he is cited by Harpocration, makes ten *Asynomi*, five in the City, and as many in the Piræus: But Samuel Petrus enlarges their Number, as likewise that of the *Agoranomi*, to fifteen; ten of which he would have to officiate in the City, and five in the Piræus, which was never accounted more than a third Part of Athens, and therefore he thinks that the Numbers in Harpocration have been by some Accident or other changed. But as this is no certain Way of arguing, so it is not improbable that the Piræus, tho' only a third Part of Athens, yet, being a very great and celebrated Mart, might find Employment for as many *Agoranomi* and *Asynomi* as the other two Parts; however that be, we are inform'd by Demosthenes (e), that no Man served in this Office oftener than once.

Ὀδοποιοί, were the Surveyors of the Ways.

Ἐπιστάται τῶν ὑδάτων, were those that took Care of the Aqueducts, and other Conveyances of Waters. But the Fountains belong'd to other Officers, call'd Κρηνοφύλακες. And the Officers of these four are by Aristotle comprehended under the Name of Ἀστυνομία.

Ἐπιστάται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων, were Officers with whom was entrusted the Care, Contrivance, and Management of all publick Edifices, except the City Walls, for which there were peculiar Curators call'd from their Offices Τειχοποιοί, whose Number was usually the same with that of the Tribes, every one of which had the Choice of one Τειχοποιό, as often as Occasion required.

Σωφρονισταί, were in Number ten, and, as their Name imports, took Care that the young Men behaved themselves with Sobriety and Moderation (f). For the same End, the *Thesmothetæ* used to walk about the City in the Night-time, and correct such as they found committing any Disorder (g).

(d) Demosthen. in Locritum Harpocrat. (e) Conf. Demosthenis Proem. LXIV. (f) Aelian. in Asiacho. (g) Ulpian. in Orat. advers. Median.

Διόνται, were three Officers, that provided Lights and Torches at the publick Entertainments, and took Care that every Man drank his due Proportion (*b*).

Τυνακονόμοι, also had an Office at publick Feasts, Sacrifices, Marriages, and other Solemnities, and took Care that nothing should be done contrary to Custom (*i*).

Τυνακονόμοι, were *Magistrates*, whose Business it was to regulate the *Women's Apparel*, according to the Rules of Modesty and Decency; and set a Fine upon such as were too nice and phantastical in their Dresses, which they exposed to publick View in the *Ceramicus*.

Λιλιεργαί, were Persons of considerable Estates, who, by their own *Tribe*, or the whole People, were ordered to perform some publick Duty, or supply the Commonwealth with Necessaries at their own Expences. Of these there were divers Sorts, all which were elected out of twelve hundred of the richest Citizens, who were appointed by the People, to undergo, when they should be required, all the burdensome and chargeable Offices in the Commonwealth, every *Tribe* electing an hundred and twenty out of their own Body; tho', as *Sigonius* has observed, this was contrary to *Solon's* Constitution, by which every Man, of what Quality soever, was obliged to serve the Publick, according to his Ability, with this Exception only, that two Offices should not be imposed on the same Person at once, as we are inform'd by *Demosthenes*, in his Oration against *Leptines*; where he likewise mentions an ancient Law, requiring every Man to undergo some of the *λιλιεργίας* every second Year.

These twelve hundred were divided into two Parts, one of which consisted of such as were possessed of the greatest Estates, the other of Persons of meaner Abilities. Each of these were divided into ten Companies, called *Συμμορίαί*, which were distinct Bodies, and had distinct Governors and Officers of their own. They were again subdivided into two Parts, according to the Estates of the Persons that composed them; and thus, out of the first ten *Συμμορίαί*, were appointed three hundred of the most wealthy Citizens in *Athens*, who, upon all Exigencies, were to furnish the Commonwealth with necessary Supplies of Money, and, together with the rest of the twelve hundred, were required to perform all extraordinary Duties in their Turns (*k*). The Institution of these *Συμμορίαί* happened about the third Year of the hundredth Olympiad, *Nausinicus* being *Archon*. Before that Time, such, as were unable to bear the Expence of the *λιλιεργία* assigned to them, had Relief from the *ἀντιδοσίς*, or Exchange of Goods, which was one of *Solon's* Inventions, and performed in the following Manner. If any Person appointed to undergo one of the *λιλιεργίας*, or Duties, could find another Citizen of better Substance than himself, who was free from all the Duties, then the Informer was excused. But in Case the Person, thus substituted in the other's Place, denied himself to be the richest, then they exchanged Estates in this Manner: The Doors of their Houses were close shut up and seal'd, lest any Thing should be carried thence. Then both the Men took the following Oath;

(b) *Athenæus* lib. X. (i) *Idem* lib. VI. (k) *Ulpian*, in *Olympiac. II. & Apobol. I.*

Ἀποφαίω τῇ ὁσίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτῷ ὁβίως καὶ δικαίως, πλὴν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τοῖς ἀργυραῖοις, ὅσα καὶ ὅμοιαι ἀτελεῖ ἐπιποιήσασιν. I will truly and faithfully discover all my Substance, except that which lies in the Silver Mines, which the Laves have excused from all Imposts and Taxes. Then, within three Days, a full Discovery was made of their whole Estates, and this was term'd ἀπόφασις. Neither was this Custom wholly laid aside upon the Institution of the forementioned συμμορίας; but then, and afterwards, if any one of the 300 Citizens could give Information of any other Person more wealthy than himself, who had been passed by in the Nomination, the Informer was excused (l). This whole Controversy was term'd διαδικασία, the Sense of which Word is so much enlarged by some, as to be equivalent to the general Terms, κρίσις and ἀμφισβήτησις (m); and by others (n) is restrained to the Controversies happening between the χορυστοί, tho' perhaps these may be taken in general for the λίστροι, one remarkable Part being put for the Whole. This must be observed farther, that, if any Controversy happen'd between such as were appointed τρήραρχοι, it was to be brought before the στρατηγός, who had the Care of all warlike Preparations; and by him to be referr'd to the customary Judges; the rest of the διαδικασίας seem to have belonged to other Magistrates.

Of the Duties to be undergone in the foremention'd Manners, some concern'd the Affairs of Peace, others related to those of War. The Duties of Peace were chiefly three, χορηγία, γυμνασιαρχία, and ἐξίασις. Those of War were two, τριηραρχία and εὐφορά.

Χορηγοί, were at the Expence of Players, Singers, Dancers, and Musicians, as oft as there was Occasion for them at the Celebration of their publick Festivals and Solemnities (o).

Γυμνασιαρχοί were at the Charge of the Oil, and such-like Necessaries, for the Wrestlers and other Combatants (p).

Ἐξιάτορες τῶν φυλῶν, were such as, upon publick Festivals, made an Entertainment for their whole Tribe (q). Besides those who were appointed by Lots to this Office, others voluntarily undertook it to ingratiate themselves (r). It may be further observed, that the μέτοικοι, Sojourners, had also their ἐξιάτορες, by whom they were entertained.

Τριηραρχοί, were obliged to provide all Sorts of Necessaries for the Fleet (s), and to build Ships. To this Office no certain Number of Men was nominated; but their Number was increased or diminished according to the Value of their Estates, and the Exigencies of the Commonwealth.

Εὐφορίαι, were required, according to their Abilities, to supply the Publick with Money for the Payment of the Army, and other Occasions (t).

Besides these, upon extraordinary Occasions, when the usual Supplies were not sufficient, as in Times of long and dangerous Wars, the rich Citizens used generously to contribute as much as they were able

(l) Conf. Demosthen. in Leptin. & Phœnip. (m) Hesychius. (n) Suidas. (o) Lyfæ Orat. de Muneribus, Plutarchus de Prudentia Atheniensium. (p) Ulpianus in Leptin. (q) Demosthen. Mediana & Leptiniana. (r) Pollux. (s) Plutarch. loc. citato. (t) Lyfæ Orat. de Muneribus.

to the publick Necessities, beside what was required of them, and could not be avoided. These are by Pollux call'd *ἐκδικαῖοι, ἐκδικαῖοι, ἀποφεικταί, ἐκδικαῖοι, ἐκδικαῖοι, &c.*

Others there were, that were not properly *Magistrates*; yet, because they were employ'd in publick Business, must not be omitted in this Place.

Such were the *Σύνδοκοι*, or *Oratores*, appointed by the People, to plead in Behalf of any Law, which was to be abrogated, or enacted, of whom I have spoken in another Place. These Men, tho' differing from those who are next to be mention'd, were sometimes term'd *ἐντοπες*, and *συνήτοροι*, and their Fee τὸ *συνήτορικόν*. Left this Office, which was created for the Benefit of the Commonwealth, should be abused, to the private Advantage of particular Men, there was a Law enacted, whereby the People were prohibited from conferring it twice upon the same Person (u).

Πρότορες, were ten in Number, elected by Lots, to plead publick Causes in the Senate-house or Assembly, and, for every Cause wherein they were retain'd, they received a *Drachm* out of the publick Exchequer. They were sometimes call'd *Συνήτοροι*, and other Fee τὸ *συνήτορικόν* (w). No Man was admitted to this Office under the Age of forty Years (x). Tho' others think it was lawful to plead both in the Senate-house, and before the publick Assembly, at the Age of thirty. Neither were they permitted to execute this Office till their Valour in War, Piety to their Parents, Prudence in the Management of Affairs, Frugality and Temperance had been examined into. The Heads of which Examination are set down amongst the Laws of Athens.

Πρόσβουτοι, were *Ambassadors* chosen by the Senate, or most commonly by the Suffrages of the People to treat with foreign States. Sometimes they were sent with full Power to act according as themselves should judge most conducive to the Safety and Honour of the Commonwealth, and then they were *Πρόσβουτοι αὐτοκράτορες*, or *Plenipotentaries*, and were not obliged, at their Return Home, to render an Account of their Proceedings; but their Power was usually limited, and they liable to be called in Question, if they exceeded their Commission, by concluding any Business besides what they were sent about, or in any other Manner than what was prescribed them. During the Time of their Employment, they receiv'd a Salary out of the Exchequer. Whether that was always the same, does not certainly appear; but it is more probable that, like the Pay of Soldiers, and other Salaries, it was first very small, and afterwards, when the Commonwealth flourish'd with Trade and Riches, raised to a greater Value. When *Euthymenes* was *Archon*, they receiv'd every Day two *Drachms*, as we are inform'd by *Aristophanes* (y):

Ἐκίμην' ἡμᾶς ὡς βασιλεῖα τὸν μέλαν,
μισθὸν φέροντας δύο δραχμὰς τῆς ἡμέρας,
Ἐν' Εὐθύμενης Ἀρχόντι.

(u) Demosthen. in Leptin. ibidemque Ulpian. (w) Aristophan. Scholiast. in Vesp. p. 464. Edit. Amstelæd. (x) Aristophanis Scholiastes Nubibus. (y) A. barnesfilius, Act. I. Scen. II.

We were sent to the Great King of Persia, with an Allowance of two Drachms a Day, Euthymenes being Archon. Those who faithfully discharged their Ambassies were publicly entertained by the Senate in the Prytaneum (x); those, who had been wanting in Care and Diligence, were fin'd (a). But such, as undertook any Ambassy without the Designation of the Senate or People, were punished with Death (b).

The Πρίστεις were usually attended by a Κήρυξ, or Herald; and sometimes the Κήρυκες were sent upon Ambassies by themselves, as Sigonius observes, especially in the Primitive Times, when all Ambassies were performed by these Men, who were accounted sacred and inviolable, not only as being descended from Mercury, and employ'd in his Office, but because they were publick Mediators, without whom all Interourse and Hopes of Reconciliation between Enemies must be at an End. Therefore, as Eustathius observes (c), whenever Ulysses, in his Travels, dispatched his Scouts to discover what Sort of Country and People the Winds and Seas had brought them to, he always sent a Κήρυξ along with them, whereby they were secured from receiving any Harm in all Parts of the World whither they were driven, except in the Countries of the Λαstryγones, Cyclopes, and such Savages, as were altogether void of Honesty.

Γραμματεῖς, Notaries, were of several Sorts, and employ'd by several Magistrates; concerning whom this may be observed in general, that, for the Prevention of Fraud and Deceit, a Law was enacted, μὴ τις δις ὑπογραμμάτεσιν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀρχῇ, *That no Man should serve the same Magistrate in the Quality of a Notary above once.* Besides these, there were other γραμματεῖς, Notaries, who had the Custody of the Laws and the publick Records, which it was their Business to write, and to repeat to the People and Senate, when so required. These were three in Number; one chosen by the popular Assembly, whose Business was to recite before the People or Senate; and two appointed by the Senate; one whereof was Keeper of the Laws, another of other publick Records (d). The Custom was for a Notary to be appointed by every Prytanea, who laid down his Office at the End of thirty Days, and then underwent the accusom'd (εὐθύν) Examination (e). It may not be improper to add in this Place, that at Syracuse the Office of Notaries was very honourable, but at Athens reputed σκιδῆς ὑποψία, a mean Employment (f), and executed by those who are call'd by the Greeks Δημόσιοι, by the Roman Lawyers, Vulgares, or, as that Word is explain'd, Calones. These were common Slaves, who had learn'd to read and write, that they might thereby become the more serviceable to their Masters (g). One of these was that Nicomachus, against whom Lyfias wrote his Oration.

Besides the foremention'd Magistrates and Officers, there were several others, as the Περὶτάς, Προέδοι, &c. But of these, and such as had military Commands, or were employed in the Divine Service; I shall give an Account in their own Places.

(x) Demosthenis Orat. de falsa Legat. ibique Ulpianus. (n) Thucydidis Scholiastes lib. VI. (b) Demosthenis loco citato. (c) Iliad. d. p. 183. Edit. Basil. (d) Pollux lib. VIII. (e) Lyfias in Nicomachum. (f) Libanius argumento Orat. Demosthenis de falsa Legat. (g) Ulpianus in Olynthiac. B.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Council of the Amphictyones.

BEING in the next Place to speak of the *Athenian Councils*, and Courts of Justice, I cannot omit the famous Council of the *Amphictyones*; which tho' it sat not at *Athens*, nor was peculiar to that City, yet the *Athenians*, and almost all the rest of the *Grecians*, were concerned in it.

It is commonly thought to have been first instituted, and received its Name from *Amphietyon*, the Son of *Deucalion* (g); but *Strabo* is of Opinion, that *Acrisus*, King of the *Argives*, was the first that founded and gave Laws for the Conduct and Management of it (h); and then it must have its Name from *Ἀμφικτυόνες*, because the *Inhabitants* of the Countries round about met in that Council (i); and *Androtion* in *Pausanias* tells us, that the primitive Name of those Senators was *Amphictiones*, however of later Ages it hath been changed into *Amphictyones*. But the former Opinion receives Confirmation from what *Herodotus* reports of the Place where this Council was assembled, viz. that it was a Temple dedicated to *Amphietyon* and *Ceres Amphictyoneis* (k); and *Strabo* also reports, that his Goddess was worshipped by the *Amphictyones*.

The Place in which they assembled was call'd *Thermopylae*, and sometimes *Pylae*, because it was a strait narrow Passage, and as it were a Gate or Inlet into the Country. Hence these Counsellors are often called Πυρρυόρται, and the Council Πυλαία (l): But the *Scholias*t upon *Sophocles* tells us, that this Name was given them from *Pylades*, the Friend of *Orestes*, who was the first that was arraign'd in this Court, having assisted in the Murder of *Clytemnestra*. Sometimes they met at *Delphi*, where they were intrusted with the Care of *Apolla's* Temple, and the *Pythian Games*, which were celebrated in that Place (m), the Situation of which rendered it very commodious for them to assemble in, for it was seated in the Midst of *Greece*, as the *Geographers* tell us.

The Persons that first composed this Assembly, by the Appointment of *Amphietyon*, were, according to *Pausanias*, the Representatives of the *Ionians*, amongst whom the *Athenians* were included, *Dolopians*, *Thessalians*, *Ænianians*, *Magnesians*, *Melians*, *Phthians*, *Dorians*, *Phocians*, and the *Locrians*, that inhabited near Mount *Cnemis*, and were call'd upon that Account *Epiclemidii*. *Strabo* reports, that, at their first Institution they were twelve in Number, and were delegated by so many Cities. *Harpocration* also and *Suidas* reckon up twelve Nations of which this Council consisted, viz. *Ionians*, *Dorians*, *Perrhaebians*, *Bœotians*, *Magnesians*, *Achaëans*, *Phthians*, *Melians*, *Dolopians*, *Ænianians*, *Delphians*, *Phocians*. *Æschines* reckons only 11, instead of the *Achaëans*,

(g) *Pausanias Phocicis*, *Suidas*. &c. (h) *Geogr.* l. IX. (i) *Suidas*. (k) *Lib.* VII. cap. 200. (l) *Herodot.* *Helycbius*, *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, *Strabo*, *Pausanias Achaicis*. (m) *Pausan.* *Phocicis*, & *Achaicis*, aliisque.

Ænianians, Delphinians, and Dolopians, placing these three only, viz. *Thessalians, Oetæans, Locrians* (n).

Afterwards in the Time of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, and Father of *Alexander the Great*, the *Phocians*, having ransack'd and spoil'd the *Delphian Temple*, were by a Decree of the *Amphiſtyones* invaded by the rest of the *Grecians*, as a sacrilegious and impious Nation, and, after a ten Years War, depriv'd of the Privilege of sitting amongst them, together with their Allies the *Lacedæmonians*, who were one Part of the *Dorians*, and, under that Name, had formerly sat in this Assembly; and their vacant Places were supplied by the *Macedonians*, who were admitted, in Return of their good Services they had done in the *Phocian War*. But about 68 Years after, when the *Gauls* under the Command of *Brennus*, made a terrible Invasion upon *Greece*, ravaging and destroying all before them, sparing nothing sacred or profane, and, with a barbarous and sacrilegious Fury, robb'd and despoil'd the *Delphian Temple*, the *Phocians* behav'd themselves with so much Gallantry, signalizing themselves in the Battle above the rest of the *Grecians*, that they were thought to have made a sufficient Atonement for their former Offence, and restored to their ancient Privilege and Dignity (o).

In the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar* they suffer'd another Alteration; for that Emperor, having worsted *Antony* in a Sea-fight at *Actium*, and, in Memory of that Victory, founded the City *Nicopolis*, was desirous that its Inhabitants should be admitted into this Assembly; and, to make Way for them, order'd that the *Magnesiens, Meleens, Phibians*, and *Ænianians*, who, till that Time, had distinct Voices, should be number'd with the *Thessalians*, and send no Representatives, but such as were common to them all; and that the Right of Suffrage, which formerly belonged to those Nations, and the *Dolopians* (a People whose State and Name were extinct long before) should be given to the *Nicopolitans* (p).

Strabo, who flourish'd in the Reign of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, reports, that this Council, as also the general Assembly of the *Acbeans*, was at that Time dissolv'd; but *Pausanias*, who liv'd many Years after, under *Antoninus Pius*, assures us, that in his Time it remain'd intire, and that the Number of the *Amphiſtyones* was then thirty, being delegated by the following Nations, viz. the *Nicopolitans, Macedonians, Thessalians, Bæotians*, (who, in former Times, were call'd *Æolians*, and inhabited some Parts of *Thessaly*) *Phocians, Delphians, Locrians*, call'd *Ozolæ*, with those that lie opposite to *Eubæa, Dorians, Athenians*, and *Eubæans*.

This Assembly had every Year only two set Meetings, one in the Beginning of Spring, the other in Autumn (q), except some extraordinary Occasion called them together. The Design of their Meetings was to determine publick Quarrels, and decide the Differences that happen'd between any of the Cities of *Greece*, when no other Means were left to compose them. Before they entered upon Business, they jointly sacrificed an Ox cut into small Pieces to *Delphian Apollo*, thereby sig-

(n) Orat. περί Παρρησίας. (o) Pausanias Phocicis. (p) Idem ibid. (q) Strabo loc. cit.

nifying the Union or Agreement of the Cities, which they represented. Their Determinations were always receiv'd with a great deal of Respect and Veneration; and held inviolable, the Grecians being always ready to join against those that rejected them, as common Enemies.

An Assembly of neighbouring Cities, met to consult about the common Good, seems usually to have been call'd *Ἀμφικτιονία*; and, beside the famous one already spoken of, *Strabo* mentions another held in the Temple of *Neptune* at *Træzen*, at which the Delegates of the seven following States were present, viz. *Hermione*, *Epidaurus*, *Ægina*, *Athens*, the *Perfians*, *Nauplians*, and the *Orchomenians* of *Boetia* (r).

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Athenian *Ἐκκλησία*, or Publick Assemblies.

ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, was an Assembly of the People met together according to Law, to consult about the Good of the Commonwealth. It consisted of all such as were Freemen of Athens, of what Quality soever, as has been elsewhere mentioned. But such as had been punished with Infamy (*ἀτιμία*), Slaves, Foreigners, Women, and Children, were excluded. In the Reign of *Cecrops*, Women are said to have been allow'd Voices in the popular Assembly: Where *Minerva* contending with *Neptune*, which of them two should be declared Protector of Athens, and gaining the Women to her Party, is reported by their Voices, which were more numerous than those of the Men, to have obtain'd the Victory (s). It was of two Sorts, the first of which they call'd *Κυρία*, the other *Σύγκλητος*.

Κυρία, were so call'd, *ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ τὰ ψηφισμένα*, because in them the People confirm'd and ratified the Decrees of the Senate; or rather because they were held upon *ἡμέραι κυρία*, or *ὁρισμέναι καὶ νόμοις*, Days stated and appointed by Law (t).

They were held four Times in five and thirty Days, which was the Time that each *Πρωμία*, or Company of *Prytanes*, presided in the Senate. The first Assembly was employ'd in approving and rejecting *Magistrates*, in hearing Actions call'd *Εισαγγελίαι*, and Proposals concerning the publick Good; as also in hearing the Catalogue of such Possessions, as were confiscated for the Service of the Commonwealth, and several other Things. The second made Provisions both for the Community and private Persons; and it was permitted every Man to prefer any Petition, or speak his Judgment concerning either of them. In the third, Audience was given to the Ambassadors of foreign States. The fourth was wholly taken up with Religion, and Matters relating to the Divine Worship (u). At this Time the *Prytanes*, who were obliged *θύειν ἐκάστοι κοινῇ*, every Day to offer Sacrifices for

(r) Geogr. lib. VII. (s) *Varro* apud *Sanctum Augustinum* de Civitate Dei, l. XVIII. cap. 9. (t) *Suidas*, *Aristoph.* Schol. *Acarn.* (u) *Pollux* l. VIII. c. 2.

the publick Safety, seem to have acquainted the Assembly with the Success of their Devotions after this Manner: "It is just and meet, O Athenians, as has been customary with you, that we should take Care that the Gods be religiously worshipped. We have therefore faithfully discharged this Duty for you. We have sacrificed to Jupiter the Saviour, to Minerva, to Victory; all which Oblations have been accepted for your Safety. We have likewise offered Sacrifices to Persuasion (Πειθῶ), to the Mother of Gods, to Apollo, which have met with the like good Success. Also the Sacrifices, offered to the rest of the Gods, have been all secure, and acceptable, and salutiferous; Receive therefore the Happiness, which the Gods have vouchsafed to grant you (τω)." The first Assembly was upon the eleventh Day of the Prytanea; the second, upon the twentieth; the third, upon the thirtieth; the fourth, upon the thirty-third. Some there are, that reckon by the Month, and tell us, that they had three Assemblies every Month, upon the first, tenth, and thirtieth Days; or upon the tenth, twentieth, and thirtieth (x). But the former Computation seems to be more agreeable to the Custom of the ancient Athenians, amongst whom were ten Πριτανείαι according to the Number of their Tribes, each of which ruled thirty-five Days, in which they had four Assemblies. Afterwards the Number of the Tribes being increased by an Accession of two new ones, the Πριτανείαι were also twelve in Number, each of which ruled a Month, and then perhaps the later Computation might take Place.

Εὐαγγελίαι Ἐκκλησίαι, were so call'd, ἀπὸ τῆς συναγωγῆς, because the People were summon'd together, whereas in the Κυρίαι they met of their own Accord, without receiving any Notice from the Magistrates, as Ulpian observes (y). The Persons that summon'd the People were commonly the Στρατηγοί, the Πολέμαρχοι, or the Κήρυκες in their Names, because the Occasion of these extraordinary Assemblies was, for the most Part, the coming on of some sudden, unexpected, and dangerous War; sometimes the Prytanes, if the Senate so order'd it, as they usually did, when any civil Affairs, in which the Στρατηγοί were not concerned, required a quicker Dispatch than could be given them in Κυρίαι. The Crier (κῆρυξ) seems to have summon'd them twice at the least. Whence, in Aristophanes, it is said to be full Time to go to the Assembly, because the Crier had given the second Call:

Ὡρα βαδίζων ὡς ὁ κῆρυξ ἀπ' ὧς,
Ἡμῶν προσίοιτων, δεύτερον κηρόμενον (x).

Κατεκκλησίαι, as Pollux, κατανθήσεις, as Ammonius, or Κατακκλησίαι, as Hesychius calls them, were Assemblies held upon some very weighty and momentous Affair, to which they summon'd not only those Citizens that resided in the City, but all that lived in the Country, or were in the Ships then at Anchor in the Haven.

The Places, where the Ἐκκλησίαι were assembled, were several; as, 1st,

(τω) Demosthenis Proem. LXIII. (x) Ulpian. in Demosthen. Aristoph. Schol. (y) In Orat. de falia Legat. (z) Concionatibus, p. 686. Ed. Amstelod.

Ἀγορὰ, or the Market-place; and there, not the Athenians only, but most other Cities, had their publick Meetings, because it was usually very capacious. Hence the *Assemblies* themselves came to be call'd

Ἀγοραὶ, and to make a Speech, ἀγορεύειν, as *Harpocration* observes.

Πυλὴ, was a Place near the Citadel, so call'd, διὰ τὸ συμπικνωθῆαι τοῖς λίθοις, ἢ ταῖς καθέδραις, ἢ διὰ τὸ συμπικνωθῆαι ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς βουλευτάς, because it was fill'd with Stones, or Seats set close together, or from the Crowds of Men in the *Assemblies*, and therefore πυκνότης is by the Comedians taken for the thronging and pressing of a Multitude (a). It was remarkable for nothing more, than the Meanness of its Buildings and Furniture, whereby, in Ages that most affected Gaiety and Splendor, it remain'd a Monument of the ancient Simplicity (b).

The Theatre of *Bacchus*, in later Times, was the usual Place, in which the *Assemblies* were held (c); but even then *Pnyx* was not wholly forsaken, it being against Law to decree any Man a Crown, or elect any of the *Magistrates* in any other Place, as *Pollux*; or, at least, the Στρατήγιον, as *Hesychius* reports.

The *stated Assemblies* were held in the foremention'd Places, but such, as were call'd upon extraordinary Occasions, were not confined to any certain Place, being sometimes held in the *Piræus*, where there was a *Forum* call'd ἱπποδαμεία ἀγορὰ, in the *Munychia*, or any other Place capacious enough to contain the People.

The *Magistrates*, that had the Care and Management of these *Assemblies*, were the *Prytanes*, *Epistatai*, and *Proedri*.

The *Prytanes* sometimes call'd the People together, and always, before their Meeting, set up a Πρόγραμμα in some Place of general Concourse, in which were contain'd the Matters to be consulted upon in the following *Assembly*, to the End that every Man might have Time to consider of them, before he gave his Judgment (d).

Προέδροι, were so call'd from the first Places, which they had in the *Assemblies*. Whilst the Tribes of Athens were no more than ten, the *Proedri* were nine in Number, being appointed by Lots out of the nine Tribes, which at that Time were exempted from being *Prytanes*. Their Business was to propose to the People the Things they were to deliberate upon, and determinē in that Meeting (e), at the End of which their Offices expired. For the greater Security of the Laws and Commonwealth from the Attempts of ambitious and designing Men, it was customary for the Νομοφύλακες in all *Assemblies* συγκαθίστην τοῖς προέδροις, ἕνα διακωλύειν ἐπιχειροῦν ὅσα μὴ συμφέειν, to sit with the *Proedri*, and to hinder the People from decreeing any Thing contrary to the publick Interest (f). By another Law it was likewise provided, that, in every *Assembly*, one of the Tribes should be appointed by Lots προεδρεύειν, to preside at the *Suggestum*, to defend the Commonwealth (g), viz. by preventing the Orators, and others, from propounding any Thing inconsistent with the receiv'd Laws, or destructive of the Peace and Welfare of the City.

(a) *Ariftoph. Schol. Acharn. Equit. &c.* (b) *Pollux lib. VIII. c. 8.* (c) *Demosthen. Medianæ.* (d) *Pollux lib. VIII. c. 8.* (e) *Ulpianus in Timocrat.* (f) *Pollux lib. VIII. c. 9.* (g) *Æschines in Timarchum.*

Ἐνστάτης, the *President* of the *Assembly*, was chosen by Lots out of the *Proedri*; the chief Part of his Office seems to have consisted in granting the People Liberty to give their Voices; which they were not permitted to do, till he had given the Signal (*b*).

If the People were remiss in coming to the *Assemblies*, the *Magistrates* used their utmost Endeavours to compel them; they shut up all the Gates, that only excepted, thro' which they were to pass to the *Assembly*; they took Care that all Vendibles should be carried out of the Market, that there might be nothing to divert them from appearing; and if this was not sufficient, the *Logista* (whose Business this was) took a Cord dy'd with Vermilion, with which they detach'd two of the *Τοξίταις* into the Market, where one of them standing on one Side, and another on that which was opposite, pursued all they found there, and mark'd with the Cord as many as they caught; all which had a certain Fine set upon them, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* observes at this Verse,

Οἷδ' ὃ ἀσφαλὲς λαλῆσαι, καὶναι κ' καὶ τῷ
Τὸ σχοῦναι φεύγειν τὸ μεμλτωμένοι (*i*).

They in the *Forum* chat, and up and down
Scamper t'avoid the Cord Vermilion-dy'd.

J. A.

Lastly, For an Encouragement to the Commonalty to frequent the *Assemblies*, it was decreed, at the Instance of *Callistratus*, that an *Obolus* should be given out of the Exchequer to all such as came early to the Place appointed for the *Assembly*. This was afterwards increas'd to three *Oboli*, at the Instance of *Agyrrhius*. The Expectation of this Reward drew many of the poorer Sort, who would otherwise have absented themselves. Whence that Saying of *Aristophanes* (*k*), where he speaks of *Plutus* the God of Money:

Ἐκκλησίᾳ δ' ἔχ' διὰ τούτου γίγνεται;

Is not the *Assembly* frequented for his Sake? They who came late to the *Assembly* received nothing; which is evident from the following Verses of the same Author (*l*):

BAE. Ἀλλὰ ποῦθεν ἔχεις ἱερόν; XP. Ἐξ ἐκκλησίας.

BAE. Ἦδη λήνεται γὰρ; XP. Νῦν Δ' ὀρθρὸν μὲν ἔσται.

Καὶ δὴτα πολλὸν ἢ μίλιον, ὃ Ζεῦ φίλιαι.

Γέλωι παρίσταναι ἢ προσέξουσιν κενῶν.

BAE. Τράβηλον δὴτ' ἔλαβες; XP. Εἰ γὰρ ὠφελον.

Ἀλλ' ὕστερον νῦν ἦλθον, ὥς αἰσχύνουμαι,

Μὰ τὸν Δί, ὅσον ἄλλον ἢ τὸν θύλακον.

(b) Harpocration, Demosthenis *Androtiana*, *Æschines* in *Ctesiphont*. (i) *A. barn*.
(k) *Plut.* *Ag. I.* *Scen. II.* (l) *Concionatricibus.* p. 704. Edit. *Amstelod.*

If boisterous and tempestuous Weather, or a sudden Storm, which they call'd *Διουρησία* (m), or Earthquake happen'd, or any inauspicious Omen appear'd, the *Assembly* was immediately adjourn'd. But, if all Things continued in their usual Course, they proceeded in this Manner.

First, the Place, where they were appointed to meet, was purified by killing young Pigs, which, as was usual in such *Lustrations*, they carried round about the utmost Bounds of it; on the Outside of which no Man was permitted to stand, because those Places were accounted profane and un sanctified, and therefore unfit for the transacting of Business of so great Consequence, as that in which the Welfare and Safety of the State was nearly concern'd; this we learn from *Aristophanes*, in whom the publick Crier warns the People to stand on the Inside of the *καθάρμα*, for so they call'd the Sacrifices offer'd at Expiations,

Πάριθ', ὡς ἂν εἰλὸς ᾗ τῷ καθάρματι.

The Person, that officiated in the *Lustration*, was call'd *Καθαγὼς*, and *Περιστάρχος*, from *Περίστα*, another Name for *Καθάματα* (n), and *ἑστάρχος*, according to *Pollux*.

The *Expiatory* Rites being ended, the publick Crier made a solemn Prayer for the Prosperity of the Commonwealth, and the good Success of their Counsels and Undertakings (o). For, amongst the primitive *Greeks*, all Things were carried on with a great Shew of Piety and Devotion; and so great a Share they thought their Gods had in the Management of human Affairs, that they never undertook any Thing of Weight or Moment, especially of publick Business, without having first invoked their Direction and Assistance.

Then he pronounced a bitter Execration against such as should endeavour any Thing in that *Assembly* to the Prejudice of the Commonwealth, praying, that he and his whole Family might be made remarkable Examples of the Divine Vengeance (p).

Then the Crier, the *Proedri* giving the Command, repeated the *Πρόβλημα*, or Decree of the Senate, upon which the *Assembly* was then to deliberate. That being done, the Crier proclaimed with a loud Voice, *τίς ἀγορεύει βέλτεται τῷ ὑπὲρ πολέμοιο ἐν γαστέρω;* which of the Men above 50 Years old will make an Oration? Then the old Men propounded whatever they thought convenient. After which, the Crier by a second Proclamation gave them to understand, *λέγου τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τὸν βελλόμενον οἷς ἔχει*, That every Athenian might then speak whom the Law allow'd so to do (q). For as they judg'd it unreasonable, that any Man's Quality or Age (so he were not under 30) should debar him from uttering what he had conceiv'd for the Good of the Commonwealth; so, on the other Hand, it was thought very indecent and unbecoming for young Men to give their Opinions, before they had heard the Sentiments of such, as Years and Experience had render'd more fit and able to judge.

(m) *Aristoph. Schol. ibid.* (n) *Aristoph. Schol. ibid. & Concionatr. &c. Suidas, Harpocration, præcipue Hesychius v. καθάρμα.* (o) *Demosthen. Timocrat.* (p) *Demosthen. Περὶ Πατριστασίας.* (q) *Aristophan. Acharn. Demosthenes & Aeschines in Ctesiphont.*

But the Wisdom of the Law-giver thought it not expedient to permit every Man, without Distinction, to deliver his Opinion; for such as were convicted of any heinous Crime, of Impiety, Profaneness, or Debauchery, had fled from their Colours, or were deeply indebted to the Commonwealth, he excluded from having any Thing to do in such Consultations (r); it being scarce probable that Persons of wicked Lives, or desperate Fortunes, should endeavour any Thing conducive to the Peace and Prosperity of the State; but rather that they should design the Confusion and Ruin of it, that themselves might be enriched with the Spoils of honest Men, and be at Liberty to take their full Career in their unlawful Pleasures, without the Restraint of Laws, and Fear of Punishments. Wherefore, if any Man was thought by the *Prytanes* to be unfit to make an Oration to the People, they enjoin'd him Silence. Thus in the *Assembly* of Women in *Aristophanes* (s), *Praxagoras*, who is there one of the *Prytanes*, commands an impertinent Woman to hold her Peace:

Σὺ μὲν βάδιζε, καὶ νάθης, ἔδην γὰρ εἶ.

Go you, and sit down, for you are no body. They who refus'd Obedience to the *Prytanes*, were pull'd down from the *Suggestum* by the *Lictors* (ροξόται), as appears from another Place of the same Author (t).

When the Debates were ended, the *Crier*, by the Command of the *Epistatai*, or *Proedri*, as others report, ask'd the People, whether they would consent to the Decree? Permitting them to give Voices, and thereby either establish or reject it, the doing which they call'd *ἐπιψηφίζεν τὸ ψήφισμα*, or *δοῦναι διαψηφισίαν τῷ δήμῳ*.

The Manner of giving their Suffrages was by holding up their Hands, and therefore they call'd it *χειρονομία*, and *χειρονομία* signifies to ordain, or establish any Thing; *ἀποχειρονομία*, to disannul by Suffrage. This was the common Method of voting, but in some Cases, as particularly when they depriv'd Magistrates of their Offices for Male-administration, they gave their Votes in private, lest the Power and Greatness of the Persons accus'd should lay a Restraint upon them, and cause them to act contrary to their Judgments and Inclinations. The Manner of voting privately was by casting Pebbles (ψήφους) into Vessels (κάδεις), which the *Prytanes* were obliged to place in the *Assembly* for this Purpose. Before the Use of Pebbles, they voted with (κβαμοί) Beans (u).

As soon as the People had done voting, the *Proedri*, having carefully examin'd the Number of the Suffrages, pronounced the Decree ratified, or thrown out, according as the major Part had approv'd; or rejected it. It is observable in the last Place, that it was unlawful for the *Prytanes* to propose any Thing twice in the same *Assembly* (w): The Business being over, the *Prytanes* dismiss'd the *Assembly*, as we read in *Aristophanes* (x);

(r) Demosthen. in *Aristogit.* *Æschines* in *Ctesiphont.* (s) *Concionatr.* p. 602. Edit. *Amstelod.* (t) *Acharnensibus* Act. I. Sc. II. ibique *Vetus Scholiastes.* (u) *Suidas.* (w) *Nicias* Orat. apud *Thucyd.* lib. VI. (x) *Acharnens.*

Οἱ γὰρ Ἡγούμενοι λέγουσι τὴν Ἑκκλησίαν.

Whoever desires to have a more full Account of the popular *Assemblies* at *Athens*, may consult the *Concionatrices* of *Aristophanes* (y), where their whole Management is accurately described.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Senate of the five hundred.

BY *Solon's* Constitution, the whole Power and Management of Affairs were placed in the People; it was their Prerogative to receive Appeals from the Courts of Justice, to abrogate old Laws, and enact new, to make what Alterations in the State they judged convenient; and, in short, all Matters, whether publick or private, foreign or domestick, civil, military, or religious, were determin'd by them.

But because it was dangerous, that Things of such vast Moment and Concern should be, without any farther Care, committed to the Disposal and Management of a giddy and unthinking Multitude, who, by eloquent Men, would be persuaded to enact Things contrary to their own Interests, and destructive to the Commonwealth; the wise Lawgiver, to prevent such pernicious Consequences, judged it absolutely necessary for the Preservation of the State, to institute a great Council, consisting only of Men of the best Credit and Reputation in the City, whose Business it should be to inspect all Matters before they were propounded to the People; and to take Care that nothing, but what had been diligently examined, should be brought before the general *Assembly* (x). At the same Time he instituted, at least, regulated another Council, I mean that of the *Areopagites*, which tho' inferior to the former in Order and Power, yet was superior to it in Dignity and Esteem, and therefore was call'd ἡ ἄνω Βουλὴ, or, the upper Council; to this he gave the Inspection and Custody of the Laws, supposing that the Commonwealth being held by these two, as it were by firm Anchors, would be less liable to be tost by Tumults, and made a Prey to such as had Knavery enough to design, and Cunning and Eloquence to entice the People to their own Destruction (a).

At the first Institution of the former Council, it consisted only of four hundred Senators, one hundred of which were appointed out of each Tribe, for the Tribes in *Solon's* Time were only four in Number (b).

They were elected by Lots, in drawing of which they made Use of Beans, and therefore *Thucydides* calls them Βουλευτὰς ἀπὸ κνάμῳ, and the Senate, Βουλὴν ἀπὸ κνάμῳ. The Manner of their Election was thus; on a certain Day, before the Beginning of the Month *Hecatombæon*, the President of every Tribe gave in the Names of all the Persons within his District, that were capable of this Dignity, and had a Mind to appear for it; these were engraven upon Tables of Brass, call'd Πινάκια (c),

(y) P. 783. Edit. Aurel. Allobrog. (x) *Plutarch, Solone.* (a) *Idem.* (b) *Idem.*

(c) *Harpocrat.*

and cast into a Vessel set there for that Purpose; into another Vessel were cast the same Number of Beans, an hundred of which were white, and all the rest black. Then the Names of the *Candidates*, and the Beans were drawn, one by one, and those whose Names were drawn out together with the white Beans, were received into the Senate (e).

About eighty-six Years after *Solon's* Regulation of the Commonwealth, the Number of *Tribes* being increased by *Clisthenes* from four to ten; the *Senate* also receiv'd an Addition of one hundred, which, being added to the former, made it consist of five hundred, and from that Time it was called Βεδὴ τῶν πεντακοσίων.

Afterwards two new *Tribes* were added to the former in Honour of *Antigonus*, and his Son *Demetrius*, from whom they received their Names, and then the Number of the *Senators* were augmented by the Accession of another hundred (f); for, in both these last Alterations, it was order'd, that out of every *Tribe* fifty should be elected into the Senate. As to the Manner of Election, that continued the same, excepting only, that, instead of an hundred white Beans drawn by each *Tribe*, they had now only fifty, according to the Number of their *Senators*.

After the Election of *Senators*, they proceeded in the next Place to appoint Officers to preside in the *Senate*, and these they call'd Πρύτανης. The Manner of their Election was thus; the Names of the *Tribes* being thrown into one Vessel with nine black Beans, and a white Bean cast into another, the *Tribe*, whose Fortune it was to be drawn out together with the white Bean, presided first, and the rest in the Order in which they were drawn out of the Vessel; for every *Tribe* presided in its Turn, and therefore, according to the Number of *Tribes*, the *Attick* Year was divided into ten Parts, each of which consisted of thirty-five Days; only the four first Parts contained thirty-six, thereby to make the *Lunar* Year complete, which, according to their Computation, consisted of one hundred and fifty-four Days (g). Others are of Opinion, that those four supernumerary Days were employed in the Creation of *Magistrates*, and that, during that Time, the *Athenians* had no *Magistrates* at all (h), and therefore they call'd them Ἀναρχοὶ ἡμέρας, and Ἀρχαίσις. Afterwards, when the *Tribes* were increased to twelve, every one of them presided a full Month in the Senate, as we learn from *Pollux* (i). The Time that every Company of *Prytanes* continued in their Office, was term'd Πρύτανία, during which they were excused from all other publick Duties.

For the avoiding of Confusion, every Πρύτανία was divided into five Weeks of Days, by which the fifty *Prytanes* were rank'd into five *Decuriae*, each *Decuria* being to govern their Week, during which Time they were call'd Πρώεδροι; out of these, one, whom they elected by Lots, presided over the rest, each of the seven Days; so that, of the ten *Proedri*, three were excluded from presiding.

(e) *Sigonius & Emnius de Rep. Athen.* & ubique in hac parte hujus libri. (f) *Stephan. Byzant. de Urb. & Populis.* (g) *Harpocrat.* (h) *Liban. Argument. in Androtian.* (i) *Lib. VIII. cap. 9.*

The President of the *Proedri* was term'd *Ἐπρωτάριος*. To his Custody was committed the publick Seal, and the Keys of the Citadel, and publick Exchequer. This therefore being an Office of so great Trust and Power, no Man was permitted, by the Laws, to continue in it above one Day, nor be elected into it a second Time (*k*).

There are said to have been nine *Proedri* distinct from the former, and chosen by the *Epistata* at every Convention of the Senate, out of all the Tribes, except that of which the *Prytanes* were Members (*l*). Both of these, were different from the *Ἐπρωτάριος*, and *Ἡρόδοτος*, in the popular Assemblies.

One Thing more there is remarkable in the Election of Senators, that, beside those who were immediately admitted into the Senate, they chose Subsidiaries, who, in Case any of the Senators were deposed for Male-Administration, or died before the Expiration of their Offices, should, without any farther Trouble, supply their Places; and these they call'd *Ἐπιλαχόντες* (*m*).

The Authority of the *Prytanes* consisted chiefly in assembling the Senate, which, for the most Part, was done once every Day (Festivals only excepted) and oftener if Occasion required. And that they might be ready to give Audience to all such as had any Thing to propose, that concern'd the Commonwealth, they constantly resorted to a common Hall, near the Senate-house, call'd *Prytaneum*, in which they offer'd Sacrifices, and had their Diet together (*n*).

Every Time the Senate was assembled, they offer'd Sacrifices to Jupiter *Βουαῖς*, and Minerva *Βουαία*, the Counsellors, who had a Chapel near the Senate-house (*o*). This they term'd *σιοντήρια θύον* (*p*).

If any Man offer'd any Thing, that deserv'd to be taken into Consideration, they engrav'd it upon Tablets, that all the Senators might beforehand be acquainted with what was to be discuss'd at their next Meeting, in which, after the *Prytanes*, or *Epistata*, had propounded the Matter, every Man had Liberty to declare his Opinion, and give his Reasons either for, or against it. This they did standing, for it is every where observable in ancient Authors, that no Person, of what Rank or Quality soever, presumed to speak sitting; and therefore, whenever a poetical Hero makes an Oration, he is always first said to rise:

Τοῖσι δ' ἀνδράμινο μετέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς,

saith Homer; and Ovid, to trouble you with no more Instances, mentions the same Custom,

Surgit ad hos clypei Dominus septemplicis Ajax.

When all had done speaking, the Business design'd to be pass'd into a Decree, was drawn up in Writing by any of the *Prytanes*, or other Senators, and repeated openly in the House (*q*); after which, Leave being given by the *Epistata*, or *Prytanes*, the Senators proceeded to vote, which they did in private, by casting Beans into a Vessel placed there for that

(*k*) Pollux lib. VIII. Ulpianus in *Androtianam*. (*l*) Pollux, *Suidas*. (*m*) *Harporat.* (*n*) *Pausanias*. (*o*) *Antipbon. de Choreuta*. (*p*) *Ulpianus*. (*q*) *Demosthen. Orat. in Cleophont.* & in *Nearam*.

Purpose. The Beans were of two Sorts, black and white, and if the Number of the former was found to be the greatest, the Proposal was rejected; if of the latter, it was enacted into a Decree (r), which they call'd *Ψήφισμα*, and *Πρόβλημα*, because it was agreed upon in the Senate with a Design to have it afterwards propounded to an Assembly of the People, that it might receive from them a farther Ratification, without which it could not be pass'd into a Law, nor have any Force or obligatory Power, after the End of that Year, which was the Time that the *Senators*, and almost all other *Magistrates*, laid down their Commissions.

The Power of this Council was very great, almost the whole Care of the Commonwealth being devolved upon them; for the Commonalty being, by *Solon's* Constitutions, invested with supreme Power, and entrusted with the Management of all Affairs, as well publick as private, it was the peculiar Charge of the Senate to keep them within due Bounds, and to take Cognizance of every Thing before it was refer'd to them, and to be careful that nothing should be propounded to them, but what they, upon mature Deliberation, had found to be conducive to the publick Good. And beside the Care of the Assembly, there were a great many Things that fell under the Cognizance of this Court, as the Accounts of *Magistrates* at the Expiration of their Offices (s), and the Care of poor Persons, that were maintain'd by an Allowance out of the publick Exchequer (t). It was their Business to appoint Gaolers for the publick Prisons, and to examine and punish Persons accused of such Crimes as were not forbidden by any positive Law (u), to take Care of the Fleet, and to look after the Building of new Men of War (w), with several other Things of great Consequence.

Now, because these were Places of great Trust, no Man could be admitted to them till he had undergone a strict *Δοκιμασία*, or Probation, whereby the whole Course of his Life was enquired into, and found to have been managed with Credit and Reputation, else he was rejected (x).

And to lay the greater Obligation upon them, they were requir'd to take a solemn Oath, the Substance whereof was this; "That they would in all their Councils endeavour to promote the publick Good; "and not advise any Thing contrary to the Laws. That they would sit "as Judges in what Court soever they were elected to by Lots," (for several of the Courts of Justice were supply'd with Judges out of the Senate,) "That they would never keep an *Athenian* in Bonds, that "could give three Sureties of the same Quality, except such as had "bought or collected, or been engaged as a Surety for the publick "Revenues, and did not pay the Commonwealth, and such as were "guilty of treasonable Practices against the Government." But this (as *Demosthenes* interprets it) must be understood only of Criminals before their Condemnation (y), for to put them in Fetters, after Sentence pass'd upon them, was no Breach of the Laws. But the highest Punishment, which the Senate was allow'd to inflict upon Cri-

(r) *Ulpianus*. (s) *Pollux*, lib. VIII. cap. 8. (t) *Harpocration*. (u) *Pollux*. (w) *Aristoph.* *Avibus*, & *Libanius* Argument. in *Andronianam*. (x) *Æschines* in *Timarch.* (y) *Demosthen.* *Timocrat.*

minals, was a Fine of five hundred *Drachmæ*. When this was thought not enough, they transfitted the Criminal to the *Thesmothetæ*, by whom he was arraign'd in the usual Method *. It must not be omitted, that, after the Expulsion of the thirty Tyrants, they took an Oath to observe τὴν ἀμνησίαν, the *Act of Oblivion*, whereby all the Disorders, committed during the Government of the Tyrants, were remitted.

After the Expiration of their Trust, the *Senators* gave an Account of their Management: And therefore, to prevent their being exposed to the Rage and Malice of the *Multitude*, they severely punish'd whatever Offences were committed by any of their own Members. If any of the *Senators* were convicted of breaking his Oath, committing any Injustice, or behaving himself otherwise than as became his Order, the rest of his Brethren expell'd him, and substituted one of the Ἀντιλαχόνες in his Place. This they call'd ἐκφυλλοφορεῖν, from the *Leaves* which they made Use of in giving their Suffrages, in the same Manner that the Ὀσφρακæ were used by the Commonalty in decreeing the *Ostracism*. But this Custom was not very ancient, being invented upon the Account of one *Xenotimus*, an Officer, that, by changing the Beans (which till that Time were always made Use of) was found to have corrupted the Suffrages (x). It was lawful τὰς ἐκφυλλοφορεθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ καλεῖσθαι, to admit these Men to be Judges, who had been expell'd out of the Senate. Whence we may conclude, that it was customary to deprive *Senators* of their Office for very small Offences.

On the contrary, such, as had behav'd themselves with Justice and Integrity, were rewarded with an Allowance of Money out of the publick Exchequer (a). Every *Senator* receiv'd a *Drachm* by the Day for his Maintenance. Whence βεβῆς λαχεῖν, to be elected by Lots into the Senate, is all one, according to *Hesychius's* Explication, with δραχμὴν τὴν ἡμέραν λαχεῖν, to obtain a *Drachm* every Day. And if any Men of War had been built during their Regency, the People, in their publick Assembly, decreed them the Honour of wearing a Crown; if not, the Law prohibited them from suing for this Privilege, as having been wanting to the Commonwealth, whose Safety and Interest depended upon nothing so much, as the Strength and Number of their Ships (b). This seems to have been enacted after the Fight near *Salamis*, that being the first Occasion that moved the *Athenians* to think of increasing their Fleet.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Senate and Court of Areopagus.

THE Name of this Senate was taken from the Place in which it was wont to be assembled, being an Hill not far distant from the Citadel (c), call'd Ἀρειοπάγῳ or Ἀρεῖο πάγῳ, that is, *Mars's Hill*, from

* *Demosthenes* in *Euergetæ* & *Mnesibulum*, *Pollux*, lib. VIII. c. o. (x) *Pollux*, lib. VIII. c. 5. *Harpocration*. *Etymolog.* *Suidas*. (a) *Demosthen.* *Timocrat.* (b) *Idem.* *Androtiana.* (c) *Herodotus*, lib. VIII.

Mars, the God of War and Blood, because all wilful Murders came under the Cognizance of this Court (*d*); or as Fables tell us, from the Arraignment of *Mars*, who was the first Criminal that was try'd in it (*e*); or, lastly, because the *Amazons*, whom the Poets feign to have been the Daughters of *Mars*, when they besieg'd *Athens*, pitch'd their Camps, and offer'd Sacrifices to the God of War in this Place (*f*).

When this Court was first instituted is uncertain. Some make it as ancient as *Cecrops*, the first Founder of *Athens*; others think it was begun in the Reign of *Cranaus*; and, lastly, others bring it down as low as the Times of *Solon*. But this Opinion, tho' defended by Authors of no less Credit than *Plutarch* (*g*), and *Cicero* (*h*), is, in express Terms contradicted by *Aristotle* (*i*), and one of *Solon's* Laws cited by *Plutarch* himself, wherein there is Mention of Judgments made in this Court, before *Solon* had reform'd the Commonwealth. What seems most probable is, that the Senate of *Areopagus* was first instituted a long Time before *Solon*, but was continued, regulated, and augmented by him; was by him made superior to the *Ephetae*, another Court instituted by *Draco* (*k*), and invested with greater Power, Authority, and larger Privileges, than ever it had enjoy'd before.

The Number of the Persons that compos'd this venerable Assembly, is not agreed upon; by some it is restrain'd to nine, by others enlarg'd to thirty-one, by others to fifty-one, and by some to no more. *Maximus* tells us it consist'd of fifty-one, *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πάσας τοὺς χρόνους*, besides such of the Nobility as were eminent for their Virtue and Riches; by which Words he seems to mean the nine *Archons*, who were the constant Seminary of this great Assembly, and, having discharged their several Offices, pass'd every Year into it (*l*); others affirm, that not all the nine *Archons*, but only the *Thesmothetae* were admitted into the *Areopagus* (*m*). This was the Reason why their Number was not always the same, but more, or less, according as those Persons happen'd to continue a greater, or lesser Time in the Senate. Therefore when *Socrates* was condemn'd by this Court, (as the Nature of his Crime makes it evident he was) we find no less than two hundred fourscore and one giving their Votes against him, besides those who voted for an Absolution: And in an ancient Inscription upon a Column in the Citadel at *Athens*, erected to the Memory of *Rufus Festus*, Proconsul of Greece, the Senate of *Areopagus* is said to consist of three hundred.

All, that had undergone the Office of an *Archon*, were not taken into this Senate, but only such of them, as had behaved themselves well in the Discharge of their Trust; and not they neither, till they had given an Account of their Administration before the *Logistae*, and obtain'd their Approbation, after an Enquiry into their Behaviour, which was not a mere Formality, and a Thing of Course, but extremely severe, rigorous, and particular (*n*). This being done, after the Performances

(*d*) *Suidas*. (*e*) *Pausan.* *Aristides Panathen.* *Suidas*. (*f*) *Æschylus Eumenid.* *Etymologici Auctor.* (*g*) *Solone.* (*h*) *De Offic. l. I.* (*i*) *Polit. l. II.* (*k*) *Pollux.* lib. VIII. cap. 10. (*l*) *Plutarch.* *Solone, & Pericle.* (*m*) *Libanius in Argumento Andreianæ.* (*n*) *Plutarch.* *Pericle, Pollux, l. VIII. c. 10: Demosthen. Timocrat.*

of certain Sacrifices at *Limnæ*, a Place in *Athens* dedicated to *Bacchus*, they were admitted upon set Days (o). Thus it was order'd by *Solon's* Constitutions, which were nicely and punctually observed for many Ages; but towards the Declination of the *Athenian* Grandeur, together with many other useful and excellent Ordinances, were either wholly laid aside and abrogated, or, which was all one, neglected and not observed. And then not the *Archons* only, but others, as well those of loose Lives and mean Fortunes, as Persons of high Quality, and strict Virtue, nay, and even Foreigners were taken into this Assembly; as appears by several Instances, produced by the learned *Meursius*, and particularly that of *Rufus Feslus*, mentioned in the aforesaid Inscription, as a Member of it.

Aristides tells us, this Court was τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δικαστηρίων τιμωτάτου καὶ ἀγλατάτου, the most sacred and venerable Tribunal in all Greece; and if we consider the Justice of their Sentences and judicial Determinations, the Unblameableness of their Manners, their wise and prudent Behaviour, and their high Quality and Station in the Commonwealth, it will easily appear that this Character was not unreasonable or undeserved. To have been sitting in a Tavern or publick House, was a sufficient Reason to deny an *Archon's* Admission into it (p); and tho' their Dignity was usually continued to them as long as they liv'd, yet, if any of the Senators was convicted of any Immorality, he was, without Mercy or Favour, presently expell'd. Nor was it enough that their Lives were strictly innocent and unblameable, but something more was required of them, their Countenances, Words, Actions, and all their Behaviour must be composed, serious, and grave to a Degree beyond what was expected from other (the most virtuous) Men. To laugh in their Assembly was an unpardonable Act of Levity (q); and for any of them to write a Comedy, was forbidden by a particular Precept of the Law (r).

Nay, so great an Awe and Reverence did this solemn Assembly strike into those that sat in it, that *Iyocrates* (s) tells us, that in his Days, when they were somewhat degenerated from their primitive Virtue, however otherwise Men were irregular and exorbitant, yet, once chosen into this Senate, they presently ceased from their vicious Inclinations, and chose rather to conform to the Laws and Manners of that Court, ἢ ταῖς αὐτῶν κακίας ἐμμένειν, than to continue in their loose and debauch'd Course of Life. And so exactly upright and impartial were their Proceedings, that *Demosthenes* (t) tells us, that to his Time there had never been so much as one of their Determinations, that either Plaintiff or Defendant had any just Reason to complain of. This was so eminently remarkable in all Parts of Greece, that even foreign States, when any Controversies happen'd among them, would voluntarily submit to their Decision: *Pausanias* (u) reports in particular of the *Messenians*, that before their first Wars with the *Spartans*, they were very desirous that their Quarrel should be referr'd to the *Areopagites*, and both Parties to their Determination.

(o) *Demosthen.* in *Nearam.* (p) *Athenæus*, lib. XIV. (q) *Æschin.* in *Timarch.*
(r) *Plutarch.* de *Gloria Atheniens.* (s) *Areopagit.* (t) *Aristocratea.* (u) *Messeniacis.*

It is reported, that this Court was the first that sat upon Life and Death*; and in later Ages, a great many capital Causes came under its Cognizance; before it were brought all Incendiaries, or such as deserted their Country, against whom they proceeded with no less Severity, than was used to those that were convicted of Treason, both being punish'd with Death (w); such also as had laid wait for any Person's Life, whether their wicked Contrivances were successful or not; for the very designing to murder a Man was thought to deserve no less than capital Punishment; others are of Opinion, that such Causes were try'd at the Tribunal of the *Palladium* (x). However that be, it is certain, that all Wounds given out of Malice, all wilful Murders, and particularly such as were effected by Poison, came under the Cognizance of this Court (y). Some say that there was no Appeal from the *Areopagites* to the People; but others, amongst whom is *Meursius*, are of a contrary Opinion, and assures us, that not only their Determinations might be call'd in Question, and, if need was, retracted by an Assembly of the People (z), but that themselves too, if they exceeded the due Bounds of Moderation in inflicting Punishments, were liable to account for it to the *Logistæ* (a). The same Author tells us afterwards, that this Court had Power to cancel the Sentence of an Assembly, if the People had acquitted any Criminal that deserved Punishment (b), and to rescue out of their Hands such innocent Persons, as were, by Prejudice or Mis-information, condemned by them. Perhaps in both these Opinions there is something of Truth, if you understand the former of the *Areopagus* in its primitive State; and the other, when its Power was retrench'd by *Pericles*.

Their Power in the Commonwealth was very great, for, by *Solon's* Constitution, the Inspection and Custody of the Laws were committed to them (c), the publick Fund was disposed of and managed according to their Discretion (d), the Care of all young Men in the City belonged to them, and it was their Business to appoint them Tutors and Governors (e), and see that they were educated suitably to their several Qualities (f). Nor did they only superintend the Youth, but their Power was extended to Persons of all Ages and Sexes; such as lived disorderly, or were guilty of any Impiety, or Immorality, they punish'd according to the Merit of their Offences; and such as were eminent for a virtuous Course of Life, they had Power to reward. To this End, they went about with the *Gynæconomi*, to all publick Meetings, such as were Marriages, and solemn Sacrifices, which were usually concluded with a Banquet, to see that all Things were carried on with Decency and Sobriety (g). Idleness was a Crime that came more especially under their Cognizance, and (which seems to have been an Institution peculiar to *Solon*) they were oblig'd to enquire strictly after every Man's Course of Life, and to examine by what Means he maintain'd himself in the Sta-

* Etymolog. V. "Ἀρεῖα δὲ κρίσις. (w) *Lycurgus* in *Leocratem*. (x) *Harpocr.* *Suidas*. (y) *Demosthen.* *Aristocrat.* *Pollux.* l. VIII. c. 10. aliique. (z) *Dinarchus* Orat. in *Aristogiton*. (a) *Demosthen.* in *Nearam* *Æschin.* in *Ctesiphont*. (b) *Demosthen.* pro *Corona*. (c) *Plutarch.* *Solone*. (d) *Plutarch.* *Ithem* *Stoic*. (e) *Æschines* *Philosophus* in *Antiocho*. (f) *Isocrates* *Areopagitic*. (g) *Athenæus*, lib. VI.

tion he was in, so that there might be no Room for such as liv'd by unlawful Arts, by Cheating and Cozenage, or Theft or Rapine (*b*). Beside this, Matters of Religion, Blasphemy against the Gods, Contempt of the holy Mysteries, and all Sorts of Impiety, the Consecration also of new Gods, Erection of Temples and Altars, and Introduction of new Ceremonies into Divine Worship, were referr'd to the Judgment of this Court; therefore *Plato* having been instructed in the Knowledge of one God in *Ægypt*, was forced to dissemble or conceal his Opinion, for Fear of being call'd to an Account for it by the *Areopagites* (*i*); and *St. Paul* was arraign'd before them, as a Setter forth of strange Gods, when he preached unto them *Jesus*, and *Ἀνάστασις*, or the Resurrection (*k*). These were the chief Businesses that this Senate was employ'd about, for they seldom intermeddled in the Management of publick Affairs, except in Cases of great and imminent Danger, and in these the Commonwealth usually had Recourse to them, as the last and safest Refuge (*l*).

They had three Meetings in the *Areopagus* every Month, upon the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth Days (*m*). But if any Business happen'd that requir'd Dispatch, it was usual for them to assemble in the *Βασιλικὴ Στοά*, or Royal Portico, which they encompass'd with a Rope, to prevent the Multitude from thronging in upon them (*n*), as was usual also in other Courts of Justice.

Two Things are very remarkable in their Judgments: First, that they sat in the open Air (*o*), a Custom practis'd in all the Courts of Justice, that had Cognizance of Murder; partly, because it was unlawful for the Accuser and Criminal in such Cases to be under the same Roof; and partly, that the Judges, whose Persons are esteem'd sacred, might contract no Pollution from conversing with Men, profane and unhallowed, for such they were accounted, that had been guilty of so black and heinous a Crime (*p*). Secondly, they heard and determin'd all Causes at Night, and in the Dark, to the End that having neither seen the Plaintiff, or Defendant, they might lie under no Temptation of being biass'd or influenced by either of them (*q*). And of what Consequence this was, may be learn'd from the Example of the Harlot *Phryne*, who being accused of Impiety for feigning herself to be *Minerva*, the Protectress of *Athens*, when Sentence was going to pass against her, so changed the Minds of her Judges, by uncovering her Breasts, that she was immediately acquitted*.

Actions about Murder were usher'd into the *Areopagus* by the *Βασιλεύς*, who was allow'd to sit as Judge amongst them, laying aside the Crown, which was one of the Ornaments of his Office (*r*).

The common Method they proceeded in, was this; the Court being met, and the People excluded, they divided themselves into several Committees, each of which had their Causes assign'd to be heard and determin'd by them severally, if the Multitude of Business was so

(*b*) *Plutarch. Solone, Valer. Max. lib. II. c. 6.* (*i*) *Justinus Martyr.* (*k*) *Act. Apostol. XVIII. 18, 19.* (*l*) *Argument. Orat. Androt.* (*m*) *Pollux, lib. VIII. c. 10.* (*n*) *Demost. Orat. I. in Aristogit.* (*o*) *Pollux loc. citat.* (*p*) *Antiphan. Orat. de cæde Herodis.* (*q*) *Lucian. Hermotimo.* * *Athenæus, lib. XIII. & qui cum sequitur Eustathius, aliique.* (*r*) *Pollux.*

great, that the whole Senate could not take Cognizance of them together. Both these Designations were perform'd by Lots, to the End that, every Man coming into the Court before it was determin'd what Causes would fall to his Share, none of them might lie under any Temptation of having his Honesty corrupted with Bribes (s).

Before the Trial began, the Plaintiff and Defendant took solemn Oaths upon the Testicles of a Goat, a Ram, and a Bull, by the Σεπράϊ Δαί, or *Furies*. The Plaintiff, in Case of Murder, swore that he was related to the deceased Person, (for none but near Relations, at the farthest a Cousin, were permitted to prosecute a Murderer) and that the Prisoner was the Cause of his Death. The Prisoner swore that he was innocent of the Crime laid to his Charge. Both of them confirmed their Oaths with direful Imprecations, wishing, that, if they swore falsely, themselves, their Houses, and their whole Families, might be utterly destroy'd and extirpated by the Divine Vengeance (t); which they look'd upon to be so dreadful and certain, that the Law inflict-ed no Penalty upon those that at such a Time were guilty of Perjury, remitting them, as it were to be punished by an higher Tribunal.

Then the two Parties were placed upon two Silver Stools; the Accuser was placed upon the Stool of Ὑβρις, or *Injury*; the Prisoner upon the Stool of Ἀναίδία, or *Impudence*; or, according to *Adrian Junius's* Correction, of Ἀναίτια, or *Innocence*; these were two Goddesses, to which Altars, and afterwards Temples, were erected in the *Areopagus* (u). The Accuser in this Place propos'd three Questions to the Prisoner, called by *Æschylus* τρεῖς παλαιόματα (w), to each of which he was to give a distinct Answer. The first was, εἰ κατέκρινας, *Are you guilty of this Murder?* To which he made Answer, ἔκρινον, or, οὐκ ἔκρινον, *Guilty, or Not Guilty?* Secondly, Ὅπως κατέκρινας, *How did you commit this Murder?* Thirdly, Τίνες Βελεβύμασι κατέκρινας, *Who were your Partners and Accomplices in the Fact?*

In the next Place, the two Parties impleaded each other, and the Prisoner was allow'd to make his Defence in two Orations, the first of which being ended, he was permitted to secure himself by Flight, and go into voluntary Banishment, if he suspected the Goodness of his Cause; which Privilege if he made use of, all his Estate was confiscated, and expos'd to Sale by the Πωληταί (x). In the primitive Times both Parties spoke for themselves (y), but in later Ages they were permitted to have Council to plead for them. But, whoever it was that spoke, he was to represent the bare and naked Truth, without any Preface or Epilogue, without any Ornament, Figures of Rhetorick, or other insinuating Means to win the Favour, or move the Affections of the Judges (z).

Both Parties being heard, if the Prisoner was resolv'd to stand the Trial, they proceeded to give Sentence, which they did with the most

(s) *Lucian. Bis accusato.* (t) *Demosthen. Aristocrat. Dinarchus in Demosthen. Lyfias in Theomnefteum. Pollux, l. VIII. c. 10.* (u) *Pausanias. Cicero de Legibus l. II.* (w) *Eumenidibus.* (x) *Demosthenes in Aristocrat. Pollux, l. VIII.* (y) *Sextus Empiricus adv. Mathemat. l. II.* (z) *Aristotelis Rhetoric. l. I. Lucianus Anacbarfide. Demosthen. Quintilian. alique innumeri.*

profound Gravity and Silence; hence *Ἀποκρίσις* *ἀποκρισις*, and *Ἀποκρίσις* *ἀποκρισις* came to be proverbial Sayings; tho' some derive them from the Reservedness and severe Gravity of their Manners; whence also *Ἀποκρίσις* is usually taken for a grave, majestic, rigid Person; and others, from the great Care they took to conceal the Transactions of the Senate, of which the Poet speaks,

Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis (a).

The Manner of giving Sentence was thus; there were placed in the Courts two Urns, one of which was of Brass, and call'd *ὁ ὑπερθεός*, from the Place it stood in; *ὑπερθεός*, because the Votes cast into it pronounced the Accusation *valid*; and *θανάτου*, because they decreed the Death of the Prisoner. The second Urn was of Wood, being placed behind the former; into it they, that acquitted the Prisoner, were to cast their Suffrages; for which Reason it was call'd *ὁ ὑπερθεός*, or *ὁ ὀπίσθιος*, & *ἀντιθεός*, and *ὁ δίκης* (b). Afterwards the 30 Tyrants, having made themselves Masters of the City, order'd them to give their Voices in a Manner more publick and open, by casting their *Calculi* upon two Tables, the former of which contain'd the Suffrages which acquitted, the latter those which condemn'd the Prisoner; to the End that it might be known, which Way every Man gave his Voice, and how he stood affected to their Interest and Proceedings (c).

Besides the Crimes that came peculiarly under their Cognizance, there were sometimes others brought before them, in which their Sentence was not final or decretory, for there lay an Appeal to the Courts to which they properly belong'd, as *Sigantus* observes.

The Senators of *Areopagus* were never rewarded with Crowns for their Services, being not permitted to wear them (d); but receiv'd a Sort of Maintenance from the Publick, which they call'd *Κτήρ* (e); and *Meursius* has observ'd out of *Lucian* (f), that they had the same Pension that was allotted to some other Judges, viz. three *Oboli* for every Cause they gave Judgment upon.

Their Authority was preserv'd entire, till the Time of *Pericles*, who because he could not be admitted amongst them as never having borne the Office of an *Archon*, employ'd all his Power and Cunning against them; and, having gain'd a great Interest with the Commonalty, so embroil'd and routed their Senate by the Assistance of *Ephialtes*, that most of the Causes and Matters, which had been formerly tried there, were discharg'd from their Cognizance (g). From this Time the *Athenians*, being, in a great Measure, freed from the Restraint that had been laid upon them, began sensibly to degenerate from their ancient Virtue, and in a short Time let loose the Reins to all Manner of Licentiousness (h); whence they are compar'd by *Plutarch* to a wild unruly Horse, that, having slung his Rider, would be govern'd and kept in no longer. The same Vices and Excesses, that were practis'd in the City, crept in by Degrees among the *Areopagites* themselves;

(a) *Juvenal*, Sat. IX. (b) *Aristophan.* *Schol.* *Vesp.* *Equit.* (c) *Lyfias* in *Agorat.* (d) *Eschines* in *Ctesiphont.* (e) *Hesychius* in *Κτήρ*. (f) *Bis accusato.* (g) *Plutarch.* *Pericle.* (h) *Isocrates* *Areopagit.*

and therefore *Demetrius*, one of the Family of the *Phalerean*, being censur'd by them as a loose Liver, told them plainly that, if they design'd to make a Reformation in the City, they must begin at Home, for that even amongst them there were several Persons of as bad, and worse Lives, than himself, and, which was a more unpardonable Crime, than any that he had been guilty of, several that debauch'd and corrupted other Mens Wives, and were themselves corrupted and seduced by Bribes *.

C H A P. XX.

Of some other Courts of Justice.

SOLON intending to make the *Athenians* a free People, and wisely considering that nothing would more conduce to secure the Commonalty from the Oppression of the Nobility than to make them final Judges of Right and Wrong; enacted, that the nine *Archons*, who till that Time had been the supreme and last Judges in most Causes, should thence have little farther Power than to examine the Causes brought before them, which they were obliged to refer to the Determination of other Judges in the several Courts hereafter to be mention'd.

The Judges were chosen out of the Citizens without Distinction of Quality, the very meanest being by *Solon* admitted to give their Voices in the popular *Assembly*, and to determine Causes, provided they were arriv'd at the Age of thirty Years, and had never been convicted of any notorious Crime.

The Courts of Justice were ten, beside that in *Areopagus*. Four had Cognizance ἐπὶ τῶν φονικῶν παραμύτων, of *Actions concerning Blood*: The remaining six ἐπὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν, of *Civil Matters*. These ten Courts were all painted with Colours, from which Names were given them; whence we read of Βατραχίων, Φοινικίων, and others. And on each of them was engraven one of the ten following Letters, A, B, Γ, Δ, E, Z, H, Θ, I, K: Whence they are likewise call'd *Alpha, Beta, &c.* Such therefore of the *Athenians*, as were at Leisure to hear and determine Causes deliver'd in their Names, together with the Names of their Father and Borough inscrib'd upon a Tablet, to the *Thesmothetae*; who return'd it to them with another Tablet, whereon was inscrib'd the Letter of one of the Courts, as the Lots had directed. These Tablets they carried to the *Crier* of the several Courts, signify'd by the Letters, who thereupon gave to every Man a Tablet inscrib'd with his own Name, and the Name of the Court, which fell to his Lot, and a Staff or Scepter. Having receiv'd these, they were all admitted to sit in the Court (i). If any Person sat among the Judges, who had not obtain'd one of the foremention'd Letters, he was fin'd. It may not be improper to mention in this Place, that σκήπτρον, the *Scepter*, or *Staff*, was always the Ensign of Judicial and Sovereign

* *Athenaeus* Δισπυροφ.(i) *Aristophanis Scholiastes* in *Pluto*.

Power: Whence in *Homer* it is accounted sacred, and the most solemn Oaths are sworn by it:

Ἄλλ' ἐκ τοι ἱρῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὀμῆμαι,
 Ναὶ μὰ τὸδε σκῆπτρον, τὸ μὲν ἔπειε φύλλα καὶ ῥίζας
 Φύσιν, ἐπαυρῆναι πρῶτα τομῇ ἐν ὅρισσι λείποντι,
 Οὐδ' ἀναθλήσει, περὶ γὰρ ῥα ἱ χαλκός, ἔλεψεν
 Φύλλα τε, καὶ φλοῖον· οὐκ αὐτὴ μιν οἷος Ἀχαιῶν
 Ἐν παλάμῃ φορέουσι δικαστικοί, οἳ τε δέμας
 Πρὸς Διὸς ἱρύνεται ————— (k).

But this I do with solemn Oath declare,
 An Oath, which I'll by this same Scepter swear,
 Which in the Wood hath left its native Root,
 And sapless ne'er shall boast a tender Shoot,
 Since from its Sides relentless Steel has torn
 The Bark, but now by Grecian Chiefs is born,
 Chiefs that maintain the Laws of mighty Jove,
 Committed to their Charge. —————

Mr. Hugh Hutchin, of *Line. Coll.*

Sometimes we find the Scepters of Kings, and great Persons adorn'd
 with Studs of Silver, or Gold;

———— Ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαῖαν
 Χρυσείοις ἥλοισι πέπαρμενον ————— (l).

———— He cast his Scepter on the Ground
 Emboss'd with Studs of Gold. —————

To return, the *Athenian* Judges, having heard the Causes they were appointed to take Cognizance of, went immediately and deliver'd back the Scepter to the *Prytanes*, from whom they receiv'd the Reward due to them. This was term'd *δικασκὸν* (m), or *μισθὸς δικασκός*. Sometimes it was an *Obolus* for every Cause they decided; sometimes three *Oboli*, being sometimes raised higher than at others, by the Instance of Men, who endeavour'd by that Means to become popular (n). No Man was permitted to sit as Judge in two Courts upon the same Day (o), that looking like the Effect of Covetousness. And if any of the Judges was convicted of Bribery, he was fin'd (p).

Ἐπὶ Παλλάδιῳ was a Court of Judicature instituted in the Reign of *Demophoon*, the Son of *Theseus*, upon this Account; some of the *Argives* under the Conduct of *Diomedes*, or, as others say, of *Agamemnon*, being driven in the Night upon the Coasts of *Attica*, landed at the Haven of *Phalerus*, and supposing it to be an Enemy's Country, went out to spoil and plunder it. The *Athenians* presently took the Alarm, and having united themselves into one Body, under the

(k) *Iliad*. á. v. 233. (l) *Iliad*. á. v. 245. (m) *Hesychius*, v. *δικασκός*. (n) *Hesychius*, *ibid.* *Aristophanes S. boliaſtes* ex *Aristotele de Repub.* (o) *Demosthenes & Ulpianus* in *Timocrat.* (p) *Thucydides Scholiaſtes*, lib. VI.

Conduct of *Demophoon*, repuls'd the Invaders with great Loss, killing a great many of them upon the Place, and forcing the rest to retire in. to their Ships; but, upon the Approach of Day, *Acamas*, the Brother of *Demophoon*, finding among the dead Bodies the *Palladium*, or Statue of *Minerva* brought from *Troy*, discover'd that the Persons they had kill'd were their Friends and Allies; whereupon (having first advis'd with an Oracle) they gave them an honourable Burial in the Place where they were slain, consecrated the Goddess's Statue, erected in a Temple to her, and instituted a Court of Justice, in which Cognizance was taken of such as were indicted for involuntary Murders. The first, that was arraign'd in it, was *Demophoon*, who, in his Return from the foremention'd Conflict, kill'd one of his own Subjects by a sudden Turn of his Horse. Others report, that *Agamemnon* being enrag'd at the Loss of his Men, and dissatisfied at *Demophoon*'s rash and hasty Attempt upon them, referr'd the Quarrel to the Decision of fifty *Athenians*, and as many *Argians*, whom they call'd ἑφῆρας, διὰ τὸ πᾶσι ἀποφῆσαι ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς κρίσεως, because both Parties committed the Determination of their Cause to them.

Afterwards the *Argians* were excluded, and the Number of the *Epheta* reduced to fifty-one by *Draco*, whom some affirm to have been the first Institutor of them; but others, with more Probability, report, that he regulated and reform'd them, augmented their Power, honour'd them with many important Privileges, and made them superior to the Senate of *Areopagus*. In this State they continu'd till *Solon*'s Time, by whom their Power was lessen'd, and their Authority restrain'd; the Causes, which had formerly been try'd by them, were discharg'd from their Cognizance, and only those about Man-slaughter, and Chance-medley, and, as some say, Conspiracies against the Lives of the Citizens, that were discover'd before they took Effect, left to them.

Fifty of them were appointed by Election, five being chose out of every *Tribes*, but the odd Man was appointed by Lots; all of them were Men of good Characters, and virtuous Lives, of severe Manners, and a settled Gravity, and no Person under the Age of fifty Years was admitted into their Number.

Causes were entered in this Court by the *Βασιλεὺς*, and the Proceedings were in some Things agreeable to those of the *Areopagus*, for both Parties, the Plaintiff and Defendant, were oblig'd to confirm their Allegations by solemn Oaths and Curses, and then, the Orators having perform'd their Parts, the Judges proceeded to give Sentence (q).

Ἐνὶ Δελφίνῳ was a Court of Justice in the Temple of *Apollo Delphinus*, and *Diana Delphinia*. Under its Cognizance came all Murders wherein the Prisoner confess'd the Fact, but pleaded that it was committed by Permission of the Laws, as in the Case of Self-preservation, or Adultery, for it was allow'd any one to kill an Adulterer, if he caught him in the Act (r). The first Person, that was try'd in this Court, was *Theseus*, who, in his Journey to *Athens*, had slain the Rob-

(q) *Pausanias*, *Harpocration*, *Suidas*, *Pollux*, lib. VIII. c. 10, (r) *Plutarch*, *Solone*, *Hesychius*, c. *Διμασθήσια*.

bers that infested the Ways between *Træzen* and that Place; and afterwards the Sons of *Pallas*, that raised a Rebellion against him (s).

Ἐνὶ Πρωταρχίᾳ, was a Court of Judicature, which had Cognizance of Murders committed by Things without Life, or Sense, as Stones, Iron, Timber, &c. which, if they kill'd a Man by Accident, or by the Direction of an unknown Hand, or of a Person that had escaped, had Judgment pass'd upon them in this Place, and were ordered to be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* by the *Φυλακισταί*. This Court was as ancient as *Erechtheus*, and the first Thing, that was brought to Trial in it, was an Ax, wherewith one of *Jupiter's* Priests kill'd an Ox, (an Animal accounted very sacred in those Days) that had eaten one of the consecrated Cakes, and, as soon as he committed the Fact, secured himself by Flight (t). This Place also was the Common-Hall, in which publick Entertainments were made, and the sacred Lamp, that burn'd with a perpetual Fire, was kept by Widows, who, having passed the Years and Desires of Marriage, were devoted to the Mother of the Gods; which Lamp, as *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Numa*, tells us, was extinct under the Tyranny of *Aristion*; it was always managed with the same Rites and Ceremonies that were used at *Rome*, about the *Vestal* Fire, which, he saith, was ordain'd and instituted after the Pattern of this and another holy Fire of the same Nature amongst the *Delphinians*.

Ἐν Φρεατῷ, *Ἐν Φρεάτῳ*, was seated upon the Sea-shore in the *Pyræus*, and receiv'd its Name ἀπὸ τῆς Φρέατος, because it stood in a Pit, and therefore *Pollux* calls it *Ἐν Φρεάτῳ*, or, as is more probable, from the Hero *Phreatus*. The Causes, heard in this Court, were such as concern'd Persons that had fled out of their own Country for Murder; or those that fled for involuntary Murder, and had afterwards committed a wilful and deliberate Murder. The first Person that was tried in this Place, was *Teucer*, who, as *Lycophron* reports, was banish'd out of *Salamis* by his Father *Telamon*, upon a groundless Suspicion, that he had been accessory to *Ajax's* Death. The Criminal was not permitted to come to Land, or so much as to cast Anchor, but pleaded his Cause in his Bark, and, if found guilty, was committed to the Mercy of the Winds and Waves; or, as some say, suffered there condign Punishment; if innocent, was only clear'd of the second Fact, and (as 'twas customary) underwent a Twelve-month's Banishment for the former (u).

And thus much may suffice concerning the Courts for capital Offences; it remains that I give you an Account of those, which had the Cognizance of Civil Affairs.

(s) *Pollux* loc. cit. *Pausanias*. (t) Idem *Ælian* V. H. lib. VII. cap. 3. *Harpocration*. (u) *Demosthen* in *Arist*, *Harpocrat*, *Pollux* loc. cit. *Hesychius*.

C H A P. XXI.

Of some other Courts of Justice, their Judicial Proceſs, &c.

Παράευσον, was either ſo call'd, as being a Court of no great Credit or Reputation, having Cognizance only of trivial Matters, whoſe Value was not above one *Drachm*; or becauſe it was ſituate in ἀφανὶ τόπῳ τῆς πόλεως, in an *obſcure Part of the City*. *Pollux* reports, there were two Courts of this Name, one of which was call'd Παράευσον μείζον, and the other Παράευσον μίσην. The Perſons, that ſat as Judges in the latter of theſe, were the 11 Magiſtrates, call'd οἱ Ἐρδῖναι (π). On which Account, it is, by ſome, not placed among the ten Courts, the Commons of *Athens* being all permitted to judge in them; and inſtead hereof, another Court is reckon'd into the ten, call'd τὸ Κανὼν, the *new Court*, which is mentioned by *Ariſtophanes* * :

— 'Ο δ' αὐτῷ τυμπάνῳ
Αἰξας, ἰδικάζει εἰς τὸ Κανὼν ἱμπισίων.

Τριγωνον, was, in all Probability, ſo call'd, becauſe it was *triangular* (x). Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκου, received its Name from the Temple of the Hero *Lycus*, in which it was erected. The ſame Perſon had a Statue in all the Courts of Juſtice, by which he was repreſented with a Wolf's Face, and therefore Λύκος δικάς, ſignifies *Sycophants*, and τὰς δωροδοκούσας, thoſe who took *Bribes*, who, by *Tens*, that is, in great Numbers, frequented thoſe Places (y).

Τὸ Μνητεῖον, was called from one *Metichus*, an Architect, by whom it was built (z).

The Judges in all theſe Courts were obliged to take a ſolemn Oath, by the *Paternal Apollo*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter the King*, that they would give Sentence uprightly, and according to Law, if the Law had determin'd the Point debated; or, where the Law was ſilent, according to the beſt of their Judgments. Which Oath, as alſo that which was taken by thoſe that judged in the *Heliea*, was given in a Place near the River *Iliffus*, call'd *Ardettus*, from a Hero of that Name, who, in a publick Sedition, united the conteſting Parties, and engaged them to confirm their Treaties of Peace by mutual Oaths in this Place. Hence common and profane Swearers came to be call'd Ἀρδῆται (a).

Of all the Judicial Courts that handled Civil Affairs, Ἡλιαία was far the greateſt, and moſt frequented, being ſo call'd ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνιſτεſθαι, from the People's thronging together (b), or rather ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἥλιου, becauſe it was an open Place, and expoſed to the *Sun* (c).

(π) *Harpocrat. Suidas, Pausanias Atticis. * Vespis, p. 430. Edit. Amſtelodam.*
(x) *Idem.* (y) *Ariſtoph. Schol. Vesp. Zenobius Harpocrat. Pollux, Suidas, &c.* (z) *Pollux, &c.* (a) *Etymolog. Pollux, Suidas, Heſych. Harpocrat.* (b) *Ulpian. in Demost.*
(c) *Idem Ariſtoph. Schol. Nub. Equit. Vesp. Suidas.*

The Judges, that sat in this Court, were at least fifty, but the more usual Number was two or five hundred. When Causes of great Consequence were to be try'd, it was customary to call in all the Judges of other Courts. Sometimes a thousand were call'd in, and then two Courts are said to have been join'd: Sometimes fifteen hundred or two thousand, and then three or four Courts met together (a). Whence it appears, that the Judges were sometimes five hundred in other Courts.

They had Cognizance of civil Affairs of the greatest Weight and Importance, and were not permitted to give Judgment till they had taken a solemn Oath, the Form whereof was this, as we find it in *Demosthenes* (b); "I will give Sentence according to the Laws, and the Decrees of the People of Athens, and the Council of five hundred; I will not consent to place the supreme Power in the Hands of a single Person or a few; nor permit any Man to dissolve the Commonwealth, or so much as to give his Vote, or make an Oration in Defence of such a Revolution: I will not endeavour to discharge private Debts, nor to make any Division of Lands or Houses; I will not restore Person sent into Banishment, nor pardon those that are condemn'd to die, nor expel any Man out of the City, contrary to the Laws and Decrees of the People, and Council of five hundred, nor permit any other Person to do it. I will not elect any Person into any publick Employ, and particularly I will not create any Man Archon, Hieromnemon, Ambassador, publick Herald, or Synedrus, nor consent that he shall be admitted into any of those Offices, which are elected by Lots upon the same Day with the Archons, who has undergone any former Office, and not given in his Accounts; nor that any Person shall bear two Offices, or be twice elected into the same Office in one Year. I will not receive Gifts myself; nor shall any other for me; nor will I permit any other Person to do the like by any Means, whether direct or indirect, to pervert Justice in the Court of Heliaea. I am not under thirty Years of Age. I will hear both the Plaintiff and Defendant without Partiality, and give Sentence in all the Causes brought before me. I swear by Jupiter, Neptune, and Ceres, if I violate this Oath, or any Part of it, may I perish with my whole Family; But, if I religiously observe it, may we live and prosper."

These were the ten publick Courts at Athens: There were others of less Note, where particular Magistrates, or the *Δικασταί*, or the *Τεσσαράκοντα*, took Cognizance of Causes belonging to their several Offices; such were the Courts at *Cynisarges*, *Odeum*, *Theseus's Temple*, *Bucoleum*, and some others.

The Method of judicial Process was thus: First of all the Plaintiff deliver'd in the Name of the Person against whom he brought his Action, together with an Account of his Offence, to the Magistrate whose Concern it was (*ἀσάγειν*) to introduce it into the Court, where Causes of that Nature were heard. The Magistrate then examin'd, whether the Cause was one of those which belong'd to his Cognizance,

(a) Pollux, lib. VIII. c. 10. Harpocrat. Stephan. Byzantius. v. Ἡλιαία.

(b) Oser. in Timocrat.

and then αἰ ὅπως εἰσάγειν χρὴ whether it deserv'd to be try'd in a Court of Justice? This Enquiry was term'd ἀνάκρισις. Then by the Magistrates Permission, the Plaintiff summon'd his Adversary to appear before the Magistrate, which was term'd κλητεύειν (c). This was sometimes done by Apparitors or Bailiffs, whom they call'd κλήτορες, or κληήρις (d); sometimes by the Plaintiff himself, who always carry'd with him sufficient Witnesses to attest the giving of the Summons, and these were also term'd κλήτορες, or κληήρις (e). An Example of this Method we find in the *Vespæ* of *Aristophanes* (f);

— Προσκαλέμαι σ' ὅστις εἶ,
Πρὸς τὰς Ἀγορανόμους βλάβης τῶν φορτίων,
Κληήρῃ ἔχουσα Χαμεφάνια τέλονι.

I summon thee, whoever thou art, to answer before the Agoranomi for the Damage done to my Goods; this Chærephon is Witness. This therefore was the Form, in which the Plaintiff himself summon'd his Adversary: Προσκαλέμαι τὸν δεῖνα τῷδε ἀδικήματι πρὸς τὴν Ἀρχὴν τήνδε, κληήρῃ ἔχου τὸν δεῖνα. *I summon such a Person to answer for this Injury before this Magistrate, having such a one for my Witness* (g). When the Plaintiff employ'd an Apparitor, the Form was thus vary'd; Καλέστω τὸν δεῖνα τῷδε, καὶ Προσκαλέμαι τόντον, διὰ τὸ δεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀρχὴν τήνδε, *I accuse such a Person of this Injury, and summon him by such an one to answer before this Magistrate.* For it was necessary to mention the Name of the κλητήρ in the Summons. Lastly, When a marry'd Woman was cited to appear before a Magistrate, her Husband was also summon'd in this Form, Τὴν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν Κύριον, *Such a Woman and her Lord, &c.* because Wives, being under the Government of their Husbands, were not permitted to appear in any Court without them. If the Criminal refus'd to appear before the Magistrate, he was carried thither by Force. Whence the following Dialogue in *Terence's Phormio* (h).

DE. *In jus eamus.* PH. *In jus? hic, si quid lubet.*
DE. *Asséquere, ac retine, dum ego hic servos evoco.*
CH. *Enim solum nequeo: occurre hic.* PH. *Una injuria est Tecum.* CH. *Lege agito ergo.* PH. *Altera est tecum Chreme.*
DE. *Rape hunc.*

Afterwards *Demipho* speaks these Words,

— *Ni sequitur, pugnos in ventremingere,
Vel oculum exclude*—

Sometimes the Criminal was not summon'd to appear immediately, but upon a certain Day, which was always mention'd in the Form of his Citation. This Custom is mention'd by *Aristophanes* (i).

Καλῶμαι Πεισθέταιρον ὕβριος
Εἰς τὸν Μενυχῶνα μῆνα.

(c) *Ulpianus in Demosthenis Orat. de Corona.* (d) *Aristophanis Scholiastes ad Aves.*
(e) *Ulpianus loco citato. Suidas, Harpocration.* (f) *Pag. 502. Edit. Amstelæd.* (g)
Ulpianus in Midianem. (h) *Act. V. Sc. VII.* (i) *Avibus, p. 572. Edit. Amstelæd.*

I summon Pisthetærus to answer the next Month of Munychion for the Injury done me. When the Plaintiff and Defendant were both come before the Magistrate, he enquir'd of the Plaintiff whether all his Evidence was ready, or whether he needed any other Witnesses to be summon'd? This was the second ἀνάκρισις, to which the Plaintiff was oblig'd to offer himself under the Penalty of (ἀτιμία) Infamy. If any of his Witnesses were not ready, or any other Necessaries were wanting, he desir'd farther Time to make his Prosecution, swearing, that this Delay was not on his Part voluntary; to do which was term'd ἐπιμνησθαι, and the Thing itself ἐπιμνησθῆ (k). The same Excuse was likewise admitted in Behalf of the Defendant, who had also another Plea term'd παρασφαγή, or παραμαρτυρία, when he alledg'd by sufficient Witnesses, that the Action brought against him was not δίκην ἰσχυρόν, a Cause which could then lawfully be try'd: Which happen'd on several Accounts; When the Injury had been committed five Years before the Accusation; for, that Time being expir'd, the Laws permitted no Action to be preferr'd. When the Controversy had been formerly compos'd before credible Witnesses. For any voluntary Agreement before Witnesses was valid, provided it was not about Things unlawful. When the Defendant had been formerly either punish'd for, or legally try'd and acquitted of the Fact. Lastly, It was a just Exception, that the Cause was not one of those, whereof that Magistrate was impower'd to take Cognizance. To this παρασφαγή, the Plaintiff was oblig'd to give his Answer prov'd by sufficient Evidence: And both the Exception and the Answer together, as sworn by the Witnesses, were term'd διαμαρτυρία (l). But if the Defendant, without alledging any Plea or Excuse, was willing to proceed to a speedy Trial, he was said εὐθιδικῶς, and the Trial was term'd εὐθιδικία. Then an Oath was requir'd of both Parties. The Plaintiff swore, that he would ἀληθὴ καὶ νόμιμα, prefer no Accusation that was untrue: And if the Crime was of a publick Nature, he farther swore, that he would not be prevail'd with either by Bribes or Promises, or any other Temptation, to desist from the Prosecution. The Defendant swore, ἀληθὴ ἀποκρίσασθαι, that his Answer should be just and true: Or μὴ ἀδικεῖν, that he had not injur'd the Plaintiff. The Plaintiff's Oath was term'd προμαρτυρία, the Defendant's ἀντιμαρτυρία, and, as some think, ἀντισφαγή, and both together δίκαια. These Oaths, together with those of the Witnesses, and all other Matters relating to the Action, being wrote upon Tablets, were put into a Vessel term'd ἕρμιον, and deliver'd afterwards to the Judges (m).

This being done, the Magistrate proceeded to the Election of Judges, which were perform'd by Lots; and they upon the κρυπὰ ἡμέρα, or appointed Day, came to the Tribunal and took their Places; the publick Crier having before commanded all those that had no Business, to depart, in these Words, Μελάνης ἔξω. Then to keep the Crowds from thronging in upon them, the Court was surrounded with a Rope, by the Command of the Magistrate, and Serjeants appointed to keep the

(k) Demosthen. in Olympiad. Isæus de Philodemone, & Ulpianus in Mediana. (l) Pollux lib. VIII. cap. 6. Harpocrat. v. διαμαρτυρία. (m) Pollux, Aristophanis Subolis in Vespas. Harpogration, Suidas.

Doors, which they call'd *Κυβώδες*, being the same with those which the Romans call'd *Cancellata* (n). Now lest any of the Judges should be wanting, Proclamation was made in this Manner, *Εἰ τις θύραισι Ἡλιασῆς, εἰσὶτω*, If any Judge be without Doors, let him enter; for if any Man came, after the Cause began to be discuss'd, he could not have Admission, as not being capable of giving Sentence, because he had not heard all that both Parties could say for themselves (o).

The the Magistrate propos'd the Cause to the Judges, and gave them Power to determine it; the doing which they call'd *εἰσαλεῖν τὴν δίκην εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*, the Cause itself *Δίκη εἰσαγωγέμενη*, and the Person that enter'd it *Εἰσαγωγέμενος*. For, by the Laws of Athens, there were certain Causes brought before several of the Magistrates, who had no Power to determine them by a final Decision, but were only to examine into the Matter, and, if it deserv'd to be heard in the Court, refer it to the Cognizance of the Judges appointed for that Purpose, upon a Day fix'd by himself; and this is what they call'd *Ἡμεροῦσα δικαστηρίων*.

Then the Indictment was read by the publick Crier, in which were contain'd the Reasons of the Accusation, with an Account of the Injury said to be receiv'd, the Manner also of it, and the Damage suffer'd by the Plaintiff; the Heads of which the Judges took in Writing (p).

If the Person accus'd did not make his Appearance, Sentence was given against him without any farther Trouble, and this they call'd *Ἐξ ἐρήμης καταδικασθῆναι* and *ἐρήμην ὀφλισκάνειν*. But if, in the Space of ten Days, he came and presented himself, proving, that he had been detain'd by Sicknefs, or any other extraordinary and unavoidable Necessity, the former Sentence was disannull'd, and therefore this Proceeding they call'd *Δίκη μὴ ἔσσε*. Then the Trial was to be brought on afresh within the Space of two Months by the Defendant, and this they call'd *Ἀντίδικη*, and the doing it *ἀντίλαχῆν δίκην*; but if he neglected to have the Cause decided in that Time, the former Sentence was to stand good, and be put in Execution upon him (q). And hence appears the Reason for which they were always oblig'd to insert the Name of the Person, who was Witness to the Citation of the Criminal. But if any Man falsely pretended that his Adversary was legally cited, and could not produce any *κλήτορες*, who were present at the Citation, he was prosecuted by an Action term'd *γραφὴ ψευδοκλητείας* (r).

Before the Trial began, both Parties were oblig'd to deposit a certain Sum of Money, which they call'd *Πρωτανεία*, into the Hands of the Magistrate that enter'd their Cause into the Court, who, upon Failure of the Payment, immediately expung'd the Cause out of the Roll. If the Case in Debate was concerning the Value of an hundred *Drachms*, or upwards, to a thousand, they deposited three *Drachms*; if its Value was more than a thousand, and not above ten thousand, they deposited thirty, which, after the Decision of the Cause, were divided among the Judges, and the Person that was cast was obliged, beside the Payment of other Charges, to restore the Money to his Adversary (s).

(n) Pollux, l. VIII. c. 10. (o) Aristophanes, ejuique Schol. Vesp. (p) Demosthen. (q) Ulpianus in Demosthen. Pollux, l. VIII. c. 6. (r) Ulpian. in Demosthen. Pollux, l. VIII. c. 6. (s) Pollux, Hæpocrætion.

Παρακαταβολή, was a Sum of Money deposited by those that sued the Commonwealth for confiscated Goods, or any others that were claimed by the publick Exchequer, or by private Persons for the Inheritances of Heiresses; the former deposited the fifth, the latter the tenth Part of the Estates contended for (r).

Παράσσις, was a *Drachm* deposited in Law-suits about small and private Matters, which were decided by the *Διαβήται* (u).

Ἐπιβολή, was a Fine laid upon those that could not prove the Indictment they had brought against their Adversaries; so call'd, because they were oblig'd to pay the sixth Part of the Value of the Thing they contended for, from *ἑξολός*, because out of every *Drachm*, they deposited one *Obolus*, which is the sixth Part of a *Drachm* (w). Some of these Sums were deposited in all Law-suits, a very few excepted, before the Trial could proceed.

Then the Witnesses were produced, and if any of them refus'd to make his Appearance, he was summon'd by a Serjeant, whom they call'd *Κληήρ*, and, if he seem'd unwilling to be an Evidence, had three Things propos'd to him, *viz.* to swear the Fact, to abjure it, or deny that he was privy to it; or lastly, to pay a Mulct of a thousand *Drachms*. He that was fin'd for refusing the Oath, or that took it out of Fear, was said *ἐκκλητεύεσθαι*, he that was only summon'd and took it voluntarily, *κλητεύεσθαι* (x). The Oath was taken at the Altar with all the Solemnity imaginable, to which End they erected Altars in all the Courts of Judicature.

The Persons that gave Evidence were to be Men of Credit, free-born and disinterested; for no Man's Oath was taken in his own Cause, and such as by their ill Behaviour had forfeited their Privileges, and were *ἀτίμοι*, infamous, were not thought to deserve Belief; the Slaves were not permitted to have any Concern in publick Business, and therefore could not be Evidences, except they were examin'd upon the Rack, nor plead in any Court of Justice (y). Nevertheless the Testimony of the *μέτοικοι* and *ἀπελευθεροί*, Sojourners and Freed-men, seems to have been receiv'd in all Causes, except the *ἐκμαρτυρία*, in the Actions call'd *ἀπογραφὴ δίκαι*, as the Grammarians inform us from *Hyperides*.

There were two Sorts of Evidences; the first of which they call'd *Μαρτυρία*, when the Person that swore was an Eye-witness of the Fact. The other *Ἐκμαρτυρία*, when the Juror receiv'd what he testify'd from another Person that had been an Eye-witness of it, but was at this Time either dead, or in a foreign Country, or detain'd by Sickness, or hinder'd by some other unavoidable Accident from making his Appearance; for, except in such Cases, the Allegations of absent Persons were never taken for lawful Evidence (z). The Witnesses were requir'd by the Laws to deliver their Testimony in Writing; whereby it became impossible to recede from what they had once sworn, and such as had borne false Witness were convicted with less Difficulty. But the Tablets of those Witnesses, who, upon a Citation before given, came from Home with an Intention to give their Testimonies, were different from the Tablets of

(r) Idem. (u) Idem. (w) Idem. (x) Idem. (y) Vide *Petitum de Leg. Atticis*. (z) *Harpocrat. Pollux*.

such as casually came into the Court. The latter being only compos'd of Wax, and order'd in such a Manner, as gave the Witness Opportunity to make such Alterations in the Matter of his Evidence, as afterwards, upon better Considerations, appear'd to be necessary (a).

When the Witnesses were sworn, the Plaintiff being placed upon the left Hand of the Tribunal, and the Defendant on the Right (b), both of them spoke set Orations in their own Behalf. These were, for the most Part, compos'd by some of the Orators, which Custom was first introduced by *Antiphon*, a *Rhamnufian* (c). Sometimes, if they desir'd it, the Judges granted them *Συνήγοροι*, or Advocates, to plead for them, the doing which they call'd *ἐνὶ μίσθῳ συνηγορεῖν*, to plead for a Fee (d). And lest by the Length of their Orations they should weary the Judges Patience, and hinder them from proceeding to other Business, they were limited to a certain Time, call'd *διαμετρημένη ἡμέρα* (e), which was measur'd by a *Κλέψυδρα*, or *Hour-glass*, differing from ours in this, that, instead of Sand, they made use of Water; and to prevent all Fraud and Deceit, there was an Officer appointed to distribute the Water equally to both Sides, whom, from his Business, they call'd *Ἐφύδρα*, or *Ἐφ' ὕδαρ*. When the Glass was run out, they were permitted to speak no farther, and therefore we find them very careful, not to lose or mispend one Drop of their Water; and whilst the Laws quoted by them were reciting, or if any other Business happen'd to intervene, they gave Order that the Glass should be stopp'd (f). Yet if any Person had made an End of speaking, before the Time allotted him was expir'd, he was permitted to resign the remaining Part of his Water to any other that had Occasion, and this is meant by the Orator, when he saith, *τῷ ὕδατι τῷ ἐμῷ λαλεῖν*, let him speak till what remains of my Water be run out.

When both Parties had made an End of speaking, the publick Crier, by the Command of the Magistrate that presided in the Court, order'd the Judges to bring in their Verdict; and in such Cases as the Laws had made Provision, and appointed Penalties for, (which were call'd *Ἀγῶνες ἀτιμητοί*) a single Verdict, whereby the Person was declar'd guilty, or, not guilty, was sufficient; but in those Cases that the Laws were silent in, (which they call'd *Ἀγῶνες τιμητοί*) a second Sentence was requir'd, if the accus'd Person was brought in guilty, to determine what Punishment was due to his Offence (g). And here before they proceeded to give Sentence, the condemn'd Person was ask'd, what Damage he thought his Adversary had receiv'd from him, and what Recompence he ought in Justice to make him: And the Plaintiff's Account, which, together with the Indictment he had deliver'd in before, was taken into Consideration; and then the Circumstances on both Sides being duly weigh'd, the decretory Sentence was given. Sometimes the Judges limited the Punishment in criminal, as well as civil Causes where the Laws were silent. This happen'd in the Case of *Socrates*, "who, to apply the Words of *Cicero* (b), was not only

(a) *Pollux. Harpocraton.* (b) *Aristotel. Problem.* (c) *Idem. Rhetor. lib. I. cap. 33.* (d) *Clemens Alexandrin.* (e) *Harpocraton.* (f) *D. Mosheim.* (g) *Harpocraton.* (b) *De Oratore lib. I.*

“ condemn’d by the first Sentence of the Judges, which determin’d,
 “ whether the Criminal should be condemn’d, or acquitted; but by
 “ that also, which the Laws oblig’d them to pronounce afterwards.
 “ For at *Athens*, when the Crime was not capital, the Judges were
 “ impower’d to *value* the Offence: And it was enquir’d of the Crimi-
 “ nal, to what *Value* he thought his Offence amounted, Which
 “ Question being propos’d to *Socrates*, he reply’d, that he had *merited*
 “ *very great Honours and Rewards, and to have a daily Maintenance in*
 “ *the Prytaneum*; which the *Grecians* accounted one of the highest
 “ Honours. By which Answer the Judges were incens’d to such a
 “ Degree, that they condemn’d that most innocent Man to Death.”

The most ancient Way of giving Sentence, was by black and white Sea-shells, call’d *Χοιρίναι*; or Pebbles, call’d *Ψῆφοι*. *Ovid* has taken Notice of this Custom,

*Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque Lapillis,
 His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa (i).*

Black and white Stones were us’d in Ages past,
 These to acquit the Pris’ner, those to cast.

H. H.

After them, *σπόνδυλοι*, which were Pellets of Brass, came into Use; which, when laid aside, *κίβητοι*, or Beans, succeeded; they were of two Sorts, White and Black; the White were whole, and were made use of to absolve; the Black were bored through, and were the Instruments of Condemnation (k).

Hence it is, that in *Aristophanes* (l), Judges that liv’d upon the Gifts they receiv’d for doing Justice, are call’d *Κυαμοσφῶγες*, Eaters of Beans; and *λευκὴ ψῆφος* is a Proverb not much different from *αἰὲς ἐρα- στα*, or *Amalthæa capra*, being usually apply’d to Things that bring in large Gains, and are a Maintenance to their Masters (m).

These Beans the Judges took from the Altar, and two Urns, which they call’d *Κάδοι*, or *Καδίσκοι*, being placed, they cast in their Beans through a little Tunnel call’d *Κηλὸς*, holding them only with three Fingers, viz. the Fore-finger, Middle, and Thumb, that it might be impossible for them to cast in above one at a Time. The rest of their customary Rites are much the same with those I have already described in the Judgments of the Court of *Areopagus*, except that in private Causes there were four Urns placed in the Court, as *Sigonius* has observ’d out of *Demosthenes* (n).

But this, perhaps, was occasion’d by the Number of the Persons concern’d in the Trial; for if there were more than two Competitors that laid Claim to an Estate, each of them had a distinct Urn, into which those, that pass’d Sentence on his Side, were to cast their Beans, and he that had the greatest Number obtain’d the Victory, which *Sigonius* seems not to have observed.

(i) *Metamorph. lib. XV.* (k) *Pollux, Hesychius, Harpocration, Aristoph. Schol. Ran. & Vesp. &c.* (l) *Equit.* (m) *Hesychius, Eustatbius Iliad. γ. pag. 884. Edit. Basil.* (n) *Orat. in Macari.*

When all had given over Voting, lest any Man, out of Favour, should suspend his Suffrage, the Crier made Proclamation in this Manner. *Εἴ τις ἀψήφισθ', ἀνστήτω·* If there be any that has not given his Voice, let him now arise and give it.

Then the Urns were open'd, and the Suffrages number'd in Presence of the Magistrate, who stood with a Rod in his Hand, which he laid over the Beans as they were number'd, lest any Person should, thro' Treachery or Mistake, omit any of them, or count the same twice. If the Number of the black Beans were greatest, he pronounced the Person guilty; and, as a Mark to denote his Condemnation, drew a long Line, whence *ἅπανσι τιμῶν μακρὰν*, in the Comedian, signifies to condemn all; on the contrary, he drew a short Line in Token of Absolution, if the white Beans exceeded, or only equall'd the Number of the black (o); for such was the Clemency of the Athenian Laws, that, when the Case seem'd equally disputable on both Sides, the severe and rigorous Commands of Justice gave Place to the milder Laws of Mercy and Compassion; and this Rule seems to have been constantly observed in all the Courts of Athens. *Euripides*, to omit a great many others, has mention'd this Custom in several Places:

*Ἴσας δὲ σ' ἐκώλυσεν μὴ δαμνῆν δίκην
Ψῆφοι τεθῆσθαι· Λοξίως γὰρ αἰτίαν
Εἰς αὐτὸν ὄσση, μὲν γὰρ χρῆσθαι Φέρον.
Καὶ τοῖσι λοιποῖς ὁ δὲ νόμος τεθήσεται,
Νικῶν ἴσας ψήφοισι τὸν φεύγοντα αἶψι (p).*

Courage, *Orestes*, if the Lots hit right,
If the black Pebbles don't exceed the white,
You're safe; and, since it awful *Phæbus* was
The Parricide advis'd, your tottering Cause
He'll on himself transfer; and hence shall be
This Law transmitted to Posterity;
That Lots, if equal, shall the Pris'ner free.

H. H.

And again to the same Purpose in another Tragedy,

*Γνώμης δικαίας ἔνεν' ἐξέσωσα σε,
Καὶ πρὶν γ' Ἀρείους ἐν πάγῳις ψήφους ἴσας
Κρίνασ', Ὀρέα, καὶ νόμισμ' εἰς ταυτὸ γε
Νικῶν, ἰσῆρσι ὅσις ἂν ψήφους λάβῃ (q).*

Since you with equal Suffrages I freed,
When Justice ample Vengeance had decreed,
And once before, when we debating fate
At *Areopagus* on your dubious Fate,
And there the dooming Sentence must have pass'd
Had I not you with equal Lots releas'd:
On this Account shall After-Ages save
Such Criminals, as equal Voices have.

H. H.

(o) *Aristophan.* ejusque Schol. Ran. & Vesp. (p) *Electra* v. 1265. (q) *Iphigenia Taurica*, v. 1469.

The Plaintiff was call'd Διώκων; the whole Suit Δίωξις; and the Defendant Φύγων. The Indictment, before Conviction, was named Αἴτια; after Conviction Ἐπίκλησις; and after Condemnation Ἀδίκημα. All the Time the Cause was in Suspense, and undetermined, it was expos'd to publick View, being engraved in a Tablet, together with the Name of the Person accused, and hung up at the Statue of the Heroes, firnam'd Ἐπάνυμοι, than which there was not a more publick Place in the whole City; this they call'd Ἐκκλήσιον (r), and it seems to have been done with a Design that all Persons, who could give any Information to the Court, having sufficient Notice of the Trial, should come and present themselves.

If the convicted Person was guilty of a capital Crime, he was deliver'd into the Hands of the Ἑνδεκα, to receive the Punishment due to his Offence: But if a pecuniary Mulct was laid upon him, the Ταμίαι τῷ Θεῷ took Care to see it paid; but in Case his Estate was not able to make Payment, they confin'd him to perpetual Imprisonment (s).

If, on the contrary, the Plaintiff had accus'd his Adversary unjustly, and produced false Evidence against him, he was in some Places oblig'd to undergo the Punishment due by Law to the Crime, of which he had falsely accused an innocent Person; but at Athens had only a Fine laid upon him. And both the Villain that had forsworn himself, and he that suborn'd him, were severely prosecuted; the former by an Action of Ψευδομαρτυρία, the latter of Κακοτεχνία. Of these, and the Punishment due to such Offenders, I shall speak farther in another Place.

When the Trials were over, the Judges went to Lycus's Temple, where they return'd their Πάδες, Staffs, or Scepters, which were Ensigns of their Office, and received from certain Officers, call'd Κωλαρχεῖται, a Piece of Money for their Service, which at the first was only one Obolus, afterwards it was increased to two, then to three, and at length to a Drachm, which was six Oboli, as we have before observed from the Scholiast upon Aristophanes (t). And tho' these Rewards may seem trifling and inconsiderable Expences, yet the troublesome Temper of the Athenians, and the nice Exaction of every little Duty, or Privilege, occasion'd so great a Number of Law-suits, that the frequent Payment of these small Sums by Degrees so exhausted the Exchequer, that they became a Burden to the Commonwealth, and are particularly reflected upon by Aristophanes (u), who takes Occasion every-where to ridicule this litigious Humour, which was then grown to such a Height, that every Corner of the Streets was pester'd with Swarms of turbulent Rascals, that made it their constant Business to pick up Stories, and catch at every Occasion to accuse Persons of Credit and Reputation; these they call'd Συκοφάντας, which Word sometimes signifies false Witnesses, but is more properly taken for what we call common Barretors, being derived ἀπὸ τῷ σέβει φαίνειν, from indicting Persons that exported Figs; for amongst the primitive Athenians, when

(r) Demosthen. ejusque Schol. in Median. (s) Demosthen. Androtian. Cornel. Nep. Miltiade. (t) Ran. Vesp. Item Suidas, Pollux, Hesychius. (u) Ran. pag. 280. Edit. Emil. Porti, & Scholiast. ibid.

the Use of that Fruit was first found out, or in the Time of a Dearth, when all Sorts of Provisions were exceeding scarce, it was enacted, that no Figs should be exported out of *Attica*; and this Law not being actually repeal'd, when a plentiful Harvest had render'd it useleſs, by taking away its Reason, gave Occaſion to ill-natur'd and malicious Men, to accuſe all Perſons they caught tranſgreſſing the Letter of it; and from them all buſy Informers have ever ſince been branded with the Name of *Sycophants* (w). Others will have the ſtealing of *Figs* to have been prohibited by a particular Law, and that thence Informations grew ſo numerous, that all vexatious Informers were afterwards term'd *Sycophants*,

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Τεσσαράκοντα, and Διαιτηταί.

OI Τεσσαράκοντα, were forty Men, that went their Circuits round the ſeveral Boroughs, and had Cognizance of all Controverſies about Money, when the Sum exceeded not ten *Drachms*; alſo, as *Demosthenes* reports (x), had Actions of Assault and Battery brought to their Hearing. *Pollux* tells us, that, at their firſt Inſtitution, they were no more than thirty in Number; but *Hefychius* reports the Magiſtrates or Judges call'd OI Τριάκοντα, were thoſe that amerced the People for abſenting themſelves from the publick Aſſemblies.

Διαιτηταί, or Arbitrators, were of two Sorts.

1. Κληρωτοί, were forty-four Men in each Tribe, above the Age of ſixty, as *Pollux*, or fifty, as *Suidas* reports, drawn by Lots, to determine Controverſies in their own Tribe about Money, when the Sum was above ten *Drachms*. Their Sentence was not final, ſo that, if either of the conteſting Parties thought himſelf injur'd by it, he might appeal to the ſuperior Court of Juſtice (y). At their firſt Inſtitution, all Cauſes whatſoever that exceeded ten *Drachms* were heard by them, before they could be receiv'd into the other Courts (z). They paſſ'd Sentence without obliging themſelves by an Oath, but in other Things acted in the ſame Manner with the reſt of the Judges; they receiv'd a *Drachm* of the Plaintiff, which was call'd Παράσσεις, or διάσσεις, and another of the Defendant when they adminiſtered the Oath to him, which was term'd ἀντιμωσία. And in Caſe the Parties did not appear at the appointed Time and Place, they ſtaid expecting till the Evening, and then determin'd the Cauſe in Favour of the Party there preſent. Their Office continu'd a whole Year, at the End of which they gave up their Accounts, and if they were prov'd to have reſuſed to give Judgment, or to have been corrupted (a), they were puniſh'd with (ἀτιμία) Infamy. Under them were certain Officers call'd Εἰσαγωγαί, whoſe Buſineſs it was εἰσαγῶν τὰς δίκας, to receive the Complaints that fell under the Cognizance of the Διαιτηταί, and enter them into their Court (b).

(w) *Suidas*, *Ariſtoph.* *Schol.* *Pluto*, *Equit.* &c. (x) *Orat.* in *Pantænet.* (y) *Demosthen.* *Orat.* in *Apobum.* (z) *Pollux*, *Ulpian.* (a) *Demosthen.* & *Ulpian.* *Median.* *Petit.* *Misc.* lib. VIII. (b) *Pollux.*

2. Διαλλακῆρες or κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν Διαιτηταί, or *Compromissarii*, were such as two Parties chose to determine any Controversy betwixt them; and these the Law permitted any Person to request, but obliged him to stand to whatever they determin'd without any farther Appeal; and therefore as a greater Obligation to Justice, they took an Oath, that they would give Sentence without Partiality (c).

The Determination of the Διαιτηταί, was call'd Διαιταί, and ἐπιτροπή, and to refer any Thing to them, δικάζαν ἐπιτρέψαι (d).

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the Publick Judgments, Actions, &c.

THE *Athenian* Judgments were of two Sorts, δημοτικά and ἰδιωτικά, publick and private; the former were about such Crimes as tended to the Prejudice of the State, and these Actions were call'd Κατηγορίαι; the latter comprehended all Controversies that happen'd between private Persons, and were call'd Δίκαι (e). Nor did they only differ as to their Matter, but in their Process and Management, and particularly in this, that in private Actions no Man would prosecute the Offender, beside the Party injur'd, or some of his near Relations; whereas in the Publick, the Laws encouraged all the Citizens to revenge the publick Wrong, by bringing the Criminal to condign Punishment (f).

The publick Judgments were these.

1. Γραφή, was an Action laid upon such as had been guilty of any of the following Crimes (g).

Φόνος, Murder.

Τραῦμα ἐκ πονηρίας, a Wound given out of Malice.

Πυρκαϊά, Firing the City.

Φάρμακον, Poison.

Βέβησις, a Conspiracy against any Person's Life; or the Crime of the City-Treasurers, that enter'd into the publick Debt-book Persons not indebted to the City (h). Wherein it differs from ψευδὲς γραφή, whereby the Treasurers charged Men with Debts, which were already discharged (i).

ἑρπευλία, Sacrilege.

ἄσέβεια, Impiety.

Προδοσία, Treason.

ἑταιρήσις, Fornication.

μοιχεία, Whoredom; this was punished with a Μῦλα (k).

ἀγάμωρ, Celibacy.

ἄσπαρεια, Refusing to serve in the Wars. They, who were convicted of this Crime, were punish'd with (ἀτιμία) Infamy.

(c) Demosthen. (d) Pollux. (e) Isocrates. (f) Plutarchus, Solone. (g) Pollux, lib. VIII. cap. 6. Sigonius de Rep. Athen. (h) Harpocrat, (i) Suidas v. ψευδὲς ἑρπευσία. (k) Thucyd. Scholastes, lib. VI.

Λειποστράτιον, Desertion of the Army. This drew only a Fine on the Criminal (1).

Λειποτάξιον, Desertion of a Man's Station, as when any Person refused to serve on Foot, and listed himself among the Horsemen, which by *Solon's* Laws was esteem'd as great a Crime as a total Desertion of the Army.

Δειλία, Cowardice. The Convicted were punished with *Infamy*.

Δειποναύτιον, Desertion of the Fleet. The Punishment was only a Fine.

Ἀναυμάχιον, Refusing to serve in the Fleet. The Punishment was (ἀτιμία) *Infamy*.

Τὸ ῥῆσαι τὴν ἀσπίδα, Losing a Man's Shield. This was likewise punished with *Infamy*.

Ψευδεγγραφή, **Ψευδογγραφή**, or **Ψευδὴς ἐγγραφή**, was the Crime of those that falsely charged others, and sued them for publick Debts, which *Harpocration* calls **Ψευδοκλησία**; but this seems rather to have been an Action for false Arrests, according to *Pollux*. The Punishment was only a *Mulct*.

Συκοφαντία, Barretry or frivolous Accusation. This was punished also with a *Mulct*. It differ'd from **Ψευδομαρτυρία**, or false Witness, the third Act whereof was punish'd with (ἀτιμία) *Infamy*.

Δωρᾶ, or **δωροδοκία**, taking Bribes to manage any publick Affair, or pervert Justice; it was not thought enough to punish the Receiver, but the Person also that offered Bribes was prosecuted, and the Action against him call'd **Δεασμός**. The same Action, in Causes about Freedom of the City, was, by a peculiar Name, term'd **Δωροξενία**. All, who had been guilty of receiving Bribes, were fin'd ten Times the Value of what they had gain'd, and punish'd with the highest Degree of (ἀτιμία) *Infamy*.

Ἰχθίς, Beating a Freeman, or binding him as they used to do Slaves.

Ἀγράφιον, Erasing a Name out of the publick Debt-book, before the Debt was discharged.

Ἀγροφονία, Digging a Mine without acquainting the publick Officers; for, before any Person could dig a Mine, he was obliged to inform certain Officers appointed by the People, of his Design, to the End that the twenty-fourth Part of the Metal might be reserved for the publick Use.

Ἀλόσιον, was against Magistrates that had neglected to give up their Accounts.

Παρανόμων γραφή, against such as, proposing a new Law, acted contrary to the old and established Laws.

Εὐθύνη, was against Magistrates, Ambassadors, or other Officers that had misemploy'd the publick Money, or committed any other Offence in the Discharge of their several Trusts. That against Ambassadors was sometimes, by a peculiar Name, call'd **Παραπρεσβεία**.

(1) *Thucydides Scholiastes loco citato.*

Δοκιμασία, was a Probation of the Magistrates, and Persons employ'd in publick Business.

Προβολή, was an Action against Persons disaffected to the Government, and such as imposed upon the People; against *Sycophants*, and such as, at the Celebration of any Festival, had caused an Uproar, or committed any Thing indecent and unsuitable to the Solemnity.

Ἀπογραφή, was when any Person, being sued for Debts said to be due to the Publick, pleaded that they were falsely charged upon him, withal producing all the Money he was possess'd of, and declaring by what Means it came into his Hands. *Suidas* adds, that *Ἀπογραφή* is sometimes taken for an Action against such as neither paid the Fines laid upon them, before the ninth *Prytanea* following their Sentence; nor were able to give sufficient Security to the City.

1. *Ἀπόφασις*, was sometimes the same with *Ἀπογραφή*, as we learn from *Suidas*; but was also usually taken for the Account of Estates given at the Exchange of them for the avoiding of publick Employment. For when any Man would excuse himself from any troublesome and chargeable Trust, by casting it upon another richer than himself, the Person produced by him had Power to challenge him to make an Exchange of Estates, and thereby compel him to serve the Office he had before refus'd.

2. *Φάσις*, was commonly taken for the Discovery of any hidden and conceal'd Injury, but more peculiarly signified an Action laid against such as exported Corn out of *Attica*, embezzled the publick Revenues, and converted them to their own private Use, or appropriated to themselves any of the Lands, or other Things that of Right belong'd to the Commonwealth. It is sometimes taken for an Action against those that were Guardians to Orphans, and either wholly neglected to provide Tenants for their Houses and Lands, or let them at too easy a Rate.

3. *Ἐνδίκη*, was against such as committed any Action, or affected any Place of which they were incapable by Law; as, when a Person disfranchised, or indebted to the Publick, sued for Offices in the State, or took upon him to determine Controversies in a judicial Way. Also against those that confess'd their Crimes laid to their Charge, without standing their Trial.

4. *Ἀπαγωγή*, was the carrying a Criminal taken in the Fact, to the Magistrate. If the Accuser was not able to bring him to the Magistrate, it was usual to take the Magistrate along with him to the House where the Criminal lay conceal'd, or defended himself, and this they call'd *Ἐψηύεσθαι*, and the Action *Ἐψηύσις*.

5. *Ἀνδροληψία*, or *Ἀνδρολήψιον*, was an Action against such as protected Persons guilty of Murder, by which the Relations of the deceased were empowered to seize three Men in the City or House, whither the Malefactor had fled, till he were either surrendered, or Satisfaction made some other Way for the Murder.

6. *Εὐταξία*, was of three Sorts; the first was about great and publick Offences, whereby the State was brought into Danger; such Actions were not referr'd to any Court of Justice, but immediately brought before the Senate of five hundred, or the popular Assembly, before whom it was introduced by the *Thesmothetæ* at the first Convention

tion in the *Prytanea*, where the Delinquent was severely punished, but the Plaintiff underwent no Danger, altho' he could not prove his Indictment, except he fail'd of having the fifth Part of the Suffrages, and then he was fin'd a thousand *Drachms*. The second Sort of *Εισαγγελία*, was an Action of *Κάκωσις*, of which I shall speak in another Place: It was brought before the *Archon*, to whom the Plaintiff gave in his Accusation, but was not liable to have any Fine laid upon him, tho' Sentence was given against him. The third was an Action against the *Διαίηται*, preferr'd by Persons that thought themselves unjustly dealt with by them, who ran the Hazard of being disfranchized, and forfeiting their Freedom, if they were not able to make good their Accusation. Indeed in all the foremention'd Accusations, the *Εισαγγελία* only excepted, this Penalty, together with a Fine of a thousand *Drachms*, was inflicted upon the Plaintiff, if he had not the fifth Part of the Suffrages.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of the Private Judgments, Actions, &c.

Αδικία δίκη, an Action κατὰ τῶν ὁπώσων ἀδικούντων, against such as had done any Sort of Injury (m). A Fine was laid on the Delinquent, which was to be doubled, if not paid within the *Prytanea* (n).

Κακηγορίας δίκη, was an Action of Slander, by which the Criminal was fin'd five hundred *Drachms*.

Αἰτίας δίκη, was an Action of Battery, in which Case there was no set Penalty inflicted by the Laws, but the Judges took an Account of the Damages suffer'd by the Plaintiff, and compell'd the Delinquent to make sufficient Retribution.

Βιαιῶν, or *Βίας δίκη*, was an Action against such as ravish'd Women, or had used Violence towards any Man's Person.

Βλάβης δίκη, was an Action of Trespas, being against those that had endamaged another Man's Estate, Lands, Houses, Cloaths, &c.

Καυώσεως δίκη, γραφή, or *εἰσαγγελία*, was an Action entered by Heir-esses against their Husbands, by Parents against their Children, and Orphans against their Guardians, when they were ill used, or injur'd by them.

Ἀποπομπῆς δίκη, was an Action of Divorce, when the Husband had put away his Wife. On the contrary, when the Woman fled from her Husband, the Action was call'd *Ἀπολείψεως δίκη*.

Κλοπῆς δίκη, was against Thieves. *Demosthenes* (o) reports, that if any Man had stolen above fifty *Drachms* in the Day-time, he was to be indicted at the Tribunal of the *Eleven*. But if any Theft was committed in the Night, it was lawful to kill the Criminal, if he was caught in the Fact, or to pursue him, and if he made any Resistance to wound him, and so hale him to the *Eleven*, and this Action was term'd *ἐπασωγή*. He was not permitted to give Security for Restitution, but suffer'd Death.

(m) *Etymologici Auctor.* (n) *Harpocraton.* (o) *Timocrates.*

If any Person surreptitiously conveyed any Thing of the smallest Value out of the *Lyceum*, *Academy*, *Cynosarges*, or any of the *Gymnasias*, or out of the Havens above the Value of ten *Drachms*, he was adjudg'd to die. If any Man was convicted of Theft from a private Person, he was to make Retribution to the Person he had injur'd, by paying him double the Value of what he had depriv'd him of; nor was this Punishment alone thought sufficient to expiate his Offence, but it lay in the Judges Power to keep him in Bonds five Days, and as many Nights, and expose him in that Condition to the View of all the People. And we are farther inform'd by *Andocides* (p), that (ἀτιμία) *Infamy* was the Punishment of this Crime.

Παρακαταθήκης δίκη, was against such as refus'd to restore any Thing committed to their Charge.

Χρέως δίκη, was a Suit betwixt Debtors and Usurers.

Συμβολαίη δίκη, was an Action against those that would not stand to their Contracts or Bargains. Not much different from this was Συνθηκῶν δίκη, only Συμβολαία are distinguished from Συνθήκαι in this, that these chiefly imply private Contracts about the Loan of Money, Division of Inheritances, and References to the Διαίτηται, whereas the other are extended as well to publick Negotiations between publick Bodies, as to Bargains made by private Persons. Others there are, that acknowledge no such Difference betwixt them.

Εἰς διηγετῶν ἀίρεσιν δίκη, was an Action against such Persons as would not consent to make a Division of Goods or Estates, wherein other Men were Sharers with them.

Διαδικασίας δίκη, was an Action περὶ χρημάτων ἢ περὶ κλημάτων, concerning Money or Possessions, as it is defin'd by *Ulpian* (q), and seems to be a Term of equal Extent with ἀμφισβήτησις, or κρίσις, which are general Names for all Law-suits. But it was sometimes taken in a more limited Sense, for the Controversies of those, who being appointed to undergo some of the publick Duties (λειτουργίας), excused themselves by informing against others more wealthy, as has been elsewhere shewn.

Ἐπιδικασίας δίκη, when Daughters inherited the Estates of their Parents, they were obliged by Law to marry their nearest Relations. This was the Occasion of this Suit, which was commenced by Persons of the same Family, each of which pretended to be more nearly ally'd to the Heiress than the rest. The Virgin, about whom the Relations contested, was call'd Ἐπίδικος. Ἐπίκληρος was a Daughter, that had no Brothers lawfully begotten, and therefore inherited her Father's whole Estate. Ἐπίτροπος was one that had Brothers, and shar'd the Estate with them.

Ἀμφισβήτησις, was a Suit commenced by one that made Pretensions to the Estate of a deceased Person, as being his Son either by Nature or Adoption. This Term is sometimes taken in a larger Sense.

Παρακαταβολή, was an Action enter'd by the Relation of the deceased, whereby they claim'd a Right to his Estate, as belonging to them by reason of their Consanguinity, or bequeathed by Will. It was so call'd ἀπὸ τῆ παρακαταβάλλαν, because the Plaintiff deposited

(p) *De Mysieris.*

(q) *In Timocrateum.*

the tenth Part of the Inheritance, if the Cause was private, and the fifth, if it was a publick Estate he contended for; this he was to forfeit if he could not make his Plea good.

Ἀντιγραφὴ, was a Law-suit about Kindred, whereby any Person claim'd a Relation to such or such a Family, and therefore it seems to have been of the same Nature with *Παρακαταβολή*.

Διαμαρτυρία, was a Protestation that the deceased Person had left an Heir, made to hinder the Relations from entering upon the Estate.

Ἐπίσηψις, was an Action whereby the *Διαμαρτυρία* was proved to be false and groundless.

Ἐνεπίσημμα, was when any Person claim'd some Part of another Man's Goods, which he confiscated, and sold by Auction.

Σίτε δίκη, when a Husband divorced his Wife, the Law obliged him to restore her Portion; or, in case he refused that, to pay her for each Pound nine *Oboli* every Month, upon Failure of which, he was liable to have his Action enter'd against him in the *Odeum* by his Wife's *Ἐπίτροπος*, or Guardian, whereby he was forced to allow her a separate Maintenance.

Μισθώσεως δίκη, &c. *δίκη*, sometimes call'd *Φάσις*, was an Action against Guardians that were negligent in the Management of the Affairs of their Pupils, and either let out their Houses or Estates at too small a Price, or suffered them to lie void of Tenants. When any House was vacant, it was customary to signify so much by fixing an Inscription upon the Door, or other Part of it, as appears from these Words of Terence,

————— *Inscripti illico*
Ædes mercede (r) —————
 Over the Door I wrote,
This House is to be let.

Ἐπίτροπος δίκη, was an Action against Guardians that had defrauded their Pupils. It was to be commenced within five Years after the Pupil was come to Age, otherwise it was of no Force.

Ενοικίε δίκη, when any Man laid Claim to an House, he entered an Action against the Person that inhabited it, whereby he demanded the Rent of the House. If he claimed an Estate of Land the Action was call'd *Καρπὸς δίκη*, or *Χωρὶς δίκη*, because the *Fruits of the Ground* were demanded: If the Plaintiff cast his Adversary in either of the former Suits, he enter'd a second Action against him, whereby he laid Claim to the House or Land, as being Part of his Estate, for which Reason it was call'd *Οὐσίας δίκη*. After this, if the Person in Possession continu'd obstinate, and would not deliver up the Estate to the lawful Owner, there was a third Action commenced, which was nam'd *Ἐξέλιξις δίκη*, from *ἐξέλλω*, to *eject*; because the Plaintiff was *ἐξελλόμενος*, *rejected*, or hindered from entering upon his Estate. The same Term was used when any other Thing was unjustly detain'd from its Owner, *περὶ ἀνδραπόδου καὶ παντὸς, ὃ φησὶ τις αὐτῷ μετεῖναι* concerning a Slave, and every other Thing which any Person calls his own; as we are inform'd by Suidas.

Ἐσθλότης Δίκη, was an Action whereby the Buyer compell'd the Seller to confirm, or stand to the Bargains, which he before had given a Pledge to ratify.

Εἰς ἑμφανεῶν καλίσσιν Δίκη, was design'd as an Enquiry about something that was conceal'd, as about stolen Goods.

Ἐλευθέρω Δίκη, was against a Freeman that endeavour'd to give a Slave his Liberty, without his Master's Consent.

Ἀποστασίς Δίκη, was an Action against Sojourners that neglected to choose a Patron, of which Custom I have spoken in another Place.

Ἀποστασίς Δίκη, was an Action commenced by a Master, or Patron, against his Clients, such as were the freed Slaves, when they refused to perform those Services, they were bound to pay to him.

Ἀφορμὴς Δίκη, was a Suit about Money put into the Banker's Hands, which the ancient Athenians call'd *Ἀφορμή*, and the modern *Ἐνθήκη*.

Ἀφίκτης, was when a Person, deeply indebted, desir'd the People to remit Part of his Debt, upon Pretence that he was unable to make Payment.

Ψευδομαρτυριῶν Δίκη, was against false Witnesses.

Κοιτηνῶν Δίκη, was against those that suborn'd false Witnesses.

Λειτουργικῆς Δίκη, was against such as, having promised to give Evidence in a Cause, disappointed the Person that rely'd upon them.

Several other Judgments we meet with in ancient Authors, some of which I have already spoken of in other Places, and the Names of the rest are so well known, that I need not give you any Explication of them; such were *Βολίτης Δίκη*, *Ἀρχαιρίας Δίκη*, and some others (s).

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Athenian Punishments and Rewards.

THE most common and remarkable Punishments, inflicted at Athens, on Malefactors, were these:

Τῆμις, which, tho' sometimes it be us'd, in a large and general Sense, for any Punishments, yet has often a more limited and restrain'd Signification, being taken for a pecuniary *Multa* or Fine, laid upon the Criminal, according to the Merit of his Offence.

Ἀτιμία, Infamy, or publick Disgrace. Of this there were three Degrees. 1. When the Criminal retain'd his Possessions, but was depriv'd of some Privilege, which was enjoy'd by other Citizens. Thus, under the Reigns of Tyrants, some were commanded to depart out of the City, others forbidden to make an Oration to the People, to sail to Ionia, or to some other particular Country. 2. When he was for the present depriv'd of the Privileges of free Citizens, and had his Goods confiscated. This happen'd to those who were indebted to the publick Exchequer, till their Debts were discharg'd. 3. When the Criminal, with all

(s) Hesychius, Harpocration, Suidas, Pollux, Ulpianus in Demosthen. Sigonius de Rep. Athen. & Rousseau in Arch. Attic. Idemque ubique in his cap. tibus sunt consulendi.

his Children and Posterity, were for ever depriv'd of all Rights of free Citizens, both sacred and civil. This was inflicted on such as had been convicted of Theft, Perjury, or other notorious Villainies *. Out of these Men, the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (i) tells us, they appointed whom they pleased to labour at the Oars; to which Drudgery, *Plutarch* reports, it was usual also to put their Prisoners of War (u).

Δουλεία, Servitude, was a Punishment by which the Criminal was reduced into the Condition of a Slave. It was never inflicted on any besides the *Ἀτιμοί*, Sojourners, and freed Servants, because it was forbidden by one of *Solon's* Laws, that any free-born Citizen should be treated as a Slave.

Στίγματα, was a Severity seldom exercised upon any but Slaves, or some very notorious Malefactors, of which I have spoken more at large in another Place.

Στήλη, was, as the Word imports, a *Pillar*, wherein was engraven, in legible Characters, an Account of the Offender's Crime. The Persons, thus exposed to the Laughter and Reproaches of the People, were call'd *Στηλῖται*. Hence *ἐπιτιμητικὸς λόγος* is taken for any *Invektive* or *defamatory Oration*.

Δεσμὸς, was a Punishment by which the Criminal was condemn'd to Imprisonment or Fetters. "The Prison was call'd by a lenitive Name *Οἴκημα*, or *House*; for the *Athenians* used to mitigate and take off from the Badness of Things, by giving them good and innocent Appellations; as a Whore, they would call a Mistress; Taxes, Rates; Garisons, Guards; and this (saith *Plutarch*) seem'd at first to be *Solon's* Contrivance, who call'd the Releasing of the People from their Debts *Συστάχθαι*, a *Throwing of a Burden* (w)." *Plato* tells us, the *Athenians* had three Sorts of Prisons: The first was near the *Forum*, and was only design'd to secure Debtors, or other Persons from running away. The second was call'd *Σωφρονιστήριον*, or a House of Correction, such as our *Bridewell*. The third was seated in an uninhabited and lonesome Place, and was design'd for Malefactors guilty of capital Crimes (x). One of their most remarkable Prisons was call'd *Νομοφύλακιον*, and the Gate, thro' which Criminals were led to Execution, *Χαρωνίδα*, from *Charon*, the infernal Ferryman. At the Prison-Door was erected the Image of *Mercury*, the tutelar Deity of the Place, call'd *Στροφαῖς*, from *Στροφεύς*, the *Hinge* of a Door.

Of Fetters there were divers Sorts, the most remarkable are these; *Κύβων*, a Collar usually made of Wood, so call'd from *κύβω*, because it constrain'd the Criminal to bow down his Head. This Punishment was call'd *Κυφωκισμὸς*, and hence pernicious Fellows or Things are sometimes nam'd *Κύφωνες* (y). *Hesychius* will have it apply'd *ἐπὶ πάντων δυσχερῶν καὶ ὀλεθρίων* to all Things hurtful and destructive. Others call it *κλοιὸς*, or *κολοῖος*, from *κλείω*, because the Criminal's Neck was shut or inclosed within it. Some *Grammarians* tell us, the Neck, Hands, and Feet were made fast in it; and therefore it is probable, it was the same with the *ξύλον πεντεσύνγυλον*, or Fetters with five Holes, mention'd by

* *Andocides* de *Mysteriis*. (i) *Ranis*. (u) *Lysandro*. (w) *Plutarch*. *Solone*. (x) *Plato* de *Legib*. lib. X. (y) *Aristophan*. *Schol*. *Pluto*.

Pollux, and seems to resemble the Punishment of binding Neck and Heels, used amongst our Soldiers. *Aristophanes* calls it ξύλον τετρημένον, as his *Scholiast* informs us in his Comment upon these Words in *Lyfistrate*.

——— τὰς δ' Ἀμαζόνας σκόπει,
'Ας Μίκων ἔτραψεν ἐφ' ἵππων μαχόμενας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν,
'Αλλὰ τέτων χεῖν ἀποσῶν ἐς τετρημένον ξύλον
'Εγκαθαρμόσαι λαβύλιας τετοῖ τὸν αὐχένα.

Women must have their stiff and haughty Necks
With Fetters cramp'd, lest they grow insolent,
And us of our Authority divest.
For see here, in this Canvas-portraiture
By skilful *Micon* drawn, how th' *Amazons*,
Mounted on prancing Steeds, with burnish'd Spears engage.

J. A.

Πανσιμάχη, a round Engine put about the Neck in such a Manner, that the Sufferer could not lift his Hand to his Head.

Χοῖνξ, signifies the Fetters, in which the Feet or Legs were made fast, as we are inform'd by *Aristophanes* in his *Plutus*, where, speaking of an insolent Slave, he saith, he deserves to be set in the *Stocks*,

——— αἱ κηῖμαι δὲ σε βῶσι
'Ὡ, ἰὲ τὰς χοῖνικας, καὶ τὰς πείδας ποθεῦσάαι.

You're ripe, you Rogue, for Fetters, the *Stocks* groan for you.

Not much unlike this seems to have been the *ποδικάκη*, *ποδοκῆκη*, or *ποδοστράχη*, sometimes call'd ξύλον, from the Matter it was made of (z). But *ποδοκῆκη* and *ποδοστράχη* seem to have differ'd in this, that in *ποδοστράχη*, the Feet were *tortur'd*; whereas in *ποδοκῆκη*, they were only made fast without Pain or Distension of Joints. Tho' perhaps this Distinction will not be found constant and perpetual (a). *Σαῖς*, was a Piece of Wood to which the Malefactor was bound fast, as the same Poet reports (b),

——— δῆσον αὐτὸν εἰσάγων,
'Ω τοξότ', ἐν τῇ σανίδι.

Here, *Lictor*, bring him in, and bind him to the Rack.

And a little after,

——— γυμνὸν ἀποδήσαντα με
Κέλευε πρὸς τῇ σανίδι δεῖν τὸν τοξότην.

Order the Executioner to strip
Me naked, and to cord me to the Rack.

J. A.

(z) *Aristophan. Schol. Equit.* (a) Conf. *Ulpianus in Timocratem*, *Hesychius Suidas*. (b) *Theophrastus*.

Beside these, many others occur in Authors, which, barely to mention, would be both tedious and unnecessary.

Πύρις, perpetual *Banishment*, whereby the condemn'd Persons were deprived of their Estates, which were publicly exposed to Sale, and compell'd to leave their Country without any Possibility of returning, except they were recall'd (which sometimes happened) by the same Power that expell'd them; wherein it differ'd from *Ὀψανσις*, which only commanded a ten Years Absence, at the End of which, the banished Persons were permitted to return, and enjoy their Estates, which were all that Time preserv'd entire to them (c). And the latter was instituted not so much with a Design to punish the Offender, as to mitigate and pacify the Fury of the Envious, that delighted to depress those who were eminent for their Virtues and glorious Actions, and by fixing this Disgrace upon them, to exhale Part of the venomous Rancour of their Minds. The first that underwent this Condemnation was, as *Plutarch* reports, *Hipparchus* the *Cholargian*, a Kinsman to the Tyrant of the same Name. *Eustatius* makes it much ancients, and carries it as high as *Theseus's* Time, who, he tells us out of *Theophrastus* and *Pausanias*, was the first that suffered it (d). *Heracles* will have it to have been first instituted by *Hippias* the Tyrant, a Son of *Pisistratus* (e); *Photias*, by one *Achilles*, the Son of *Lycus* (f); and *Ælian*, by *Clisthenes*, who also, as he tells us, was the first that underwent it (g). It was never inflicted upon any but great Persons; *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* (as *Plutarch* reports) will have it to have happened to none but Men of great Estates, and therefore, as an Argument to prove the plentiful Condition of *Aristides*, (whom he maintains to have been possess'd of a large Fortune, contrary to the Opinion of most other Writers) he alledg'd, that he was banished by *Ostracism*. But my Author is of another Opinion, and not without Reason, for all Persons were liable to the *Ostracism*, who for Reputation, Quality, Riches, or Eloquence, were esteem'd above the common Level, and exposed to the Envy of the People, insomuch that even *Damon*, Preceptor to *Pericles*, was banish'd thereby, because he seem'd a Man of more than ordinary Sense. Afterwards, when base, mean, and villainous Fellows became subject to it, they quite left it off, *Hyperbolus* being the last whom they banish'd by *Ostracism*. This *Hyperbolus* was a very rascally Fellow, who furnished all the Writers of Comedy in that Age with Matter for their Satyrical Investives; but he was wholly unconcerned at the worst Things they could say, and, being careless of Glory, was also insensible of Shame; he was neither lov'd nor esteem'd by any Body, but was a necessary Tool to the People, and frequently made use of by them, when they had a Mind to disgrace or calumniate any Person of Authority or Reputation. The Cause of his Banishment was this; *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Phaax*, at that Time, were of different Factions, and each of them bearing a great Sway in the City, lay open to the Envy of the inferior Citizens, who, at *Hyperbolus's* Persuasion, were very eager to decree

(c) *Aristoph. Schol. Equit. & Vesp.* (d) *Iliad. I.* (e) *Lib. de Rep.* (f) *Excerpt. ex Prolem. Hephaest. l. VI.* (g) *Var. Hist. lib. XIV. cap. 24.*

the Banishment of some one of them. *Alcibiades*, perceiving the Danger they were in, consulted with *Nicias*, or *Pbaax* (for it is not agreed whether) and so contriv'd Matters, that, by uniting their several Parties, the *Ostracism* fell upon *Hyperbolus*, when he expected nothing of it. Hereupon the People being offended; as if some Contempt or Affront had been put upon the Thing, left off, and quite abolish'd it. It was perform'd, to be short, in this Manner; every one taking an *Ostrakon*, or Tyle, carried it to a certain Part of the Market-place, surrounded with wooden Rails, for that Purpose, in which were ten Gates appointed for the ten *Tribes*, every one of which enter'd at a distinct Gate. That being done, the *Archons* number'd all the Tyles in Gross, for if there were fewer than six thousand, the *Ostracism* was void; then laying every Name by itself, they pronounced him, whose Name was written by the major Part, banish'd for ten Years, enjoying his Estate (*b*). This Punishment was sometimes call'd *Κεραμική μάστιξ*, from *κεραμειον*, because the *Ostraka*, by which the People gave their Suffrages, were earthen Tyles, or Pieces of broken Pots (*i*). The like was used at *Argos*, *Megara*, and *Miletus* (*k*); and the *Syracusan* *Πολιτισμός*, was instituted upon the same Account, in the third Year of the eighty-sixth *Olympiad*, but differ'd from it in this, that this Banishment was but for five Years, and instead of *Ostraka*, the People made Use of *Λίπτα*, or Leaves, usually those of the Olive-tree, in giving their Voices (*l*).

Θάνατος, Death, was inflicted on Malefactors several Ways, the chief of which were these:

Ξίφος, with which the Criminal was beheaded.

Βρόχος, with which he was either strangled after the *Turkish* Fashion, or hang'd in the Manner usually amongst us; for that this was a very ancient, but withal a very ignominious Punishment, appears from *Homer*, in whom *Ulysses* and *Telemachus* punish the Men, that took Part with the young Gentlemen who made Love to *Penelope*, only with a common and ordinary Death; but the Maid-servants that had submitted to their Lust, and behav'd themselves with Scorn and Contempt towards their Masters, as being guilty of a more notorious Crime, they order'd to be hang'd; the Manner of it the Poet has describ'd in these Words (*m*).

Πεισῖμα νέως κυανοπράρσιον
 Κίονθ' ἰξάσας μεγάλης, περιβάλλε δόλοιο;
 Ὑψὸς ἑπενταύσας, μὴ τις ποσσὶν ἔδρας ἱκηταί.
 Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἡ κίχλαι ταιυσίπτεροι, ἢ δὲ πέλειαι
 Ἔρκει ἐνιπλήξωσι, τὸ, θ' ἑσῆκει ἐνὶ δάμνη,
 Ἀλλ' ἰοίμεναι, σφίρος δ' ὑπεδέξατο καῖτθ'.
 Ὡς αἶ γ' ἑξείης κεφαλὰς ἔχον, ἀμφὶ δὲ πώσαις
 Διερῆσιν βρόχοι ἦσαν, ὅπως οἰκτίρα θάνοιν,
 Ἦσπαρον δὲ πώδεσσι μίνυθ' αἶ περ, ὅτι μάλα θνή.

Then young *Telemachus* a Cable ty'd
 Harden'd with Pitch t'a lofty Pillar's Side,

(b) *Plutarch. Aristide, Alcibiade, Nicia, Themistocle.* (i) *Hesych. in V.* (k) *Aristoph. Schol. Equit.* (l) *Diodor. Sic. lib. IX.* (m) *Odys. x. v. 405.*

That he might there make Swings above the Floor
 For all his nasty Queans, who'd play the Whore;
 In hempen Twists they all hung in a Row,
 Tossing their Legs and moving to and fro.
 So have I seen the warbling Larks beset
 With knotty Mazes of the Fowler's Net,
 How they do make a Flutter and a Rout
 With Wings expanded, tho' they can't go out.

J. A.

Φάρμακον, *Poison*; of which there were divers Sorts; but what they most commonly made Use of, was the Juice of the Herb, κύωνον, *Cicutæ*, not much unlike *Hemlock*, which, thro' its extreme Coldness, is poisonous. A Draught of this gave *Socrates* his Death:

*Rem populi tractas, barbatum hoc crede Magistrum
 Dicere sorbitio tollit quem dira cicuta.*

You who sustain the Weight of Government,
 To these prudential *Maxims* be attent,
Maxims, not mine, but that grave Sir's, whose Fate
 A Draught of *Hemlock* did precipitate.

J. A.

Saith *Perfusus*, meaning *Socrates* *.

Κρημνός, a *Precipice*, from which the Malefactor was tumbled headlong.

Τύμπανα, or Τύπανα, were Cudgels of Wood, with which Malefactors were beaten to Death (π), being hang'd upon a Pole, which was also call'd Τύπανον, and therefore Τυπανίζεσθαι is by *Suidas* and the *Etymologist* expounded κρημαται, and therefore κρηματισθῆναι, κρημασθῆναι by *Hesychius*; for their Conceit is vain and ridiculous, that would thence infer it to have been a kind of Gallows or Cross. No less groundless is their Opinion, that imagine it to have been an Instrument, on which Criminals were distended, like the Covering of a Drum, which the *Greeks* call'd Τύπανον, and to have been of the same Nature with the *Roman Fidicula*, which were little Cords, by which Men were stretch'd upon the Rack, and seem to have resembled the *Greek* Σχοῖνον, used in the Punishment call'd Σχοινισμός.

Σταυρός, the *Cross* mentioned in *Thucydides* (ο), was used in *Greece*, but not so frequently as at *Rome*. It consisted of two Beams, one of which was placed cross the other; the Figure of it was much what the same with that of the Letter T, as *Lucian* tells us (ρ), differing only from it, because the transverse Beam was fixed a little below the Top of the strait one. The Malefactor was hang'd upon the Beam that was erect, his Feet being fix'd to it with Nails, and his Hands to each Side of that which was transverse.

Βάραθρον, was a deep Pit belonging to the Tribe *Hippothoontis*, into which condemn'd Persons were cast headlong. It is sometimes call'd Ὀψύμα, whence the publick Executioner received the Appellation of

* Satir. IV. v. 2. (π) *Aristoph.* Schol. *Plato*, *Suidas*, *Hesychius*, *Etymol.* *Pollux*, & ubique in hoc capite. (ο) Lib. 1. (ρ) Δίλη φωνήεντων.

Ὁ ἐν τῷ ὀρύσσῳ. It was a dark, noisome Hole, and had sharp Spikes at the Top, that no Man might escape out; and others at the Bottom, to pierce and torment such as were cast in (q). From its Depth and Capaciousness, it came to be used proverbially for a covetous Miser, or voracious Glutton, that is always craving, and can never be satisfied; and such an one the Latins call'd *Barathro*, hence *Lucretius* (r),

Aufer abhinc lacrymas, Barathro, & compeſce querelas.

— Forbear thy Sighs,
Thou Miser, cease Complaints, and dry thine Eyes.

And *Horace*,

Mendici, mimæ, Barathrones, hoc genus omne (s).

Beggars, Jack-puddings, *Rooksters*, and such-like.

A Place of the same Nature was the *Lacedæmonian* *Καράδας*, into which *Aristomenes* the *Messenian* being cast, made his Escape after a wonderful Manner, as *Pausanias* reports (t).

Λιθοβολία, or *Lapidation*, was a common Punishment, and usually inflicted by the primitive *Greeks* upon such as were taken in Adultery, as we learn from *Homer's* third *Iliad*, where *Hector* tells *Paris*, he deserves to die this Death:

Λαίνοι ἔσσο χιτῶνα κακῷ ἔμει', ὅσσα ἔοργας.

For all your Villainies you shall be *ston'd* to Death.

Many other Punishments there were, which they inflicted for particular Crimes, some of which I shall treat of in their proper Places.

As the Laws inflicted severe Penalties upon Offenders, thereby to deter Men from Vice and Wickedness, and from base dishonourable Designs; so again they conferr'd ample Rewards upon such as merited them, thereby to incite others to the Practice of Virtue and Honesty, and the Performance of good and glorious Actions; and upon the just and equal Dispensation of these two Things, it was *Solon's* Opinion, that the Safety of the Commonwealth chiefly depended (u). Now not to mention publick Honours and State Preferments, to which even those of the inferior Sort might not despair of advancing themselves in a popular State, if, by their eminent Services, they approved themselves to the People; beside these, I say, there were several publick Rewards and Honours conferr'd upon such as were thought worthy of them; the chief of which were these;

Προεδρία, or the Privilege of having the *first Place* at all Shows, Sports, Banquets, and publick Meetings (w).

Εἰκὼν, or the Honour of having a *Picture*, or *Statue* erected in the Citadel, *Forum*, or other publick Places of the City (x). With such Monuments of Virtue, *Athens* seems to have abounded more than any City in the World, as will evidently appear to any, that will be at the Pains to peruse *Pausanias's* accurate Description of them.

(q) *Aristoph. Pluto, Schol.* (r) *Lib. III.* (s) *Lib. I. Sat. II.* (t) *Messeniac.*
(u) *Cicero. Epist. ad M. Brutum.* (w) *Aristoph. Equit. ejusque Scholiastes & Suidas.*
(x) *Demosthen. Orat. de falsa Legat. aliique.*

Στέφανοι, or Crowns, were conferr'd in the publick Assemblies by the Suffrages of the People, or by the Senators in their Council, or the Tribes to their own Members, or by the Δημόται in their own (δῆμος) Borough. The People were not allow'd to present Crowns in any Place beside their Assembly, nor the Senators out of the Senate-house; it being the Lawgiver's Intention, that the Athenians should ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενοι ὑπὸ δῆμου acquiesce in the Honours paid them by their own People, and not court the Favour and Esteem of other Cities. For this Reason the Athenians never rewarded any Man with Crowns in the Theatre, and at the solemn Games, where there was only a great Concourfe of People from all the Parts of Greece: And if any of the Criers there proclaim'd the Crowns, which any Man's Tribe or Borough had presented him with, he was punish'd with (ἀτιμία) Infamy. Nevertheless στεφανοὶ ξενικοὶ, *Coronæ hospitales*, were sometimes presented by foreign Cities to particular Citizens of Athens. But that could not be done, till the Ambassadors of those Cities had first obtain'd Leave from the People of Athens, and the Men, for whom that Honour was intended, had undergone a publick Examination, wherein their Course of Life was enquir'd into. Lastly, whereas the Crowns presented by the Athenians themselves to any of their own Citizens, were kept in the Families of those who had obtain'd them, as Monuments of Honour; those, which were sent from other Cities, were dedicated to Minerva the Protectress of Athens (y). But of these, because they were, for the most Part, bestow'd upon those that had signalized themselves by their Valour, as also of other military Rewards, I shall give you a farther Account in another Place.

Ἀτίμια, was an Immunity from all publick Duties, Taxes, and Contributions, except such as were required for carrying on the Wars, and building Ships, which no Man was excused from, except the nine Archons. This Honour was very rare, but yet there want not Instances of it, as particularly those of Hermodius and Aristogiton's whole Families, which enjoy'd it for many Generations (z).

Σίτια, παρασιτία, σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ, was an Entertainment allow'd to such as deserv'd well of the Commonwealth, in particular to those who had been Ambassadors in the Common-hall, call'd Prytaneum. Solon made a Law, that no Man should be entertain'd in this Place oftener than once (a). But this being afterwards abolish'd, some were ἀσιστοὶ, constantly maintained in the Prytaneum (a). Whence Socrates being ask'd by the Court, what Punishment he thought himself to deserve? Reply'd, *ut ei victus quotidianus in Prytaneo publice præberetur*; that they should allow him a constant Maintenance in the Prytaneum, *qui honos apud Græcos maximus habetur*, which is reputed one of the greatest Honours amongst the Grecians; as we are inform'd by Cicero (c). And sometimes we find the Privilege granted to whole Families for the Services of their Ancestors, as particularly to those of Hippocrates, Hermodius, and Aristogiton. Their common Fare was a Sort of Cakes, or Puddings, call'd Μάζα. Upon Holidays they had an Allowance of

(y) Æschines in Ctesiphontem. (z) Demosthen. Orat. in Leptinem. Ejusque Interpret. (a) Plutarchus in Solone. (b) Pollux. (c) Lib. I. de Oratore.

Bread (d); which Solon appointed μιμέμεν^ο τὸν Ὅμηρον, in Imitation of Homer, whose Heroes used to feast in that Manner. Beside other Provisions, the Tenths of all the Bellies of Animals, offer'd in Sacrifice, were always reserv'd for them, which, if any Man neglected to send, he was liable to be punish'd by the Prytanes, as we learn from Aristophanes (e).

Καὶ σὲ φανῶ τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν,
Ἀδελκατεύτης τῶν θεῶν ἰσ-
ρὰς ἔχουσα κοιλίας.

Your Frauds I'll to the Prytanes disclose,
Since you with sacrilegious Stealth keep back
The Tithes of sacred Victims Bellies.

It must not be omitted in this Place, that such, as had receiv'd any Honour or Privilege from the City, were under its more particular Care and Protection; and the Injuries, done to them, were resent'd as publick Affronts to the whole Commonwealth: Insomuch that whoever did ὀργίζω, πατάσσειν, κακῶς εἰπεῖν, affront, strike, or speak ill of any such Person, was by the Law declar'd (ἀτιμῶ) infamous (f). More might be said about the Honours conferr'd after Death upon such, as had been eminently serviceable to the Commonwealth, in the Celebrations of their Funerals, and the pious Care of their Memories; but this I shall leave to be spoken of in another Place, and shall only add, that not themselves only, but their Posterity, reap'd the Fruits of their Virtues; for if any of their Children were left in a poor Condition, they seldom fail'd of obtaining a plentiful Provision from the Publick: Thus Aristides's two Daughters were publicly marry'd out of the Prytaneum, the City decreeing each of them three hundred Drachms for her Portion. Nor is it to be wonder'd, saith Plutarch, that the People of Athens should take Care of those that liv'd in the City, since hearing that Aristogiton's Grand-Daughter was in a low Condition in the Isle of Lemnos, and, by Means of her Poverty, like to want a Husband, they sent for her to Athens, marry'd her to a Person of considerable Quality, and bestow'd upon her a large Farm, as a Dowry. Of which Bounty and Humanity (saith he) this City of Athens, even in this Age, hath given divers Demonstrations; for which she is deservedly had in great Honour and Admiration (g).

It will not be improper to add, in the last Place, that, while the ancient Virtue and Glory of the Athenians lasted, it was exceeding difficult to obtain any of the publick Honours: Insomuch that when Miltiades petition'd for a Crown, after he had deliver'd Greece from the Persian Army at Marathon, he receiv'd this Answer from one of the People, that, when he conquer'd alone, he should be crown'd alone. But in Aristophanes's Age, Honours were become more common. Thus he complains (h),

(d) Demosthen. loc. cit. Pollux, lib. IX. cap. 5. Athenæus, lib. IV. &c. (e) Equitibus. (f) Demosthenes in Mediana. (g) Plutarch. Aristide. (h) Equitibus, Act. I. Scen. III.

Καὶ στρατῶδες ἐδ' αἰετὶς
 Τῶν ποτὲ σιτησὶν ἦτες, ἱρόμενθ' Κλαίοντες
 Νῦν δ' ἴαν μὴ προεδρίας φέρωσι καὶ τὰ σιτία,
 Οὐ μαχυσθῶσι φασίν.—

Not one of the Generals in former Ages desir'd a publick Maintenance; but now unless the Privilege of having the first Seats, and a Maintenance is given to them, they say, they'll not fight. In latter Ages, how lavish the Athenians grew of their publick Honours, may be easily known from the Stories of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and *Demetrius the Phalerean* (i), which have been already mention'd in another Place.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of the Athenian Laws.

IT was Tully's Observation, that most of the Arts and Inventions, which are necessary to the Management of human Life, owe their first Original to the *Athenians*, from whom they were deriv'd into the other Parts of *Greece*, and thence carried into foreign Countries, for the common Benefit of Mankind. But of all the Inventions commonly ascrib'd to them, none has been of greater or more general Use to the World, than that of Laws, which, as *Ælian* (k), and others report, were first establish'd in *Athens*. Tho' some ascribe the first Invention of Laws to *Zaleucus* the *Locrian*, or to *Minos*, King of *Crete* (l). Most other ingenious Contrivances respect the Conveniencies of human Life, but upon this depends the very Foundation of all Civil Government, and of all mutual Society amongst Men; for by them the Magistrate is directed how to govern, and the People how far to obey; the Magistrate by them is settled in the Possession of his Authority over the People, and the People too by them are secur'd from the arbitrary Power, and unreasonable Demands of the Magistrate, as well as from the Fraud, Violence, and Oppression of each other.

The Poets tell us, that *Ceres* was the first that taught the *Athenians* the Use of Laws; in Memory of which Benefit they celebrated the Festival call'd *Θειομοφώρεια*, in which she was worshipp'd by the Name of *Θειομοφώρα*, which exactly answers to the *Latin* Name of *Legifera* in *Virgil* (m):

maestant lætas de more videntes
 Legiferæ Cereri —

To *Ceres*, who first shew'd the Use of Laws,
 They offer Lambs cull'd out of bleating Flocks.

The Occasion of this Opinion seems to have been, their ascribing to this Goddess the Invention of Tillage. After which, the Lands being not as yet divided into equal Portions, Controversies used to be rais'd:

(i) Conf. *Plutarchus*, *Demetrio*. (k) *Lib. III. cap. 38*. (l) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Strom. I. p. 309*. (m) *Æneid. IV. v. 57*.

For the composing whereof, *Ceres* gave Directions, which afterwards were imitated in all other Affairs. Some of the Laws of her Favourite *Triptolemus* are still extant, and I have spoken of them in another Place. But to pass by poetical Fictions, thus much is certain, viz. that the *Athenians* were govern'd by Laws before the Dissolution of their Monarchy, as may be observ'd from what *Plutarch* relates from *Theseus*, viz. That when he divested himself of sovereign Power, and established a Commonwealth in *Athens*, one of the Prerogatives, that he thought fit still to retain, was the Custody or Protection of the Laws.

The first that gave Laws to the *Athenians*, after *Theseus's* Time, was *Draco*, who was *Archon* in the first Year of the thirty-ninth *Olympiad*. His Laws, *Ælian* (n) tells us, are properly call'd *Θρομοι*, but are remarkable for nothing but their unreasonable Severity; for by them every little Offence was punished with Death, and he, that stole an Apple, was proceeded against with no less Rigour, than he that had betray'd his Country. But these Extremities could not last long, the People soon grew weary of them, and therefore, tho' they were not abrogated, yet by a tacit Consent they were laid asleep, till

Solon, the next Lawgiver, repeal'd them all, except those which concern'd Murder, call'd *Φονικὰ νόμοι*; and having receiv'd from the People Power to make what Alterations he thought necessary, new-modell'd the Commonwealth, and instituted a great many useful and excellent Laws, which, to distinguish them from *Draco's* *Θρομοι*, were call'd *Νόμοι*. And lest, thro' the Connivance of the Magistrates, they should in Time be neglected, like those of his Predecessors, he caused the Senate to take a solemn Oath to observe them, and every one of the *Thesmothetæ* vow'd, that if he violated any of the Statutes, he would dedicate a golden Statue as big as himself to the *Delphian Apollo*; and the People he obliged to observe them for a hundred Years (o).

But all this Care was not sufficient to preserve his Laws from the Innovations of lawless and ambitious Men: For shortly after *Pisistratus* so far insinuated himself into the People's Favour, that the Democracy instituted by *Solon* was dissolv'd, and himself invested with sovereign Power, which, at his Death, he left in the Possession of his Sons, who maintain'd it for some Years; and tho' *Pisistratus* himself, as *Plutarch* reports (p), and his Son after him, in a great Measure, govern'd according to *Solon's* Directions, yet they followed them not as Laws, to which they were oblig'd to conform their Actions, but rather seem to have used them as wise and prudent Counsels, and varied from them whenever they found them to interfere with their Interest or Inclinations.

Pisistratus's Family being driven out of *Attica*, *Clisthenes* took upon him to restore *Solon's* Constitutions, and enacted many new Laws (q), which continu'd in Force till the *Peloponnesian War*, in which the Form of Government was chang'd, first by the four hundred, and then by the thirty Tyrants. These Storms being over, the ancient Laws were again restor'd in the Archonship of *Euclides*, and others established at the Instance

(n) Var. Hist. lib. VIII. cap. 10. (o) *Plutarch. Solone, Diogen. Laertius, Ælian.* loc. cit. (p) *Solone.* (q) *Herodotus, Plutarch. Pericle, Isocrat. Arcopag.*

of *Diocles*, *Aristophan*, and other leading Men of the City. Last of all *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, being intrusted with the Government of *Athens* by the *Macedonians*, was the Author of many new, but very beneficial and laudable Constitutions (r). These seem to have been the chief Legislators of *Athens*, before they submitted to the *Roman Yoke*; two others are mentioned by *Suidas*, viz. *Thales* and *Æschylus*.

Beside these, the *Athenians* had a great many other Laws enacted upon particular Exigencies by the Suffrages of the People: For I shall not in this Place speak of the *Ψήφισματα τῆς Βουλῆς*, the Decrees enacted by the Authority of the Senators, whose Power being only annual, their Decrees lost all their Force and Obligation, when their Offices expir'd. The Manner of making a Law was thus: When any Man had contriv'd any Thing, which he thought might conduce to the Good of the Commonwealth, he first communicated it to the *Prytanes*, who receiv'd all Sorts of Informations of Things that concern'd the Publick; the *Prytanes* then call'd a Meeting of the Senate, in which the new Project, being propos'd, after mature Deliberation was rejected, if it appear'd hurtful or unserviceable; if not, it was agreed to, and then call'd *Προβουλευμα*. This the *Prytanes* wrote upon a Tablet, and thence it was call'd *Πρόγραμμα*.

No Law was to be propos'd to the Assembly, except it had been written upon a white Tablet, and fix'd up, some Days before the Assembly, at the Statues of the Heroes call'd *Ἐπώνυμοι*, that so all the Citizens might read what was to be propos'd, at their next Meeting, and be able to give a more deliberate judgment upon it. When the Multitude was come together, the Decree was read, and every Man had Liberty to speak his Mind about the whole, or any Clause of it; and if, after due Consultation, the Assembly thought it inconvenient, it was rejected; if they approv'd of it, it pass'd into a *Ψήφισμα*, or *Νόμος*, which, as we learn from *Demosthenes*, were the same as to their Obligation, but differ'd in this, that *Νόμος* was a general and everlasting Rule, whereas *Ψήφισμα* respected particular Times, Places, and other Circumstances (s).

No Man, without a great deal of Caution, and a thorough Understanding of the former Laws and Constitutions, durst presume to propose a new one, the Danger being very great, if it suited not with the Customs and Inclinations of the People; *Eudemus*, a *Cydiathenian*, is said to have lost his Life on that Account, being made a Sacrifice to the Rage of the Multitude. Not much unlike this Severity was the Ordinance of *Zaleucus*, the *Locrian* Lawgiver, by which it was appointed, that whoever propos'd the enacting of a new Law, or the Abrogation of an old one, should come into the Assembly, with an Halter about his Neck, and in that Habit give his Reasons for what he propos'd, and if these were thought good and sufficient, his Proposal was embraced; if not, he straitway poured out his Soul under the Hangman's Hands. But the *Athenians* were not quite so rigid, except upon some extraordinary Occasions, when the giddy Multitude was hurried on

(r) *Plutarch. Aristidē.* (s) *Demosthen.* ejusque enarrator *Ulpian.* in *Leptin.* in *atibi.*

with unusual Rage and Vehemence, as happen'd in *Eudemus's* Case; yet if any Man establish'd a Law that was prejudicial to the Commonwealth, he might be call'd in Question for it at any Time within the Space of one Year; but if he was let alone any longer, the Laws took no Notice of him. In these Cases especially, a Writ for *transgressing the Laws*, call'd *παράνομος γραφή*, might take hold of him; First, If he had not taken Care to publish his Proposal in due Time. Secondly, If he propos'd in ambiguous and fallacious Terms. Thirdly, If he propos'd any Thing contrary to any of the former, and receiv'd Laws; and therefore, if any of the old Laws were found to oppose what they design'd to offer, they always took Care to have them repeal'd before-hand (r). They who had preferr'd any Law, which was *παράνομος*, or *ἀντιλήθεις*, contrary to the former Laws, or the Interest of the Commonwealth, were first arraign'd before the *Thesmothetæ*, according to *Julius Pollux*. Or, as others think, they were sometimes arraign'd before the *Thesmothetæ*, sometimes before other *Archons*, according to the different Nature of their Crimes, every *Archon* having the Cognizance of different Affairs. The Accusation being heard, the *Archon* did *εἰσάγειν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*, introduce the Cause into that Court of Justice, where such Affairs were examined. If the Defendant was declar'd guilty, he was usually punish'd with a Fine, according to his Offence, which he was oblig'd to pay under the Penalty of (*ἀτιμία*) Infamy: This last Punishment was immediately inflicted upon those, who had been thrice convicted of this Offence, who were, on that Account, ever after excluded from all publick Assemblies. Whence that Saying of *Antiphanes*,

Πῶς γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν
ῥήτωρ ἄφρων, ἢ μὴ ἅλῃ τρίς παράνομων.

How can an Orator be silenced unless he has been thrice convicted (*παράνομων*) of enacting Laws contrary to those already in Force? If the Judges acquitted the Defendant, then the Plaintiff was amerced a thousand *Drachmæ*, as a Punishment of his false Accusation (u). And tho' he, who had been the Occasion of enacting any unjust Law, could not be punish'd after a whole Year was expir'd, yet it was lawful to cite him before a *Magistrate*, and there oblige him to shew the Design and Reason of his Law, in order to prevent any Damage which might ensue from it. But because, notwithstanding all this Caution, it sometimes happen'd that new Laws were enacted contrary to the old, it was order'd, that the *Thesmothetæ* should once every Year carefully peruse the Laws; and if they found any of them oppose another, it was to be propos'd to the People, who were to proceed about it in the Method that was us'd in abrogating other Laws, and so one of the Laws made void. In other Cases, it was unlawful for any Man to endeavour to have any Law repeal'd, without preferring a new one in its Place.

And because the Change of Time, and other Circumstances, make great Alterations in Affairs; and Ordinances, which were formerly useful and necessary, by the different State of Things, become unprofitable,

(r) Idem. (u) *Demosthen. Timocratea*, ibique *Ulpianus*.

and perhaps inconvenient and prejudicial; it was ordain'd by *Solon*, that once every Year the Laws should be carefully revis'd and examin'd, and if any of them were found unsuitable to the present State of Affairs, it should be repeal'd; this was call'd *ἐπιχειρολόγια τῶν νομῶν*, from the Manner of giving their Suffrages by *holding up their Hands*. The Method of doing it was thus; on the eleventh Day of the Month *Hecatombæon*, at which Time the *Prytanes* held their first *stated* Assembly, after the *Κῆρυξ* had, according to Custom, made a solemn Prayer before the Assembly, the Laws were read over in this Order; first, those that concern'd the Senate; then those that respected the People, the nine *Archons*, and then the other Magistrates in their Order. This being done, it was demanded, whether the Laws then in being were sufficient for the Commonwealth? And if it seem'd necessary to make any Alteration in them, the Consideration was deferr'd till the fourth of *Metagitnion*, upon which Day was the last *stated* Assembly, under the first Rank of the *Prytanes*, as the *Repetition* of the Laws had been at the first. In all this, the *Θισμοὶ*, or Laws concerning such Matters, were nicely and punctually observ'd, and the *Prytanes* and *Proedri* severely punish'd, if any Thing was omitted. For this was the Difference between *Θισμός* and *νόμος*, that *Θισμός ἐστὶ νόμος* πῶς εἶναι νομοθεσιῶν. *Θισμός* is a Law directing how Laws (*νόμοι*) are to be made (w). Upon the first of *Metagitnion*, another Assembly was call'd, and the *Proedri* reported the Matter to the People, who did not proceed to the Determination of it themselves, but substituted the *Nomothetæ* to do it; and appointed five Orators, call'd *Σύνδμοι*, to defend the ancient Laws in the Name of the People. If the *Prytanes* neglected to convene the foremention'd Assembly, they were to be fin'd a thousand *Drachmæ*: But if the Assembly met, and the *Proedri* then neglected to propound the Law to the People, they were fin'd only forty *Drachmæ*; ὅτι βαρύτερον ἐστὶ ὅλως τὸ μὴ συναΐσαι τοὺς δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, τῷ μὴ υποβάλλειν. It being a greater Crime to neglect the Calling of the People together, than the propounding of any particular Business to them. Any Man was permitted to arraign the *Prytanes* and *Proedri* thus offending before the *Thesmothetæ*, whom the Laws oblig'd to impeach the Criminals in the Court of *Helieæ*, upon Neglect whereof they were deny'd Admission into the Senate of *Areopagus*. To return, the *Nomothetæ*, having heard what the Orators could say in Defence of the old Law, gave their Opinions accordingly, and their Sentence was ratified by the People in the following Assembly (x).

Solon, and, after his Example, the rest of those that enacted Laws in *Athens*, committed their Laws to Writing, differing herein from *Lycurgus*, and the Lawgivers of other Cities, who thought it better to imprint them in the Minds of their Citizens, than to engrave them upon Tablets, where it was probable they might lie neglected and unregarded, as *Plutarch* has inform'd us in his Life of *Numa Pompilius*: "It is reported, saith he, that *Numa's* Body, by his particular Command, was not burn'd, but that he order'd two Stone Coffins to be made, in one of which he appointed his Body to be laid, and the other to be a Repository for his sacred Books and Writings, and

(w) *Libanius* in *Argument. Leptinæ*. (x) *Idem*.

" both of them to be interr'd under the Hill *Janiculum*; imitating
 " herein the Legislators of *Greece*, who having wrote their Laws in
 " Tablets, which they call'd *Κύρβαι*, did so long inculcate the Con-
 " tents of them whilst they liv'd, into the Minds and Hearts of their
 " Priests, that their Understanding became, as it were, living Libra-
 " ries of those sacred Volumes, it being esteem'd a Profanation of
 " such Mysteries to commit their Secrets unto dead Letters." In
 some Places, especially before the Invention of Letters, it was usual
 to sing their Laws, the better to fix them in their Memories; which
 Custom, *Aristotle* tells us, was us'd in his Days amongst the *Agathyrsi*,
 a People near the *Scythians*; and this he fancies was the Reason, why
 musical Rules for keeping Time were call'd *Νόμοι* *.

But *Solon* was of a contrary Opinion, esteeming it the safest Way
 to commit his Laws to Writing, which would remain entire, and im-
 possible to be corrupted, when the unwritten Traditions of other Law-
 givers, thro' the Negligence and Forgetfulness of some, and the Cun-
 ning and Knavery of others, might either wholly perish in Oblivion,
 or by continual Forgeries and Alterations be render'd altogether un-
 profitable to the Publick, but abundantly serviceable to the Designs
 and Innovations of treacherous and ambitious Men. Whence we find
 an express Law, *ἀγρᾶφι νόμῳ τὰς ἀρχὰς μὴ χρῆσθαι μὲντε ἐπεὶ ἐνός*, That no
 Magistrate should in any Case make use of an unwritten Law †. The
 Tablets in which *Solon* penn'd his Laws, *Plutarch* tells us, were of
 Wood, and call'd *Ἀξόρες*, and so fashion'd, that they might be turn'd
 round in oblong Cases; some of them, he saith, remain'd till his Time,
 and were to be seen in the *Prytaneum* at *Athens*, being, as *Aristotle* as-
 firms, the same with the *Κύρβαι*. But others are of Opinion, that those
 were properly call'd *Κύρβαι*, which contain'd the Laws concerning Sa-
 crifices, and the Rites of Religion; and all the rest *Ἀξόρες*. Thus *Plu-
 tarch* (y). But *Apollodorus*, as he is quoted by the *Scholiast* upon *Aristo-
 phanes* (z), will have *Κύρβαι* to be of Stone, and to signify any Tablets,
 wherein Laws, or publick Edicts were written, and to have receiv'd
 their Name *παρὰ τὸ καμνιφῶσθαι ἐν ὕψος*, because they were erected up on high;
 or from the *Corybantes*, the first Inventors of them, as *Theopompus* re-
 ports in his Treatise of Piety. *Aristotle* adds, that they were triangular
 in his Account of the Republick of *Athens*, and is seconded herein
 by *Pollux* (a), who farther remarks, that the *Ἀξόρες* were quadrangular,
 and made of Brass. *Ammonius* (b), to trouble you with no more Opinions
 about them, will have the Distinction to consist in this, that the
Ἀξόρες were four-square, containing the Laws that concern'd civil Af-
 fairs; whereas the *Κύρβαι* were triangular and contain'd Precepts
 about the Worship of the Gods. What Number there was of them, 'tis
 impossible to divine, since none of the ancient Authors have given
 us any Light in this Particular. They were kept in the Citadel, but
 afterwards remov'd to the *Prytaneum*, that all Persons might have Re-
 course to them upon any Occasion (c); though some report, that only
 Transcripts of them were carry'd thither, and that the Original, writ-

* Problem. Sect. XIX. probl. XXXVIII. † *Andocides de Mysterior.* (y) *Solone.* (z) *Nubibus & Avibus.* (a) *Lib. VIII. cap. 10.* (b) *Lib. de Different. Voc.* (c) *Pollux, ibid.*

ten by *Solon's* own Hand, remain'd still in the Citadel. Hence as *Pollux* is of Opinion, the Laws came to be distinguish'd into τὰς κάτωθεν and τὰς ἄνωθεν νόμους, the former signifying the Laws that were in the *Prytaneum*, which was in the lower City; the latter, those that were kept in the Citadel, or upper City. Others are of Opinion, that by ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος, *Demosthenes*, whose Expression it is, meant no more, than the lower Part of the Tablet: But then, without Dispute, he would have mention'd the Number of the Tablets, as in other Places he, and others usually do, and not have left us in the Dark which of the Tablets he meant. Again, the lower Part of the Tablet might sometimes happen to contain the first Part of the Law, which it is improper to call τὸν κάτωθεν, because that Word seems to import something beneath the rest, and towards the latter End; for one Tablet was not always large enough to contain a whole Law, as appears from *Plutarch**, in whom we find, that the eighth Law was engraved in the thirteenth Tablet. *Petitus* will have *Demosthenes* to mean no more by ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος, than the Law which beneath, or afterwards in the same Oration, is cited by him. Others understand it of the lower Line, because the Laws are said to have been written βροτοεισὸν, which is, as *Pausanias* explains it (d), when the second Line is turn'd on the contrary Side, beginning at the End of the former, as the Husbandmen turn their Oxen in ploughing, in this Manner,

TO STAY AND GO. ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ-
V Θ Ζ Η Ξ Υ Χ

It was against the Law for any Man to erase a Decree out of any of the Tablets, or to make any Alterations in them; and for their greater Security, there were certain Persons call'd, from their Office, Γραμματεῖς, whose Business it was to preserve them from being corrupted (e), and, as their Name imports, to transcribe the old, and enter the new ones into the Tablets; they were elected by the Senate, and, to render their Office more creditable, had several Marks of Honour conferr'd upon them, of which in their proper Places. Lastly, That no Man might pretend Ignorance of his Duty, the Laws were all engrav'd on the Wall in the βασιλικὴ στοά, Royal Portico, and there expos'd to publick View. But this Custom was not begun till after the thirty Tyrants were expell'd (f). Thus much of the Athenian Laws in general: Their particular Laws, most of which have been collected by *Samuel Petitus*, were these which follow:

Attick LAWS.

Laws relating to Divine Worship, Temples, Festivals, and Sports.

LET Sacrifices be perform'd with the Fruits of the Earth. One of *Triptolemus's* Laws (g). See Book II. Chap. iv.

Let it be a Law amongst the Athenians for ever sacred and inviolable,

* *Solone*. (d) *Eliac*. (e) *Pollux*, lib. VIII. cap. 8. (f) *Andocides de Mysteriorum*. (g) *Porphyrius* Περὶ ἀποχρῆς ἐμφύχων.

always to pay due Homage in publick towards their God, and native Heroes, according to the usual Customs of their Country; and with all possible Sincerity to offer in private First-fruits with Anniversary Cakes. *One of Draco's Laws (a).* It must be here observ'd, that no strange God could be worshipp'd at Athens, till he were approv'd by the Areopagite Senate. See Book I. Chap. xix.

One Drachm shall be the Price of a Sheep, eighteen of a Medimn. *One of Solon's sumptuary Laws (b).*

Cattle design'd for Sacrifice shall be cull'd (c). *This Law provided, that the best of the Cattle should be offer'd to the Gods.* See Book II. Chap. iv.

It is order'd that the Sacrificer carry Part of the Oblation Home to his Family (d). See Book II. Chap. iv.

All the Remains of the Sacrifice are the Priest's Fees (e). See Book III. Chap. iii.

Whosoever easeth Nature in Apollo's Temple, shall be indicted, and sentenced to Death (f). *One of Pisistratus's Laws, enacted when that Tyrant built Apollo's Temple in the Pytheum, where the Athenians used to ease Nature in Contempt of the Tyrant.*

All Slaves and Foreigners are permitted to come to the publick Temples, either out of Curiosity of seeing, or Devotion (g).

They, who survive the Report of being dead, are prohibited Entrance into the Furies Temple (h). See Book II. Chap. iv.

Let no Violence be offer'd to any one, who flies to the Temples for Succour (i). *A very ancient Law.* See Book II. Chap. ii.

While the Celebration of the New Moon, or other Festival, continues at Athens, it is order'd, that no one be defam'd or affronted in private or publick, and that no Business be carried on, which is not pertinent to this Feast (k). See for this and the following Laws, with relate to the Festivals, Book II. Chap. xix, xx.

All who frequent the Panathenæa, are forbid the Wearing of Apparel dyed with Colours (l).

It is enacted, that, at the Institution of Panathenæa Majora, Homer's Rhapsodies be repeated (m).

Sojourners are commanded to carry about, at publick Processions, little Vessels fram'd after the Model of a Boat, and their Daughters Water-pots with Umbrellas (n). See Book I. Chap. x.

No Foreigner is to be initiated into the Holy Mysteries (o).

Death shall be his Penalty, who divulges the Mysteries (p).

The Persons initiated shall dedicate the Garments they were initiated in, at Ceres and Proserpina's Temple (q).

(a) Porphyrius loco citato. (b) Plutarchus Solone. (c) Plutarchus loco citato. (d) Aristophanis Scholiastes in Plutum. (e) Idem in Vespas. (f) Suidas, Hesychius, Vaticana Proverbiorum appen. Cent. I. Prov. LXXXII. (g) Demosthenis Orat. in Neeram. (h) Hesychius, Phavorinus, v. Δευτερόνομος, Plutarchus Quæst. Roman. (i) Aristophanis Scholiastes in Equites. (k) Demosthenes Timocratea. (l) Lucianus Nigrino. (m) Lyurgus in Leocratem, Ælianus Var. Hist. lib. VIII. cap. 2. (n) Harpocration. v. σκαφτόφοι. (o) Aristophanis Scholiastes in Plutum. (p) Sotater in divinatione quæstionis. (q) Aristophanis Scholiastes in Plutum.

No Woman shall go in her Chariot to *Eleusis*, and whoever commits Theft, during the Feast kept at that Place, shall be fin'd 6000 *Drachms* (r).

Let no petitionary Address be made at the *Mysterics* (s).

No one shall be arrested or apprehended, during their Celebration (t).

An Assembly of the *Senate* shall convene in the *Eleusinian* Temple, the Day following this *Festival*. One of *Solon's Laws* (u).

The Festival call'd *Θυσιοφεία* is to be annual, at which Time there's to be a *Gaol Delivery* (w).

Evagoras hath caused it to be enacted, that when there's a Procession in the *Pyræus* to the Honour of *Bacchus*, and likewise at the *Lenæan* Procession, Comedies shall be acted, and that, during the Celebration of the *Διονυσια* in the Citadel, young Men shall dance, and Tragedians and Comedians act, and that at these Times, and while the *Θαρηγία* continue, no Suit of Law, Bailment or Suretiship shall be made; if Trespas be made against any one of these Particulars, let the Person herein offending be prosecuted in the usual Manner, at the popular Assembly held in *Bacchus's Theatre* (x).

It is establish'd, that the *Prytanes*, the Day subsequent to these Observances, call a *Senate* in the Theatre of *Bacchus*, upon the *Παυσία*, where the first Thing in Debate shall be touching the sacred Rights; after that, the Drawing of all the Indictments to be executed on the foremention'd Criminals at the Feasts (y).

No Arrestment shall be attempted on the *Διονυσια* (z).

Execution of condemn'd Prisoners shall be deferr'd till the *Θεομοσι* return'd from *Delos* (a). See Book II. Chap. ix.

No Oblation of Victims shall be on the *Αλφειά* (b).

He, who comes off Conqueror at the *Olympick Games*, shall receive as his Reward 500 *Drachms*, at the *Isthmick* an 100 (c).

Fifteen Persons shall go to the Constitution of a tragick Chorus (d).

It is forbid that *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* be brought on the Stage, wherefore Licence is given that the City-Clerk read them publicly (e). This Law was enacted out of Respect to these three Tragedians.

An emulatory Performance, among the Tragedians, is order'd to be in the Theatre on the Feast call'd *Χέρρα*, and that he, that acts his Part best, shall be chosen *Denison* (f).

No one, under thirty Years of Age, shall be an Actor. Others instead of thirty Years, read forty Years (g).

Let no *Archon* be expos'd, by any malignant Asperision, in a Comedy (h).

If any Reflections are design'd, let them be palliated under a feigned Name. This Law was enacted to restrain the old Comedy, where in Men were reflected on by Name (i).

(r) *Plutarchus Lycurgo* rhetore. (s) *Andotides de Mysteriis*. (t) *Demosthenes in Median*. (u) *Andotides de Mysteriis*. (w) *Theocriti Scholiastes* in *Idyll. V.* (x) *Demosthenes in Median*. (y) *Ibid.* (z) *Ibid.* (a) *Plato Phædone*. *Xenophon*, *Ἀπομνημονεύ.* lib. IV. (b) *Demosthenes in Neæram*. (c) *Plutarchus, Solone*. (d) *Pollux*, lib. XIV. cap. 15. (e) *Plutarchus Lycurgo*. (f) *Plutarchus Lycurgo*. (g) *Aristophanis Scholiastes* in *Nubes*. (h) *Idem. ibidem*. (i) *Hermogenes de Statibus*.

Let all the different Airs and specifick Kinds of Musick be observ'd, and each of them made use of at its peculiar Festival. *This was an ancient Law, whereby they, who confounded the several Kinds of Musick, being first convicted before the Masters of Musick, were liable to be punished. But this Practice was afterwards laid aside (i).*

All Spectators shall sit with due Attention and Decorum in the Theatre, and the Archons shall cause their Serjeants to turn him out, who shall cause any Noise or Disturbance; but if any one persevere in his Rudeness, a Fine shall be his Punishment (k). *This Law relates to the Dionysia, where the chief Archon was President, the Care of other Games being committed to other Magistrates, as that of the Lenæa, and of the Anthesteria to the Basileus.*

Sports, exhibited in Honour of Neptune, are to be in the Pyæus, graced with three Dances perform'd in a Ring, where the Reward to them, who come off best, shall be ten *μνᾶς*; to them whose Performance is one Degree below, eight; and six to the third Victors. *This Law was enacted by Lycurgus the Orator (l).*

One Day yearly there's to be a publick Cock-fighting. See Book II. Chap. xx. in *Ἀλκτουρίων ἀγῶν* (m).

Sacrifices are required to be at the Beginning of every Month. See Book II. Chap. xx. in *Νεμῖα* (n).

Laws concerning them who officiate in holy Rites.

THE *Βασίλεις* is to take Care that the *Parasites* be created out of the People, whose Duty it is, each of them, to reserve out of his Allowance an *Hectæum* of Barley without the least Deceit, for the Maintenance of the Genuine Citizens Feast, to be kept in the Temple, according to the Custom of the Country. The *Acharnensian Parasites* are to lay up an *Hectæum* of their Dole in Apollo's Reservatory, to which Deity they are to sacrifice; the *Βασίλεις* also for the Time being, likewise the old Men, and Women, who have had but one Husband, are oblig'd to join in the Sacrifices. See Book II. Chap. iii.

Out of those of spurious Birth, or their Children, the *Parasites* shall elect a Priest, who shall officiate in the monthly Sacrifices, and against him who declines to be a *Parasite*, an Action shall be enter'd (o).

Two of the sacred *Ceryces* must undergo *Parasitship*, for the Space of one Year in Apollo's Temple at *Delos* (p).

The third Part of the choicest of the Oxen is to be conferr'd on the Victor of a Prize, the two remaining shall be divided between the Priests and *Parasites* (q). *This Law was engrav'd in the Anaceum.*

Let there be given a just Value of Money to be disbursed by the Priests for the Reparation of the Temple, of the *Ἀρχισ* (or Treasury of the Temple) and the *Παρσίσιον*, or Place set apart for the *Parasites* executing of their Office (r).

(i) Plato, lib. III. de Legibus. (k) Demosthenes, ejusque Scholiastes in *Mediana*. (l) Plutarchus *Lycurgo* rhetore. (m) *Ælianus* Var. Hist. lib. II. cap. 28. (n) *Atbenæus*, lib. VI. (o) Vide ibid. (p) Idem. ibid. (q) Ibid. (r) *Atbenæus*, lib. IV. *Pollux*, lib. VI. cap. 7.

Out of the most vigorous of the old Men, there are to be created *Θαλλοφόροι*, i. e. Persons to carry Sprigs of Olive in the *Panathenæa*, in Honour of *Minerva* (s). See Book II. Chap. xx. in *Παναθήναια*.

It is hereby appointed, that the Consort of the *Βασιλεύς* shall be a Citizen of *Athens*, and never before marry'd (r). See Book I. Chap. xii.

Not the Priests only shall give an Account of their Demeanour in their Priesthood, but likewise the *sacred Families* (u). See Book II. Chap. iii.

No impure Person shall be elected into the Priesthood (w). See as before.

Laws relating to the Laws.

As for the Review of the Laws (ἐπιχρηστοσία Νόμων) I have purposely omitted it, as being spoken of in the former Part of this Chapter.

The Decree.

T*Isamenus* hath establish'd, with the Consent and by the Authority of the People, that *Athens* shall keep her ancient Form of Government, and make Use of *Solon's* Laws, Weights, and Measures, with *Draco's* Sanctions, as hitherto; if new ones shall seem requisite, the *Nomothetæ*, created by the *Senate* for that Purpose, shall engross them on a Tablet, and hang them up at the Statues of the *Eponymi*, that they may be expos'd to the publick View of all Passers-by; the same Month they are to be given up to the Magistrates, after they have pass'd the Estimation of the *Senate* of *five hundred*, and the delegated *Nomothetæ*. Be it also farther enacted, that any private Man may have free Access to the *Senate*, and give in his Sentiments concerning them. After their Promulgation, the *Senate* of *Areopagus* is required to take Care that the Magistrates put these Laws into Execution, which, for the Conveniency of the Citizens, are to be engraved on the Wall, where before they had been expos'd to publick View (x). *This Law was enacted after Thrasylbulus had expell'd the thirty Tyrants. See the former Part of this Chapter.*

He that propounds a Law contrary to the common Good, shall be indicted (y). See as before.

The Proposer of a Law, after the Year's End, shall be accus'd, if his Law be pernicious, but yet shall be liable to no Penalty. See as before.

No Law shall be repeal'd, before Reference be made of it to the *Nomothetæ*; which being done, any *Athenian* may endeavour its Repeal, supposing he substitutes a new Law in its Stead. Both these the *Proedri* shall refer to the Votes of the People; the first Proposal shall be concerning the old Law, whether it be any longer conducive to the publick Good, then the new one shall be propos'd; and which

(s) *Xenophon Symposio.* (r) *Demosthenes in Neæram.* (u) *Æschines in Ctesiphontem.*
(w) *Æschines in Timarchum.* (x) *Andocides de Myseriis.* (y) *Demosthenes in Timocratem.*
of

of the two the *Nomothetæ* shall judge best, that shall be in Force; yet this Caution must be observed, that no Law shall be enacted, which gainsays any of the rest; and the Person, who shall give in a Law inconsistent with the former Constitutions, shall be dealt with according to the Rigour of the Act against those, who promote prejudicial Laws *. See as before.

He who, to abrogate an old Law, promiseth to make a new one, and doth not, shall be fin'd (z).

The *Thesmothetæ* shall yearly assemble in the Repository of the Laws, and cautiously examine whether one Law bears any Contradiction to another; whether there be any Law unratified, or Duplicates about the same Things; if any of these shall occur in their Examination, it shall be written on a Tablet, and publish'd at the Statues of the *Eponymi*. Which done, by the *Epistata's* Order, the People shall vote which of them shall be made void, or ratified (a). See as before.

No Man shall enact a Law in Behalf of any private Person, unless fix thousand Citizens give Leave by private Votes. This was one of Solon's Laws (b).

It shall be a capital Crime for any Man to cite a fictitious Law in any Court of Justice (c).

The Laws shall be in Force from the *Archonship* of *Euclides* (d). This Law was enacted after the Expulsion of the thirty Tyrants, and intimates, that what had been done, under their Usurpation, should not thenceforth be enquir'd into, an Act of Amnesty having been pass'd.

Diocles hath enacted, that the Laws enacted during the Freedom of the Commonwealth, before *Euclides* was *Archon*, and also those which were made in his *Archonship*, shall be in full Force henceforwards. Those, which have been enacted since the *Archonship* of *Euclides*, or hereafter to be enacted, shall be in Force from the Day, wherein each of them shall be enacted, unless a particular Time, wherein their Force shall begin, is specify'd in the Law. Those, which are now in Force, shall be transcrib'd into the publick Records by the Notary of the Senate within thirty Days. But the Laws, hereafter to be made, shall be transcrib'd, and begin to be in Force from the Day of their being enacted (e). This Law gave perpetual Force and Authority to the Laws of Solon, which were at first enacted only for an hundred Years, as has been elsewhere observ'd.

Laws referring to Decrees of the Senate, and Commonalty.

Ἐπίκρατα, or Decrees of the Senate, are to be but of one Year's Continuance (f). See Book I. Chap. xviii.

No *Psephism* shall pass to the Commons, before the Senate's Supervisal (g). One of Solon's Laws. See as before.

* *Demosthenes* ibid. & in *Leptin*. (z) *Ulpianus* in *Leptin*. (a) *Æschines* in *Ctesiphonem*. (b) *Andocides* de *Mysteriis*, *Encas Gaxæus* in *Theophrastum*. (c) *Demosthenis* Orat. II. in *Aristogitonem*. (d) *Andocides* de *Mysteriis*. (e) *Demosthenes* in *Timocrat*. (f) *Demosthenes* in *Aristocratem*. (g) *Plutarchus* Solone.

The Tablets, on which the *Psephisms* are engraved, are by no Means to be removed (g).

Let no *Psephism* be of greater Authority than the Laws, the Senate, or the People (h).

No Sophistication is to be contain'd in a *Psephism* (i).

Laws concerning native and enfranchis'd Citizens.

ALL Laws are to be alike obligatory towards the whole Body of the People. One of Theseus's Laws (k).

All Priests and *Archons* are to be elected out of the Nobility (*ἐπαρχίδαι*) whose Duty it is to interpret all Laws both Civil and Divine. Another of Theseus's Laws (l). See Book I. Chap. iii.

The *Θῆτες*, or those of the meanest Sort, shall be capable of no Magistracy. This and the following Law are Solon's (m). See Book I. Chap. iv.

The *Θῆτες* shall have Right of Suffrage in publick Assemblies, and of being elected Judges.

Let all the Citizens have an equal Share in the Government, and the *Archons* be indifferently elected out of them all. This Law was enacted by Aristides (n). See Book I. Chap. xi.

No Persons, but such as have suffer'd perpetual Banishment, or those who, with their whole Families, come to Athens for the Conveniency of Trade, shall be enroll'd amongst the *Denisons*. One of Solon's Laws. See Book I. Chap. xi.

Let no Person that's a Slave by Birth, be made free of the City (p). See Book I. Chap. x.

No one shall be admitted Citizen, unless a particular Eminency of Virtue entitle him to it; and if the People do confer a Citizenship on any one for his Merits, he shall not be ratified before the Athenians, at the next Meeting of the Assembly, honour him with six thousand private Votes; the *Prytanes* likewise shall give them, before the Entrance of the Strangers, the Boxes with the *Calculi*, and take away the Largeesses. Now these Persons, after Enfranchisement, shall be altogether incapable of being *Archons*, or Priests; as for their Children, they may officiate, if born of a free Woman; if the Persons made free presume the taking up of any Office, any free-born Man may bring an Action against them, as Interlopers on his Privileges (q). This Law was enacted after the Victory over Mardonius near Plataeæ. See Book I. Chap. ix.

There shall be a Disquisition made, whether they, who are inserted in the Register of Citizens, be so or no; they who shall not be found Citizens on both Sides, let them be erased out; the Determination of this shall be by their own Borough, by whom, if they be cast, and acquiesce in their Sentence without any farther Appeal to an higher

(g) Plutarchus Pericle. (h) Demosthenes Timocratea. (i) Æschines in Ctesiphontem. (k) Plutarchus Theseo. (l) Ibidem. (m) Plutarchus Solone. (n) Plutarchus Aristide. (o) Plutarchus Solone. (p) Dion. Chrysostomus Orat. XV. (q) Demosthenes Orat. in Neeram.

Court, they shall be rank'd among the Sojourners; but they that, after Appeal, shall be condemn'd by the higher Court, shall be sold for Slaves; or, if acquitted, shall continue in their Freedom (r). See as before. *This Law was enacted, Archias being Archon.*

It is permitted any *Athenian* to leave the City, and take his Family and Goods along with him (s).

Laws appertaining to Children legitimate, spurious, or adopted.

THEY only shall be reckon'd Citizens, whose Parents are both so (t). See Book I. Chap. iv. *This Law was enacted at the Instance of Pericles.*

He shall be look'd on as a Bastard, whose Mother is not free (u). *This was enacted by Aristophon the Orator.*

Let none of spurious Birth, whether Male or Female, inherit either in sacred or civil Things, from the Time of *Euclides* being Archon (w).

That Inheritances shall pass for good, which is given by a Childless Person to an adopted Son (x).

Adoption must be made by Persons living (y). i. e. *Not by their last Testament.*

No one, except the Person, who adopted shall have a legitimate Son, shall relinquish the Family into which he is adopted, to return into his Natural. *One of Solon's Laws* (z). See Book IV. Chap. xv.

Parents may give their Children what Names they will, or change those they have for others (a). See Book IV. Chap. xiv.

Whenever Parents came to enroll their Children, whether genuine, or adopted, in the publick Register of the *φράτορες*, they are oblig'd to profess by Oath, that they were lawfully begotten of a free Woman (b). See Book I. Chap. ix.

Beasts, design'd at the Time for the Altar, are to be of a certain Weight, a Goat to weigh fifty *μναί*, and two Sheep forty-eight.

The Oath to be taken by the Ephebi.

I'LL never do any Thing to disgrace this Armour; I'll never fly from my Post, or revolt from my General, but I'll fight for my Country and Religion, in an Army or single Combat; I'll never be the Cause of weakening or endamaging my Country; and if it be my Fortune to sail on the Seas, my Country thinking fit to send me in a Colony, I'll willingly acquiesce and enjoy that Land which is allotted to me. I'll firmly adhere to the present Constitution of Affairs, and whatsoever Enactions the People shall please to pass, I'll see nobody violate or pervert them, but I'll either singly by myself, or by

(r) *Argumentum Demosthen. Orat. πρὸς Εὐκλείδην ἐφέσιμον.* (s) *Plato Critone.* (t) *Plutarchus Pericle.* (u) *Caryssio Historic. ὑπομνημ. lib. III.* (w) *Demosthenes in Macartatum.* (x) *Demosthenes in Leobareum.* (y) *Libanius Argumentum Orat. Demosthenes in Leobareum.* (z) *Isæus de hæred. Philoſtemonis, Harpocraton.* (a) *Demosthenes Orat. in Bæotum de nomine.* (b) *Isæus de hæred. Apollodori.*

joining with others endeavour to revenge them. I'll conform to my Country's Religion: I swear by these following Deities, viz. the *Agrauli*, *Enyalius*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, the *Earth*, and *Diana*.

If Occasion require, I'll lay down my Life for my native Country.

My Endeavours to extend the Dominions of *Athens* shall never cease, while there are Wheat, Barley, Vineyards, and Olive-trees without its Limits (c).

Parents shall have full Right to disinherit their Children (d). See Book IV. Chap. xv.

No one shall sell his Daughter, or Sister, unless he can prove her to be a Whore (e). *One of Solon's Laws*. See Book I. Chap. x.

The first Institution of Youth is to be in Swimmings, and the Rudiments of Literature; as for those whose Abilities in the World are but mean, let them learn Husbandry, Manufactures, and Trades; but they, who can afford a genteel Education, shall learn to play on musical Instruments, to ride, shall study Philosophy, learn to hunt, and be instructed in the Gymnical Exercises. *One of Solon's Laws*.

Let him be (ἀτίμῳ) infamous, who beats his Parents, or does not provide for them (f). *One of Solon's Laws*. See Book IV. Chap. xv.

If any Man, being found guilty of abusing his Parents, frequent prohibited Places, the *Eleven* shall fetter him, and bring him to Trial at the *Helicæan* Court, where any one, who is impower'd thereto, may accuse him; if he's here cast, the *Helicæan* Judges shall inflict upon him what Punishment they please, and if they fine him, let him be clapped up in Gaol till he pays the whole (g). *Another of Solon's Laws*. See as before.

No Bastards, or such as have been brought up to no Employ, shall be obliged to keep their Parents (h). *Another of Solon's Laws*. See as before.

If any one's Estate, after his Decease, shall be call'd in Question, the Enjoyer of it is oblig'd to prove the Lawfulness of his Parents getting it, according to that golden Precept, *Honour your Parents* (i).

He, that is undutiful to his Parents, shall be incapable of bearing any Office, and farther be impeach'd before the *Magistrate* (k). See Book IV. Chap. xv.

If, through the Infirmary of old Age, or Torture of a Disease, any Father be found craz'd and distemper'd in his Mind, a Son may henceforth have an Action against him, wherein, if he be cast, he may keep him in Bonds.

Laws belonging to Sojourners.

EVERY Sojourner is to choose his Patron out of the Citizens, who is to pay his Tribute to the Collectors, and take Care of all his other Concerns. See Book I. Chap. x. as also in the following Laws.

(c) Stobæus, Pollux, Plutarchus Alcibiade, Ulpianus in Demosthenis Orat. de falsa Legat. (d) Demosthenis Orat. in Bæotum. (e) Plutarchus Solone. (f) Diogenes Laertius, Æschines in Timarchum. (g) Demosthenis Orat. in Timocratem. (h) Plutarchus Solone. (i) Demosthenes in Callippum. (k) Xenophon Anagoræ lib. I.

Let there be an Action against them, who don't chuse a Patron, or pay Tribute.

In this Action no Foreigner shall appear as a Witness.

Let them be cast into Prison before Sentence is pass'd, without any Grant of Bailment, on whom the Action of *ξυία* is laid, but if condemn'd, they shall be sold; whoever is acquitted of this Imputation may accuse his Adversary of Bribery (l). See Book I. Chap. xi.

Laws relating to Slaves, and freed Servants.

HE that beats another Man's Servant, may have an Action of Battery brought against (m). See Book I. Chap. x. and in several of the following Laws.

No one may sell a Captive for a Slave, without the Consent of his former Master: If any Captive hath been sold, he shall be rescu'd, and let his Rescuer put in Sureties for his Appearance before the Polemarchus (n).

If any Slave's Freedom hath been unjustly asserted by another, the Assertor shall be liable to pay half the Price of the Slave (o).

Any Slave, unable to drudge under the Imperiousness of his Master, may compel him to let him quit his Service for one more mild and gentle (p).

Slaves may buy themselves out of Bondage (q).

No Slaves are to have their Liberty given them in the Theatre; the Crier that proclaims it shall be (*ἀτιμῶς*) infamous (r).

All emancipated Slaves shall pay certain Services, and do Homage to the Masters who gave them Liberty, chusing them only for their Patrons, and not be wanting in the Performance of those Duties, to which they are oblig'd by Law (s).

Patrons are permitted to bring an Action of *Ἀποσάσιον* against such freed Slaves, as are remiss in the foremention'd Duties, and reduce them to their pristine State of Bondage, if the Charge be prov'd against them; but if the Accusation be groundless, they shall entirely possess their Freedom (t).

Any who have a Mind, whether Citizens or Strangers, may appear as Evidences in the abovemention'd Cause (u).

He that redeems a Prisoner of War, may claim him as his own, unless the Prisoner himself be able to pay his own Ransom (w).

Maintenance is by no Means to be given to a Slave, careless in his Duty (x).

(l) Hyperides in *Aristagoram*. (m) *Xenophon*. de *Atben. Repub.* (n) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo* rhetore, *Æschines* in *Timarchum*. (o) *Argument. Demost. Orat.* in *Theocrinem*. (p) *Plutarchus* de *Superstitione*. (q) *Dion. Chrysostomus* *Orat.* XV. (r) *Æschines* in *Ctesiphontem*. (s) *Conf. Lexicographos* v. *ἀπελευθεῖς*. (t) *Conf. eisdem.* v. *ἀποσάσιον*. (u) *Harpocration* ex *Hyperide*. (w) *Demosthenes* in *Nicostratum*. (x) *Ulpianus* in *Mediam*.

Laws concerning the Senate of Five hundred, and the Popular Assembly.

NO one is to be twice an *Epistata* *. See Book I. Chap. xviii.

The Oath of the Senate I pass by, as before treated of Book I. Chap. xviii.

The Establishment of *Phocus* runs, that *Senators*, with the rest of the *Athenians*, shall keep the Feast call'd *Amalēgia*, as is usual by the Custom of the Country, and that there shall be an *Adjournment* of the *Senate*, and *Vacations* of lesser Courts, for five Days, from the Time in which the *Protenthes* begin to celebrate the Solemnity (y). See Book II. Chap. xx. in *Amalēgia*.

The Crier shall pray for the good Success of Affairs, and encourage all Men to lay out their Endeavours on that Design (x). See Book I. Chap. xvii.

The Crier shall curse him openly, with his Kindred and Family, who shall appear in the Court, and plead, and give his Voice for *Lucre* (a).

Let the most ancient of the *Athenians*, having decently compos'd their Bodies, deliver their most prudent and wise Thoughts to the People; and after them, let such of the rest, as will, do the like, one by one, according to Seniority (b). One of *Solon's Laws*. See Book I. Chap. xvii. and in the two next Laws.

In every Assembly, let there be one *Tribe* elected to *preside*, and to look after the Laws (c).

The *Prytanes* are not to authorize the People to vote twice for the same Thing (d).

The Senate of Five hundred may fine as far as five hundred *Drachms* (e). See Book I. Chap. xviii. and in the two following Laws.

Let the Senate of Five hundred build new Ships (f).

Such as have not built any, shall be refused the Donation of Crowns (g).

This Senate shall give an Account of their Administration, and they who have executed their Offices well, shall be rewarded with Crowns (h).

Laws which concern Magistrates.

NONE shall be *Magistrates*, but they who have competent Estates (i). One of *Solon's Laws*. See Book I. Chap. xi. and in the following.

The Election of *Magistrates* shall be by *Beans* (k).

* Pollux, lib. VIII. cap. 9. (y) Ex. *Athenæo*. (x) *Dinarchus* in *Aristogitonem*. (a) *Ibidem*. (b) *Æschines* in *Ctesiphontem*. (c) *Æschines* in *Timarchum*. (d) *Nicie Orat.* apud *Thucyd.* lib. VI. (e) *Demosthenes* in *Euergete*. in *Mnesibul.* (f) *Demosthenes* & *Ulpianus* in *Androtiana*, itemque in ejusdem argumento *Libantius*. (g) *Ibidem*. (h) *Æschines* in *Ctesiphontem*, *Demosthenes* & *Ulpianus* *Androtiana* (i) *Plutarchus* *Solone*. (k) *Lucianus*.

It shall be punishable with Death, to pass two *Suffrages* for the same Candidate (a).

The *Archons* shall be created by the People.

No one shall bear the same Office twice, or enter on two several the same Year (b).

All *Magistrates*, that are elected by *Suffrages*, *Surveyors* of publick Works, and they, who have any Authority in the City upwards of thirty Days, with those who preside over the Courts of Judicature, shall not enter on their respective Offices, till they have undergone the accustom'd Examination; and, after the Expiration of those Offices, they shall give an Account of the Discharge of their Trust before the *Scribe* and *Logistæ*, as other *Magistrates* are oblig'd to do (c).

This shall be the Manner: So much I receiv'd from the Publick, so much I laid out, or in the Reverse (d).

Such as have not made up their Accounts, shall expend none of their Money in divine Uses, nor make Wills; nor shall they have Licence to travel, bear another Office, or have the Honour of a Crown conferr'd on them (e).

It is Death for any one indebted to the publick Exchequer, to be invested with a publick Trust (f).

It is also Death to usurp the Government (g).

Let him be out-law'd, who shall continue in his Magistracy after the Dissolution of *democratical* Government; whereupon, it shall be lawful for any one to kill such a Person, and make Seizure of his Goods (h).

A Psephism.

THIS Decree was made by the Senate and *Athenian* State, the Tribe *Æantis* being *Prytanes*, *Cleogenes* Clerk, *Boëthus* chief President, *Demophantus* its *Ingrosser*: The Date of the *Psephism* is from the Election of the Senate of *Five hundred*, and thus it runs: If any one levels at the Ruin of the Commonwealth, or after its Subversion bears any Office, let that Man be censur'd as an Enemy to the State, and dispatch'd out of the Way; let all his Goods, saving the tenth Part to be confiscated to *Minerva*, be expos'd to Sale: He that kills him, with all his Assistants, shall be blameless herein, and free from the Guilt of his Death; all *Athenians* likewise, in their several Tribes, are oblig'd by Oath to attempt the Killing of that Man, who shall in the least seem to affect the Crimes here set down (i).

The Oath.

I'LL endeavour, with my own Hand, to kill that Man, who shall dissolve the *Athenian* Republick, or, after its Subversion, shall bear any Office, and he shall be reputed by me wholly free from Guilt, in Respect of the Gods or *Dæmons*, who shall take away his Life, or encourage another so to do; farther, in the Distribution of his Goods,

(a) *Demosthenes* in *Benotum*. (b) *Ulpianus* in *Timocrateam*. (c) *Æschines* in *Ctesiphon-tem*. (d) *Ibidem*. (e) *Ibidem*. (f) *Demosthenes* *Leptinea*. (g) *Plutarchus* *Solone*. (h) *Andocides* de *Mysteriis*. (i) *Ibidem*.

I'll pass my Vote that the *Slayer* shall have half; and he, that in the Attempt shall have the Misfortune to lose his own Life, shall, with his Heirs, have due Respect and Honour from me, as *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, with their Posterity (*k*).

All Oaths, that shall be taken in Time of War, or any other Juncture, if inconsistent with the *Athenian* Constitution, shall be null and void.

No Office, impos'd by the People, shall be refus'd by Oath before the *Senate* (*l*).

Whoever casts scurrilous Abuses on a Magistrate, while officiating, shall be fin'd (*m*).

The Examination, and the interrogatory Disquisition of the Archons.

WHether they are Citizens by a lawful Lineage of Progenitors for three Generations, and from what Family they assume their Pedigree; whether they derive their Progeny from *Paternal Apollo*, and *Jupiter Herceus* (*n*). See Book I. Chap. xii. and in the following.

Quest. Hark you, Friend, who's your Father?

Answ. What, Sir, d'ye mean my Father? *N.* or *N.*

Quest. What Kindred can you produce to make Evidence?

Answ. Sufficient, Sir; first of all, these Cousins, then these Persons who have Right to the same *Burying-place* with us, these here of the same *Phratia*, and these related to *Apollo Patrius*, and *Jupiter Herceus*; lastly, these Gentlemen of the same *Borough*, who have repos'd the Trust and Management of Offices in me, and honour'd me with their Suffrages.

Quest. D'ye hear, Friend? Who's your Mother?

Answ. What, mine, d'ye mean? *N.* or *N.*

Quest. What Kindred have you to shew?

Answ. These first, these second Cousins, and those of the same *Phratia* and *Borough*.

Then the Case is to be put,

Whether they have { Honour'd their Parents?
Fought for their Country?
Possession of an Estate, and all their Limbs sound?

The Archon's Oath.

I'LL be punctual in the Observance of the Laws, and for every Default herein, I'll forfeit a Statue of Gold, of equal Proportion with myself, to the *Delphian Apollo* (*o*). See as before, and in the following.

An *Archon*, that shall be seen overcharg'd with Wine, shall suffer Death (*p*).

If any one is contumeliously piquant, beats any *Thesmotheta*, or blast his Reputation, a crown'd *Archon's*, or any other's, whom the

(*k*) *Lycurgus* in *Leocratem*. (*l*) *Æschines* de *falsa Legat*. (*m*) *Lyfias* pro *milite*.
(*n*) *Pollux*, lib. VIII. cap. 9. (*o*) *Plutarchus* *Solone*, *Pollux*, lib. VIII. &c. (*p*) *Laertius* *Solone*.

City privileges with an Office, or confers any Dignity upon, let him be (ἀναθεῖναι) infamous (q).

The *Areopagite Senate*, when Vacancies fall, shall yearly be recruited out of the *Archons* (r). See Book I. Chap. xix. and in the following.

The *Areopagites* shall have Inspection into the Deportment and Behaviour of the *Athenians* (s).

Let no *Areopagite* make a Comedy (t).

The Senate of *Areopagus* shall give an Account of their Management before the *Logistæ* (u).

Let a *Στρατὺς* have Children lawfully begotten, and enjoy an Estate within the Confines of *Attica* (w). See Book III. Chap. v.

The Oath of the Στρατὺς.

I'LL twice a Year make an Incurſion into the *Megarensian Territories* (x).

Let ſuch of the *Στρατῆς* be arraign'd, as ſhall endamage the Fleet of their Allies (y).

No one ſhall be created *Syndick*, or *Aſſynomus*, above once (z). See Book I. Chap. xv.

The *Quæſtors* ſhall be choſen by Suffrages of the People (a).

A *Quæſtorſhip* muſt not be kept above five Years (b).

It's Death to go on an Embaſſy without Commiſſion from the Senate, or People (c). See Book I. Chap. xv.

No one ſhall be *Secretary* above once under the ſame Magiſtrate (d). See Book I. Chap. xv.

Laws reſpecting Orators.

NO one under the Age of thirty Years, ſhall ſpeak an Oration in the Senate, or popular Aſſembly. See Book I. Chap. xv.

An Inſpection into the Orators Lives.

LET no one be a publick Orator who hath ſtruck his Parents, denied them Maintenance, or ſhut them out of Doors; who have refus'd going into the Army in Caſe of publick Neceſſity, or thrown away his Shield; who hath committed Whoredom, or given Way to Effeminacy; who hath run out his Father's Estate, or any Inheritance left him by a Friend; if, notwithstanding any of theſe Crimes, any ſhall dare to deliver a publick Oration, let thoſe, who are commiſſion'd, bring him to the Teſt in open Court (e).

Let an Orator have Children lawfully begotten, and let him be Maſter of an Estate within *Attica's* Borders (f).

(q) Demosthenes in Midiam. (r) Plutarchus Solone. (s) Ibidem. (t) Plutarchus de gloria Athenienſium. (u) Æschines in Ctesiphontem. (w) Dinarchus in Demosthenem. (x) Plutarchus in Pericle. (y) Demosthenes πρὸς τὸν ἐν χερσίν. (z) Demosthenes in Leptinem, & Proem. LXIV. (a) Ulpianus ad Androtianam. (b) Plutarch. Lycurgo rhetore. (c) Demosthen. de falsa Legat. (d) Lyſias in Nicomachum. (e) Conf. Æschines in Timarchum. (f) Dinarchus in Demosthenem.

If any *Orator*, either before the *Senate*, or *People*, hath not pertinent-ly and distinctly handled the Thing propounded, or hath descanted twice on the same Subject, hath been piquantly conforious, and hath abusively animadverted upon any one's Behaviour, hath spoken of other Things besides those propounded by the *Proedri*, or hath encourag'd any one so to do, or if he hath abused the *Epistata* after the Rising of the *Assembly*, or *Senate*; such an one's Insolence shall be punish'd by the *Proedri* with a Mult of fifty *Drachms*, the *ωπαγοι* shall have Intelligence of his Misdemeanors, and if his Penalty shall seem too light for his Crimes, besides his Fine, let him be haled to the next Convention of the *Senate*, or *Assembly*, where, if condemn'd by private Votes, the *Proedri* shall exact a Fine from him, to be paid to the *ωπαγοι* for his *ωπαρολη*, or *Breach of the Laws* (f).

Laws treating of Duties and Offices.

THE *Archons* shall appoint in the *Assembly* by Lots, a certain Number of *Flute-players*, to be at the *χοροι*, or publick Dances (g).

No Stranger shall join in a Dance with a *Chorus*; if he do the *Choragus* shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms* (h).

Let it be lawful to inform against a Stranger to the *Archon*, before his Entrance into the Theatre to dance (i).

A Stranger, if indicted by a *Xorophos* for dancing before the *Archon*, shall be fin'd fifty *Drachms*; and a thousand, if he persist after Prohibition (k).

Those Dancers, who are (*αἰσχροί*) infamous, are to be drove off the Stage (l).

Sixteen Men are to be chosen out of all the publick Companies, to contribute equally towards the building a Man of War, which Service they are to engage in from twenty-five Years to forty (m).

The Qualification for a *Trierarch* is, that he be worth ten *Talents*, according to which Estimation he is to be chosen: But if his Estate is rated more, let him build Ships equivalent, yet at most but three, with a Skiff; they, who are not worth so much, shall be join'd together, so many of them, till their Estates make up the Sum (n).

The *Trierarchs* and *Overseers* of the Navy, shall be commission'd to register their Names, who, being of the same *Συμμοχια*, are indebted to the Commonwealth for Ship-rigging, for which they shall sue them (o). See Book I. Chap. xv. and in the following.

He, that owes Rigging, shall either give it, or give Security (p).

All *Trierarchs* elect shall betake themselves to the Ships they are constituted over (q).

All *Trierarchs* are to render an Account of their Administration (r).

There shall be a yearly Appointment for the Exchange of Offices, where he, that shall be design'd a *Διλουπυός*, shall be exempted from serving, if he can produce any vacant Person richer than himself, and

(f) *Æschines* in *Timarchum*. (g) *Demosthenes* in *Midian*. (h) *Ibidem*. ibique *Ulpianus*. (i) *Ibidem*. (k) *Ibid*. (l) *Ibid*. (m) *Demosthenes* in *Corona*. (n) *Ibid*. (o) *Ibidem* in *Euergum & Mneshibudum*. (p) *Ibidem*. (q) *Ibidem* pro *Polycle*. (r) *Æschines* in *Ctesiphontem*.

if the Person produced confess he is more wealthy than the other, he shall be put into the other's Place among the *three hundred*; but if he denies it, let them change Estates (s). See as before, and in the following.

His House shall be seal'd up, who shall offer himself in the Exchange.

They who do quit their own Estates for those of their Neighbours, shall be oblig'd by Oath to discover them in this Form.

I'll fairly and honestly make known the Estimate of all my Possessions, except such as consist in those Silver Mines, which the Laws exact no Duties from.

Three Days shall be allow'd for those, who are to make Exchange of their Estates, to produce them.

No one shall be compell'd to exhibit his Estate, which lies in Mines.

Laws about the Refusal of Offices.

NO Man shall be oblig'd to two Offices at the same Time (t).

No Man, except the *Archons*, shall be excus'd from the *Trierarchship* (u). See Book I. Chap. xiv.

No one shall be exempted from contributing to the Assessment for the levying of Soldiers (w).

Laws concerning Honours to be conferr'd on those, who have deserv'd well of the Commonwealth.

NO Person shall be entertain'd in the *Prytaneum* oftener than once (x). See Book I. Chap. xxv.

He, who shall be invited, and refuse to come, shall be fin'd (y).

They, who are entertain'd in the *Prytaneum*, shall have *Maxa*, and on Festivals, Bread (z). See as before, and in the following Laws.

All Crowns, if presented by the People, shall be given in the popular Assembly; if by the *Senators*, in the *Senate*, and in no other Place shall they present (a).

None, except the whole Body of the *Senate*, and popular Assembly, with particular *Tribes*, or *Boroughs*, shall be privileg'd to confer Crowns.

No *Tribes*, or *Borough*, may presume on the Authority of bestowing Crowns in the *Theatre*, upon any of their own Members; if they do, the Crier that proclaims them shall be (*ἀτιμῶς*) infamous.

No Citizen shall have a (*ἑνὸς σίματος*) Hospital Crown given him in the *Theatre*, without the People's Consent; when given, it shall be consecrated to *Minerva*.

Every one, who is honour'd with an Hospital Crown, shall bring Certificates of a regular and sober Life.

(s) Demosthen. in Leptin. & in sequentibus. (t) Demosthen. pro Polycle. (u) Idem in Leptin. (w) Ibidem ibique Ulpianus. (x) Plutarchus Solone. (y) Ibid. (z) Albenus, lib. IV. (a) Conf. Aeschinē in Ctesiphontem, & in sequent.

No one of the wealthy *Citizens*, except he be of the Kindred of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, or an *Archon*, shall claim Immunity from serving in publick Offices; from this Time hereafter the People shall gratify no one with such an Exemption; but he, who supplicates for it, shall be (ἀτίμητος) *infamous*, together with all his House and Family, and shall be liable to the Action of ῥαφή and ἑδούκη, by which, if convicted, he shall suffer the same Fate with those, who, tho' indebted to the Publick, officiate as Judges *. *This Law was enacted by Leptines in the first Year of the CVIth Olympiad, and abrogated in the Year following at the Instance of Demosthenes.*

Honours conferr'd by the People shall stand good; but with this Proviso, that if the Persons so dignified prove, after Examination, to be unworthy of them, they shall be void †.

Laws relating to the Gymnasia.

NO School shall be open'd before Sun-rising, or kept open after Sun-set.

None, except the School-master's Sons, and Nephews, and Daughter's Husbands shall be permitted Entrance into School, if beyond the customary Age for sending Youth thither, whilst the Lads are in it; to the Breach of this Law, the Penalty of Death is annex'd.

No School-master shall give any adult Person Leave to go to *Mercury's Festival*; if he transgresses herein, and do not thrust him out of the School, the Master shall suffer according to the Law enacted against the Corrupter of free-born Children.

Let all *Choragi*, elected by the People, be above forty Years of Age (b). *All these Laws were design'd as a Guard to the Boys Chastity. See Book II. Chap. xx. in Ἐγκύκλιος.*

No Slave shall presume to anoint, or perform Exercises in the *Palæstra* (c). *See Book I. Chap. x.*

Laws relating to Physicians and Philosophers.

NO Slave, or Woman, shall study, or practise *Physick* (d). *See concerning this, and the next Law, Book IV. Chap. xiv.*

All free-born Women have the Liberty to learn and practise *Physick*.

Let no one teach *Philosophy* (e). *This Law was made when the thirty Tyrants had the Dominion of Athens, and abrogated upon their Expulsion.*

No one is to keep a *Philosophy School*, unless by the Senate and People's Approbation; he that doth otherwise shall be put to Death (f). *This was enacted by Sophocles the Son of Amphiclides the Sunian, about the third Year of the CXVIIIth Olympiad, but in a short Time abrogated, and a Fine of five Talents was impos'd upon Sophocles, at the Instance of Philo.*

* Demosthenes in *Leptin*. † Ibid. & istius Orat. Argumentum. (b) *Æschines* in *Timarchum*. (c) Ibidem. (d) *Hyginus Fab. CCLXXIV*. (e) *Xenophon. Ανόμνημα. lib. I.* (f) *Diogenes Laertius Theophrasto.*

Laws concerning Judges.

AFTER a Magistrate's Determination, Appeal may be made to the Courts of Justice (a). *One of Solon's Laws. See Book I. Chap. xx.*

They who are degraded from the Senate, may sit as Judges in the Courts. *Another of Solon's Laws. See as before.*

All the Athenians shall be capable of being appointed by Lots to judge in the several Courts of Justice (b). *Another of Solon's Laws. See as before.*

The Protestation of the Heliastæ I omit, as before treated of. *Book I. Chap. xxi.*

Of Laws relating to Law-Suits.

LET the Bailiff, or Person that arrests, be registered (c). *See Book I. Chap. xxi.*

Whosoever doth not appear on the Day appointed for the Trial of his Cause, shall suffer for this Remissness by an Action called *Δίκη ἑψημῆ*, and be fin'd a thousand Drachms; but if a just Excuse be brought for his staying away, his Punishments shall be redress'd by another Action call'd *Μηδία*, or the annulling of the former (d). *See Book I. Chap. xxi.*

Laws respecting Preparatories to Judgments.

THE Archons shall propose Questions to both Parties, to which they shall answer (e). *See as before, and in the following Laws.*

The Plaintiff shall promise upon Oath, that he will prosecute the Action, if he has his Evidences and all Things in Order; but if not, he shall demand Time for providing and preparing them (f).

The Archons shall summon the contending Parties to make their Appearance, and introduce them into the Court (g).

Let the Judges be elected by Lots (h).

No Judge shall give Sentence the same Day in two different Courts (i).

A Form of the Oath taken by Judges after Election.

I'LL shew Equity in all Causes, and my Judgment shall be agreeable to the Laws, in those Things which are determined by them; in the rest my Sentence shall, as near as may be, agree with Justice (k).

(a) Plutarchus Solone. (b) Demosthenis Orat. I. in Aristogit. Aristophanis Scholias in Plutum. (c) Demosthenes in Midiam. (d) Ibidem. (e) Isæus de hæred. Philostemonis. (f) Demosthenes in Midiam. (g) Demosthenes in Olympiodorum. (h) Idem Orat. I. in Aristogit. (i) Demosthenes & Ulpianus in Timocratea. (k) Pollux, lib. VIII. cap. 10.

Laws referring to Judgments.

EVERY Judge shall put down the Heads of those Suits he is to determine, in his Table Book (l). See as before, and in the following Laws.

His Cause shall be overthrown, who runs away for Fear (m).

Criminals have Liberty of making their own Defence (n).

No Slave shall plead in any Cause (o).

The Crier shall pronounce Verdict against the Party; into whose Urn the greater Number of Pebbles bor'd with Holes are cast; and on his Side, to whom the whole ones belong (p).

When, on both Sides, there shall be an equal Share of Votes, the Prisoner shall be acquitted (q).

Let there be a Number of Urns, or Vote-boxes, equal to the Number of those, who hold the Contest (r).

The Judges shall propose such and such Penalties; the Defendant also shall offer to their Consideration such a Punishment, as himself shall think reasonable; after which, the whole Matter shall be committed to the Judges Determination (s).

The Court shall not sit after Sun-set (t).

If any one hath brib'd the *Helicæan* Court, or any other Court of Judicature among the *Athenians*, or hath call'd a *Senate*, or enter'd into Conspiracy, in order to overturn the popular Government; if any Lawyer hath been greas'd in the Fist to carry on any publick or private Cause, he shall be liable to be indicted before the *Thesmothetæ*, by the Action call'd *Γραφή* (u).

All private Bargains, that are struck up between Parties before Witnesses, shall stand good in Law (w).

Don't make any Covenant or Bargain contrary to the Laws (x).

There shall be no After-wranglings rais'd concerning these Things, which have been once agreed (y).

Any Man shall be permitted to non-suit his Adversary, if the Action laid against him be not entered (z).

They who receive Damages, may prosecute within five Years (a).

There may be Actions enter'd about Contracts made out of *Asiæ*, or Wares exported out of it to any other Place (b).

Laws concerning Arbitrators.

PEOPLE that have any Law-suit about private Matters, may choose any Arbitrator, but so as to stand to his definitive Sentence, whatsoever it is (c).

(l) *Hesychius* v. Δία, πινυλὸς ἀγίλος. (m) *Demosth.* in *Olympiodorum*. (n) *Plato* *Socratis Apologia*. (o) *Terentius Phorm.* Act. I. Sc. II. (p) *Æschines* in *Timarchum*. (q) *Euripidis Electra* v. 1265. (r) *Demosthenes* in *Macart.* (s) *Ulpianus* in *Symonem*. Cicero lib. I. de Oratore. (t) *Stobæus* Ser. I. (u) *Demosthenes* Orat. I. in *Steph.* de fals. Test. (w) *Idem* in *Phanip.* (x) *Aristotelis Rhet.* lib. I cap. 25. (y) *Demosthenes* in *Pantænetum*. (z) *Demosthenes* Orat. I. in *Stephanum* de fals. Test. (a) *Idem* pro *Phormione*. (b) *Ibidem*. (c) *Demosthenes* *Midiana*.

Such *Arbitrators* are to swear before Verdict given (d).

The *Arbitrators* are to wait for the Plaintiff's Appearance till Sunset, and then, in Case he don't appear, shall inflict such a Penalty as shall be convenient (e).

It is lawful to make Appeal from *Arbitrators* chosen by Lots, to other Courts of Justice (f). See Book I. Chap. xxii.

A Law about Oaths.

OATHS shall be attested by three Gods, *Ἰσίοις*, or the Suppliant's President, *Καθάρου*, the Purifier, *Ἐλευθερίου*, the Dispeller of Danger, or Evil (g). See Book II. Chap. vi.

Laws treating of Witnesses.

THEIR Evidence shall not be taken, who are *Ἄριστοι* (h).

No Slaves shall appear as *Evidences* (i). See Book I. Chap. xi.

No one shall be *Evidence* for himself, either in judicial Actions, or rendering up Accounts (k). See Book I. Chap. xxi. and in some of the following Laws.

Both Plaintiff and Defendant are obliged to answer each other's Questions, but their Answers shall not pass for Evidence *.

There shall be no Constraint for Friends and Acquaintance, if contrary to their Wills, to bear Witness one against another *.

Let the Penalty of the Action call'd *ῥυδαμασιπία* be in Force against those who bear, or suborn false Witnesses *.

Evidence shall be declared in Writing *.

Witnesses, being once sworn, shall by no Means draw back from what they are to attest. See as before, and in the following.

Eye-witnesses shall write down what they know, and read it (l).

His Evidence shall suffice, that can give his *ἄνοιαν*, or what he heard from a Person deceased; or *ἰσχυρίσθαι*, i. e. an Attestation received from one gone to travel, supposing the Traveller hath no Possibility of returning (m).

That *Witness* who declines his Evidence, shall be fin'd a *Drachm* (n).

One, cited for a *Witness*, shall either give in his Evidence, swear he knows nothing of it, or incur a Mule of a thousand *Drachms* to be paid to the publick Exchequer (o).

Let contesting Parties, if they will, make Use of the *ῥυδαμασιπία* (p). See as before.

False *Witnesses* shall be prosecuted with the Action call'd *Δίκη ῥυδαμασιπῶν*. He that suborn'd them with *Δίκη κἀνδύχων* (u). See Book I. Chap. xxiv.

(d) Idem in Callippum. (e) Ulpianus in Midianam. (f) Lucianus Abdicato.
(g) Pollux, lib. VIII. cap. 12. Hesychius v. Κοτὶ Δεοί. (h) Demosth. in Nearari.
(i) Terentius Phorm. Act. I. Sc. II. (k) Demosthenes in Stephanum de falsa Test. Orat. II. * Ibidem Orat. I. (l) Demosthenes in Stephan. Orat. II. (m) Ibidem. (n) Idem in Timotheum. (o) Ibidem, Suidas, Harpocration. (p) Demosthenes in Leobærem.
(u) Idem in Euergetum & Mnesibulum.

Laws touching Judgments already past.

THERE shall be no renewing of any Thing dispatch'd by Judges either in publick or private Matters, or by the People according to the Enactions of the Decrees: there shall be likewise no suffraging and impeaching any one contrary to the Prescription of the Laws (w).

All Judgments or Verdicts whatsoever, deliver'd by the Judges in the popular State, shall stand good, but all Acts and Decrees, that are made under the *thirty Tyrants*, shall be void (x).

Laws concerning Punishments.

THE Judges are not to proceed so strictly, as that corporal and pecuniary *Punishments* shall be inflicted at one and the same Time (y).

They, who run into Errors unwittingly, shall not be arraign'd in the publick Court, but some adhortatory Lessons of their Duty are to be privately inculcated (z).

The most sufficient and wealthiest of the *Athenians* shall be exil'd by *Ostracism* for ten Years, lest they should rise up and rebel (a). See Book I. Chap. xxv.

No one is to harbour an *Exile*: He that doth, is to participate the same Fate with him (b).

Let both Delinquent and Abettor receive *Punishments* alike (c).

He that professeth himself guilty, before Arraignment, shall be condemned (d).

Criminals, who have been fin'd, shall be obliged to pay from the very Day the Fine was due, whether they are registered in the Debt-book or no: And he that doth not make Payment, within the ninth *Prytany*, shall be obliged to pay double (e).

No one indebted to the City shall enter on any Office (f).

That Man, who being indebted to the City, hath been convicted of making an Oration to the People, shall be the *Eleven* (g).

Debtors to the City, till they have clear'd off all, shall be (*ἀνακρίων*) *infamous*; but if they die, not having fully discharged their Debts, their Heirs shall be *infamous*, till they make Satisfaction (h).

After Payment is made, the Debtor's Name shall be erased out of the Debt-book (i).

Three Parts of the Debtor's Goods, which are forfeited to the Exchequer, shall fall to any private Person that informs against him (k).

Let those, who are Debtors to the Publick, and have not their Names enroll'd, be sued by the Action call'd *ἑνδελικία* (l).

(w) Idem in *Timocratem*. (x) Ibidem. (y) Idem. (z) Plato *Apologia Socratis*. (a) Plutarchus in *Pericle*. (b) Demosthenes in *Polyclem*. (c) Andocides in *Myseris*. (d) Demosthenes in *Timocratem*. (e) Libanius Argumento Orat. in *Aristogit.* & in *Androt.* (f) Idem Argumento *Androtianæ*. (g) Dinarchus in *Aristogit.* (h) Libanius Argumento Orat. in *Aristogit.* Ulpianus in *Timocrate*. (i) Demosthenes in *Theocrinem*. (k) Idem in *Nicostratem*. (l) Idem in *Theocrinem*.

They who have been unjustly registered as Debtors, shall be struck out, and their Names, who registered them, be put in their Place (a).

If any Debtor shall be blotted out of the *Albe*, or Register, before he hath discharged his Debt, let the Action, call'd *Αγράφιος*, be brought against him in the Court of the *Thesmotheta* (b). See Book I. Chap. xxiii.

Whosoever hath been branded with *Infamy*, before *Solon's Archonship*, shall be re-privileged, except those whom the *Areopagites*, *Ephetae*, or *Prytanes* have banish'd, by the Appeal of the *Βασιλεύς*, for Murther, Burglary, or Treason, when this Law was promulg'd (c). One of *Solon's Laws*.

No Intercession shall be made for any disfranchised Person, nor for any one indebted to the publick Exchequer or the Gods, towards the investing the former with his Privileges, and erasing the latter's Name out of the Debt-book, unless the *Athenian People*, by six thousand private Votes, permit it. If any one puts up an Address to the *Senate*, or People for them, whom the Judges, *Senate*, or People have already cast, or the Debtor supplicate for himself before Payment be made, let the Writ call'd *Ενδούξες* be issued out against him after the same Manner, as against those, who, tho' indebted, presume to act as Judges; if any other Body, before Restitution of the Debt be made, intercede for the Debtor, let all his Goods be exposed to Sale; and if a *Proedrus* give a Debtor, or any other Person on this Account, leave to propose the Petition to be voted before Accounts be made up, he shall be *Ατιμω* (d).

Laws referring to Receivers of publick Revenues, the Exchequer, and Money for Shows.

THE *Senate* of five hundred shall put such, as farm the publick Revenues, and are negligent to pay their Rent, in the *Stocks* (e).

If the abovemention'd Officers don't bring in their Rents before the ninth *Prytany*, they shall pay double (f).

If they do not give Security to the Publick, let their Goods be confiscated (g).

They who are entrusted with Money for the carrying on of religious Affairs, shall render it up in the *Senate*; which, if they neglect, they shall be proceeded against in the same Manner as they, who farm the publick Revenues (h).

They who employ the publick Stock a whole Year for their own Use, shall be obliged to restore double; and they who continue thus squandering another Year, shall be clapp'd into Gaol until Payment be made (i).

A thousand Talents are yearly to be laid by for the defending of *Attica* against foreign Invasions, which Money, if any Person propose to lay out on any other Design he shall suffer Death (k).

At the Eruption of any sudden War, Soldiers shall be paid out of the Remainder of the Money design'd for Civil Uses (l).

(a) Idem Orat. I. in *Aristogit*. (b) Idem in *Theocrinem*. (c) *Plutarchus* solent. (d) *Demosthenes* *Timocratea*. (e) *Andocides* de *Mysteriis*. (f) *Demosthenes* in *Timocratem*. (g) *Demosthenes* *Nicostrat*. (h) Idem in *Timocratem*. (i) *Anonymus* argumento *Timocratea*. (k) *Andocides* de pace *Laced*. (l) *Demosthenes* in *Neeram*.

If any one proposes, that the Soldiers Pay should be taken out of the Money design'd for the Exhibition of Shows, he shall be put to Death (m). *This Law was enacted by Eubulus, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty. See Book I. Chap. xiv.*

Laws about Limits and Land-marks.

IF there be a publick Well within the Space of an *Hippicum*, any one may make use of that; but otherwise, every Person shall dig one of his own (n). *One of Solon's Laws, to prevent Contentions about Water, which was very scarce in Attica.*

If any one digs a Well near another Man's Ground, he must leave the Space of an *Opyvā* betwixt it and his Neighbour's Inclosure (o). *Another of Solon's Laws.*

He that digs a Well ten *Opyvā* deep, and finds no Spring, may draw twice a Day out of his Neighbour's six Vessels of Water call'd *Kōs* (p). *Another of Solon's Laws.*

Let him, who digs a Ditch, or makes a Trench nigh another's Land, leave so much Distance from his Neighbour, as the Ditch, or Trench is deep (q). *Another of Solon's Laws.*

If any one makes a Hedge near his Neighbour's Ground, let him not pass his Neighbour's Land-mark; if he builds a Wall, he is to leave one Foot betwixt him and his Neighbour; if an House, two (r). *This was also enacted by Solon.*

He that builds a House in a Field, shall have it a Bow-shot from his Neighbour (s). *This was also enacted by Solon.*

He who keeps a Hive of Bees, must place them three hundred Feet from his Neighbour's (t). *Another of Solon's Laws.*

Olive and Fig-trees must be plant'd nine Feet from another's Ground, but other Trees, five (u). *This was likewise one of Solon's Laws. The Trees here mention'd are said to spread their Roots wider than others.*

If any one plucks up the sacred Olive-trees at Athens, besides the two yearly allow'd to be used at the publick Festivals or Funerals, he shall pay an hundred *Drachms* for every one unlawfully pull'd up, the tenth Part of which Fine shall be due to *Minerva*. The same Offender shall also pay an hundred to any private Person, who shall prosecute him; the Action shall be brought before the *Archons*, where the Prosecutor shall deposit *Παρὰν*. The Fine laid upon the convicted Criminal, the *Archons*, before whom the Action is brought, shall give an Account of to the *Πρόξενος*; and of that Part, which is to be deposited in *Minerva's* Treasury, to her *Quæstors*, which, if they don't, themselves shall be liable to pay it (w).

(m) *Ulpianus in Olynthiac.* (n) *Plutarchus Solone.* (o) *Gajus lib. IV. ad Leg. XII. Tab.* (p) *Plutarchus Solone.* (q) *Plutarchus & Gajus locis cit.* (r) *Gajus loc. cit.* (s) *Eclogæ Βασιλικῶν.* (t) *Plutarchus Solone.* (u) *Plutarchus & Gajus ibid.* (w) *Demosthenes in Macar.*

Laws respecting Lands, Herds, and Flocks.

MEN shall not be permitted to purchase as much Land as they desire (x). One of Solon's Laws, design'd to prevent Men from growing too great and powerful.

All wild Extravagants and Spend-thrifts, who lavishly run out the Estates left them by their Fathers, or others, shall be *Ἀνιστοί*. Another of Solon's Laws (y).

Any one, who brings an *He-Wolf*, shall have five *Drachms*, and for a *She-Wolf*, one (z). One of Solon's Laws, in whose Time Attica was infested with Wolves.

No one shall kill an Ox which labours at the Plough. An old Law (a). See Book II. Chap. iv.

No Man shall kill a Lamb of a Year old. No Man shall kill an Ox. These Laws were enacted, when those Animals were scarce in Attica (b).

Hurt no living Creatures. One of Triptolemus's Laws (c).

Laws relating to Buying and Selling.

IF any Person sues for the Title of Land, he shall prosecute the Possessors with the Action call'd *δική κατὰ πόλιν*; if of an House, with a *δική ἐν οἴκῳ* (d). See Book I. Chap. xxiv.

There shall be no Cheating among the Market Folks (e).

That Fishmonger shall incur Imprisonment, who shall over-rate his Fish, and take less than he first proffer'd them for (f).

Fishmongers shall not lay their stinking Fish in Water, thereby to make it more vendible (g).

Laws appertaining to Usury and Money.

A Banker shall demand no more Interest-Money, than what he agreed for at first (h).

Let *Usurers* Interest-Money be moderate (i).

No Body, who hath put in Surety for any Thing, may sue for it, he or his Heirs (k).

Pledges and Sureties shall stand for one Year (l).

No one to clear his Debt shall make himself a Slave (m). One of Solon's Laws.

He who does not pay what has been adjudged in due Time, shall have his House rifled (n).

The Fine ensuing the Action, call'd *ἑξήκοντα*, shall go to the Publick (o).

(x) *Aristotelis Polit. lib. II. cap. 8.* (y) *Diog. Laertius, Æschines in Timarchum.*
(z) *Plutarchus Solone.* (a) *Ælianus Var. Hist. lib. I. cap. 14.* (b) *Athenæus, lib. I. & IX. Eustatius in Iliad. 4.* (c) *Porphyrius περὶ ἀποχ. Hieronymus in Jovin. lib. II.* (d) *Lysias in Demostib. Curat.* (e) *Demosthenes Leptinea.* (f) *Alexis Comicus Lebetes.* (g) *Xenarchus περὶ ψύγα.* (h) *Lysias Orat. I. in Theomnestrum.* (i) *Ulpianus in Timocrateam extrem.* (k) *Demosthenes in Soudiam.* (l) *Demosthenes in Apaturium.* (m) *Plutarchus Solone.* (n) *Ulpianus in Midianam.* (o) *Demosthenes Midiana.*

An hundred Drachms shall go to a $\mu\alpha$ *. One of Solon's Laws, who regulated the Athenian Weights and Measures.

All Counterfeiters, Debasers, and Diminishers of the current Coin, shall lose their Lives †. This Law obtained in most Cities.

Let no Athenian, or Sojourner, lend Money to be exported, unless for Corn, or some such Commodity allowable by Law.

He who sends out Money for other Uses shall be brought before the Masters of the Custom-house, and prosecuted by an Action call'd $\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, after the Manner of them who are caught transporting Corn unlawfully; let such an one have no Writ or Warrant permitted him against the Person to whom he lent Money, neither shall the Archons let him enter any Trial in the Judicial Courts (p).

Laws about Wares to be imported to, or exported from Athens.

ALL Olives are exportable, but other Fruits are not; so that the Archon shall openly curse the Persons that exported them, or else be amerced in an hundred Drachms. This Law was enacted by Solon, by reason of the Barrenness of Attica (q). The Conquerors in the Games on the Panathenæan Festivals were excepted (r).

Figs are restrain'd by Law from Exportation (s). See Book I. Chap. xxi.

If any Athenian Factor, or Merchant, convey Corn any where else than to Athens, the Action call'd $\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is to be brought against him, and the Informer shall claim half the Corn (t).

He who impleads a Merchant on slight Grounds, shall have both the Actions of $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\iota\kappa\eta$ and $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$ brought against him (u).

He shall be fin'd a thousand Drachms, and wholly debarr'd from issuing out the Action of $\gamma\epsilon\alpha\phi\eta$, $\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$, $\epsilon\phi\eta\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$, who shall desist from the Prosecution of any Merchant accused by him, or doth not require the fifth Part of the Suffrages (w).

Let no Inhabitant of Athens buy more Corn than fifty Phormi will contain (x).

No one shall export Wool, or Pitch (y). These were necessary towards the Building of Ships.

All Controversies and Compacts, made by Bonds between Mariners, either sailing for Athens, or bound elsewhere, shall be brought under the Cognizance of the *Thesmothetæ*; if any Mariners, in any of the Ports, bound to Athens, or for any other Place, are found guilty of Injustice, they shall be clapp'd into Custody till the Fine, which shall be imposed on them, is paid; any of them may non-suit his Adversary, if he be legally prosecuted (z).

No Watermen and Masters of Ships shall carry Passengers any where else, than they agreed at first.

* Plutarchus Solone. † Demosthenes Leptinea & Timocratea. (p) Demosthenes in Loricium. (q) Plutarchus Solone. (r) Pindari Scholiastes Nem. Od. x. (s) Aristophanis Scholiastes in Plutum. (t) Demosthenes Timocratea. (u) Idem in Theocrinem. (w) Ibidem. (x) Lyfias frumenti emptores. (y) Aristophanis Schol. in Equite. (z) Argumentum Orat. Demosthenis in Xenobemin.

Laws respecting Arts.

ANY one may accuse another of Idleness *. *This Law is ascrib'd to Draco, Solon, and Pisistratus.*

No Man shall have two Trades †.

No Man shall sell Perfumes. *One of Solon's Laws (x).*

Foreigners shall not be privileged to sell Wares in the Market, or profess any Calling (y).

Any one may bring an Action of Slander against him, who disparages, or ridicules any Man or Woman for being of a Trade (z). *See Book I. Chap. viii.*

He who, by his Profession, gets best Repute, and is reckon'd the most ingenious in his Way, shall have his Diet in the *Prytaneum*, and be honour'd with the highest Seat (a).

That *Ferryman* shall be prohibited the Exercise of his Employ, who overturns his Boat, tho' unwillingly, in passing over to *Salamis* (b).

Laws concerning Societies, with their Agreements.

IF *Fellow-Burgeses*, those of the same *Φερέλια*, those who are occupied in the same Sacerdotal Function, viz. the *ἱερείαι*, *Θιασώται*, or they who diet together, have equal Claim to the same Burying-place, travel together for the Buying of Corn and other Traffick, if any of these Persons make any *Bargains* not inconsistent with the Laws, they shall stand good (c).

If any one recede from a *Promise*, made to the *Commons*, *Senate*, or *Judges*, he shall be proceeded against with the Action call'd *Εισαγγελία*, and, if found guilty, be punish'd with Death (d).

He, that doth not stand to an Engagement made publickly, shall be (*ἀτιμῶς*) infamous (e).

He, his Heirs, and all who belong to him shall be *ἄτιμοι*, who hath receiv'd Bribes himself, tamper'd others with them, or us'd any other insinuating Artifice to the Prejudice of the State (f).

He who, being in a publick Office, receives Bribes, shall either lose his Life, or make Retribution of the Bribes ten-fold (g).

Laws belonging to Marriages.

NO Man shall have above one Wife (b). *One of Cecrops's Laws.*

See Book I. Chap. ii. and Book IV. Chap. xi.

No *Athenian* is to marry any other than a Citizen. *See Book IV. Chap. xi. as before.*

If an *Heiress* is contracted lawfully in full *Marriage* by a Father, Brother by Father's Side, or Grand-fire, it is lawful to procreate with her

* *Plutarchus.* † *Demosthenes & Ulpianus Timocratea.* (x) *Athenæus lib. XIII. & XV.* (y) *Demosthenes in Eubulidem.* (z) *Ibidem.* (a) *Aristophanes Ranis.* (b) *Æschines in Ctesiphont.* (c) *Gajus lib. IV. ad Leg. XII. Tab.* (d) *Demosthenes Leptinea.* (e) *Dinarchus in Philoclem.* (f) *Demosthenes Midiana.* (g) *Dinarchus in Demosthenem.* (h) *Athenæus, lib. XIII.*

freeborn Children; but if she be not betroth'd, those Relations being dead, and she consequently an Orphan, let her marry whom the Law shall appoint; but supposing she is no Heiress, and but low in the World, let her choose whom she pleases *.

If any one marry a Stranger, as his Kinswoman, to an Athenian Citizen, he shall be Ἀτιμῶν, his Goods publish'd to Sale, the Thirds of which shall fall to the Impeacher, who shall make him appear before the *Thesmothetæ*, after the Manner of those, who are prosecuted with the Action of *Εὐία* (i).

A Stranger, that settles with a Citizen-Woman, may be sued by any one empower'd thereto, in the Court of the *Thesmothetæ*, where, if the Law goes against him, he shall be sold, and the third Part of what he is sold for, and of his Estate, shall be given to the Accuser; in the same Manner foreign Women shall be dealt with, who marry freed Men, and beside that, a Man shall forfeit a thousand Drachms (k).

No Athenian Woman shall marry herself to an exotick Family (l).

Any one may make a Sister, by Father's Side, his Wife (m). See Book IV. Chap. xi.

No Heiress must marry out of her Kindred, but shall resign up herself and Fortune to her nearest Relation (n).

Every Month, except in that call'd *Συγχοροποιῶν*, the Judges shall meet to inspect into those who are design'd for Heiresses Husbands, and shall put them by as incapacitated, who cannot give sufficient Credential of their Alliance by Blood (o). See Book IV. Chap. xv.

If any one sues another by a Claim to the Heiress, he must deposit *παράκαταβολήν*, or the tenth Part of her Portion, and he, who enjoys her, shall lay his Case open to the *Archon*; but in Case he makes no Appeal, his Right of Inheritance shall be cut off; if the Heiress's Husband, against whom the Action is brought, be dead, the other, within such Time as the Nature of the Thing doth require, shall make an Appeal to the *Archon*, whose Business it is to take Cognizance of the Action (p).

If a Father bury all his Sons, he may entail his Estate on his married Daughters (q).

If an Heiress cannot conceive Children by her Husband, she may seek Aid among the nearest of her Husband's Relations (r). One of Solon's Laws. See Book IV. Chap. xi.

All Men are oblig'd to lie with their Wives, if Heiresses, three Nights, at least, in a Month (s).

He, that ravishes a Virgin, shall be oblig'd to marry her (t).

A Guardian shall not marry the Mother of those Orphans, with whose Estate he is entrusted (u). One of Solon's Laws. See Book I. Chap. x.

Slaves are allowed the Familiarity of Women (w).

* Demosthenes in *Stephanum Test.* (i) Idem in *Neeram.* (k) Ibidem. (l) Idem. & *Ulpianus Timocratea.* (m) *Cornelius Nepos Cimone.* (n) *Isæus de hæred. Aristarchi.* (o) *Demosthenes in Stephanum Testem.* (p) Idem in *Macart.* (q) *Isæus de hæred. Pyrrhi.* (r) *Plutarchus Solone.* (s) Ibidem. (t) Ibidem. *Hermogenis Scholiastes.* (u) *Laërtius Solone.* (w) *Plutarchus Amaterio.*

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When a new married Woman is brought to her Husband's House, she must carry with her a Φύλκρον, in Token of good Housewifery *. One of Solon's Laws. See Book IV. Chap. xi.

Let a Bride, at the first Bedding with her Bridegroom, eat a Quince †. Another of Solon's Laws. See as before.

Laws touching Dowries.

A Bride shall not carry with her to her Husband above three Garments, and Vessels of small Value (x). One of Solon's Laws. See Book IV. Chap. xi. and in the following.

They who are the next in Blood to an Orphan Virgin that hath no Fortune, shall marry her themselves, or settle a Portion on her according as they are in Quality; if of the Πεντακοσιμεδωναι, five hundred Drachms; if of the ἑπταμεδωναι, three hundred; if of the Ζωγίται, one hundred and fifty: But if she hath many Kindred equally ally'd, all of them severally shall put in a Contribution, till they make up their respective Sum; if there be many Orphan Virgins, their nearest Relation shall either give in Marriage, or take one of them to Wife; but if he doth neither, the Archon shall compel him; but if the Archon does connive at the Neglect, he himself shall be fin'd a thousand Drachms to be consecrated to Juno. Whoever breaks this Law shall be indicted by any Person before the Archon (y).

That Woman, who brings her Husband a Fortune, and lives in the same House with her Children, shall not claim Interest-Money, but live upon the common Stock with her Children (x).

An Heire's Son, when come to Man's Estate, shall enjoy his Mother's Fortune, and keep her (a).

He, that promises to settle a Dowry on a Woman, shall not be forced to stand to it, if she dies without Heirs (b).

Laws referring to Divorces.

HE, who divorceth his Wife, must make Restitution of her Portion, or pay in Lieu of it nine Oboli every Month; her Guardian otherwise may prosecute him in the Odeum, with the Action called αἰρεσις, for her Maintenance (c).

If a Woman forsake her Husband, or he put away his Wife, he, who gave her in Marriage, shall exact the Dowry given with her, and no more (d).

That Woman who hath a Mind to leave her Husband, must give in a Separation-Bill to the Archon, with her own Hand, and not by a Proxy (e). See Book IV. Chap. xii.

* Pollux, lib. 1. cap. 12. † Plutarchus Solone. (x) Plutarchus Solone. (y) Demosthenes in Macarte. (z) Idem in Phanippum. (a) Idem in Steph. Testem. (b) Isæus de hæred. Pyrrbi. (c) Demosthenes in Neæram. (d) Isæus de hæred. Pyrrbi. (e) Plutarchus Alcibiade.

Laws relating to Adulterers.

HE, that deflowers a free Woman by Force, shall be fin'd an hundred *Drachms* *. *One of Solon's Laws.*

He, who in the same Manner, violates a young Maiden's Chastity, shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms* †.

He, that catches an *Adulterer* in the Fact, may impose any arbitrary Punishment (f). *This Law was enacted by Draco, and afterwards was confirm'd by Solon. See Book IV. Chap. xiv.*

If any one is injuriously clapp'd up on Suspicion of *Adultery*, he shall make his Complaint by Appeal to the *Thesmothetæ*, which, if they find justifiable, he shall be acquitted, and his Sureties discharg'd from their Bail; but in Case he is brought in guilty, the Judges shall lay on him, Death only excepted, what Punishments they will, and he be forced to get Friends to pass their Word for his future Chastity (g).

If any one commit a Rape on a Woman, he shall be amerced twice as much as is usual otherwise (h).

No Husband shall have to do with his Wife any more after she hath defil'd his Bed, and her Gallant convicted; and, if he does not put her away, he shall be esteem'd *Atimæ*; hereupon she is prohibited coming to publick Temples, where, if she does but enter, any Man may inflict any Penalty, except Death (i).

No *Adulteress* shall be permitted to adorn herself; she, that doth, shall have her Garments cut or torn off her Back by any that meets her, and likewise be beaten, tho' not so as to be kill'd, or disabled (j). *One of Solon's Laws.*

No Woman, of innocent Conversation, shall appear abroad undressed: She, that doth, shall forfeit a thousand *Drachms* (k). *This was enacted by Philippides.*

Women are to forbid to travel with above three Gowns, or more Meat and Drink than they can purchase for an *Obolus*, neither shall they carry with them above an Hand-basket, or go out any where by Night but in a Chariot with a Lamp or Torch carry'd before it (m). *One of Solon's Laws.*

Laws relating to the Love of Boys, Procurers, and Strumpets.

NO Slave shall carefs or be enamour'd with a *free-born Youth*; he who is, shall receive publickly fifty Stripes (n). *See Book I. Chap. x. This is one of Solon's Laws.*

If any one, whether Father, Brother, Uncle, or Guardian, or any other, who hath Jurisdiction over a Boy, take Hire for him to be effeminately embraced; the catamited Boy shall have an Action issued out

* *Plutarch. Solone.* † *Hermogenis Scholiastes.* (f) *Lyfias de cæde Eratoſthenis.* (g) *Demosthenes in Nearam.* (h) *Lyfias de cæde Eratoſthenis.* (i) *Demosthenes in Nearam.* (k) *Æschines in Timarchum.* (l) *Harpocration.* (m) *Plutarchus Solone.* (n) *Ibidem, Æschines in Timarchum.*

against him, but the *Chapman* and *Pander* only, who are both to be punished after the same Manner; the Child, when grown up to Maturity of Age, shall not be obliged to keep his Father so offending; only, when dead, he shall bury him with Decency suitable to a Parent's Obsequies *. See Book I. Chap. ix.

If any one prostitute a Boy, or Woman, he shall be prosecuted with the Action call'd *γῆραφν*, and, if convicted, punish'd with Death †.

Any *Athenian*, empower'd so to do, may bring an Action against him who hath vitiated a Boy, Woman, or Man freeborn, or in Service, for the Determination of which, the *Thesmothetæ* are to create Judges to sit in the *Heliæa*; within thirty Days after the Complaint hath been brought before them, or, suppose any publick Concern hinders; as soon as Occasion will permit; if the Offender is cast, he shall immediately undergo the Punishment, whether corporal, or pecuniary, annex'd to his Offence; if he be sentenced to die, let him be deliver'd to the *Ἔδξα*, and suffer Death the same Day; if the vitiated Servant, or Woman, belong to the Prosecutor, and he let the Action fall, or doth not get the first Part of the Suffrages, he shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*; if the Criminal be only fin'd, let him pay within eleven Days at the farthest, after Sentence is pass'd; if it be a freeborn Person he hath vitiated, let him be kept in Bonds till Payment thereof (o).

He that hath prostituted himself for a *Catamite*, shall not be elected *Archon*, Priest, or *Syndick*; shall execute no Office, either within, or out of *Attica's* Boundaries, conferr'd by Lot, or Suffrage; he shall not be sent on an Ambassy, pass Verdict, set Footing within the publick Temples, be crown'd on solemn Days, or enter the *Forum's* purified Precincts; if any one is convicted of the above-mention'd Lasciviousness, by offending against this Law, he shall suffer Death (p).

Persons who keep Company with common *Strumpets*, shall not be accounted *Adulterers*, for such shall be in common for the satiating of Lust (q). See Book IV. Chap. xi. and in the following Laws.

Whores shall wear, as a Badge of Distinction, flower'd Garments (r).

Laws appointed for the Drawing up of Wills, and right Constitution of Heirs and Successors.

THE Right of Inheritance shall remain in the same Family (s). An old Law which was abrogated by Solon. See Book I. Chap. x.

Boys, or Women, are not to dispose by Will above a *Medimn* of Barley (t).

All genuine Citizens whose Estates were impair'd by litigious Suits when Solon enter'd the *Prætorship*, shall have Permission of leaving their Estates to whom they will, admit they have no Male-children alive, or themselves be not craz'd thro' the Infirmities of old Age, the Mi-

* Ibidem. † Ibidem. (o) Ibidem. Demosthen in Midiam. (p) Æschines in Timarchum. (q) Demosthen. in Neayom. Lysias in Theomn. sum Orat. I. (r) Suidas, Artemidorus lib. II. cap. 13. (s) Plutarchus Solone. (t) Isæus de hæred. Aristarchi.

fery of a Distemper, or the Enchantments of Witchcraft; or if they be not Hen-peck'd or forced to it by some unavoidable Necessity (u). See Book IV. Chap. xv.

The *Wills* of such as, having Children, yet dispose of their Estates, shall stand good, if the Children die before they arrive to Maturity (w).

Any one, tho' he hath Daughters alive, may give his Estate to another Body on this *Proviso*, that the Person enjoying it shall marry the Daughters (x).

Adopted Persons shall make no *Will*, but, as soon as they have Children lawfully begotten, they may return into the Family whence they were adopted; or if they continue in it to their Death, then they shall return back the Estates to the Relations of the Person that adopted (y). *One of Solon's Laws.*

All legitimate Sons shall have an equal Portion of their Father's Inheritance (z). See as before.

He that, after he hath adopted a Son, begets legitimate Children, shall share his Estate among the legitimate, and adopted (a).

The Estate of him that dies intestate, and leaves Daughters, shall come to those who marry them; but if there are no Daughters, these shall enjoy it, viz. his Brothers by the Father's Side, and their Sons; if he hath neither Brothers nor Nephews, then Males descended from them, tho' very far distant in Kindred; but if none of the Grand-children remain down to the second Cousins by the Man's Side, the Wife's Relations shall put in for the Inheritance; admit there are none living of either Side, they, who have the nearest Pretence to Kindred, shall enjoy it; as for Bastards, from *Euchides's Archonship*, they shall pretend no Right to Kindred; if there is a lawfully begotten Daughter, and an illegitimate Son, the Daughter shall have Preference in Right to the Inheritance, both in Respect of Divine and Civil Affairs (b).

No Bastard shall have left him above five *μναι* (c).

All the Year round, except in the Month *Συεβοφοριαν*, Legacies shall be examin'd by Law, so that no one shall enjoy any, till it has been assign'd by due Course of Law (d).

He that issues a Writ against one settled in an Inheritance, shall bring him before the *Archon*, and deposit *Παρακαταβολή*, as is usual in other Actions, for, unless he prosecutes the Enjoyer, he shall have no Title to the Estate; and if the immediate Successor, against whom the Action is brought, be dead, the other, within such a Time as the Nature of the Action doth require, shall make an Appeal to the *Archon*, whose Business it is to take Cognizance of this Action, as also it was of the former Action of the Man in Possession of the Estate (e).

Five Years being expir'd after the Death of the immediate Successor, the Estate is to remain secure to the deceased Person's Heirs, without being liable to Law-suits (f).

(u) Demosthen. in Stephanum, Testem. Orat. II. (w) Ibidem. (x) *Isæus* de hæred. Pyrrbi. (y) Demosthenes in Leucbarem. (z) *Isæus* de hæred. Philoſtemonis. (a) Ibidem. (b) Demosthen. in Macart. (c) Suidas. v. ἐπικληροί. (d) Demosthen. in Stephanum, Testem. Orat. II. (e) Idem in Macart. (f) *Isæus* de hæred. Pyrrbi.

Laws appertaining to Guardianship.

NO one can be another's *Guardian*, who is to enjoy the Estate after his Death (g). *One of Solon's Laws.*

Guardians shall let out their Pupils Houses (h): See Book I. Ch. xxiv.

The *Archons* shall be oblig'd to take Care of Orphans, Heireffes, decay'd Families, Women that remain in the Houses of their deceas'd Husbands, pretending to be with Child; and to protect them from Violence and Abuses: If any one is injurious or contumelious, the *Archon* shall fine him as far as the Limits of his Power extend; if the Offender herein transgress beyond his Commission of punishing, the *Archon*, having first impos'd upon him as he thinks fit, shall compel him at five Days Warning to make Appearance at the Court of *Helicaa*, where, if he be convicted, that Court shall impose on him arbitrarily either a pecuniary, or corporal Penalty (i).

No *Pupil*, after five Years Space, shall sue a *Guardian* for the Mismanagement of his Trust (k).

Laws about Sepulchres and Funerals.

LET the Dead be interr'd (l). *One of Cecrops's Laws. See Book IV. Chap. vi.*

No *Tomb* is to consist of more Work than ten Men can finish in three Days; neither is it to be erected archwise, or adorn'd with Statues (m). *One of Solon's Laws. See Book IV. Chap. vi.*

No *Grave* is to have over it, or by it, more than Pillars of three Cubits high, a Table, and *Labellum*, (or little Vessel to contain Victuals for the Ghost's Maintenance) (n). *This Law was enacted by Demetrius the Phalerean.*

He that defaceth a *Sepulchre*, or lays one of a different Family in that of another, breaks it, eraseth the Inscription, or beats down the Pillar, shall suffer condign Punishment (o). *One of Solon's Laws.*

No one shall come near another's *Grave*, unless at the Celebration of *Obsequies* (p). *One of Solon's Laws.*

The *Corps* shall be laid out at the Relations Pleasure, the next Day following, before Day-light, shall be the *Funeral* Proceffion, the Men shall proceed first, the Women after them; it's unlawful hereby for any Woman, if under therscore, and no Relation, to go where the mournful Solemnity is kept, or after the Burial is solemnized (q). *See Book IV. Chap. iv.*

Too great a Concourse of People is prohibited at *Funerals* (r).

Let not the *Corps* be buried with above three Garments (s). *One of Solon's Laws.*

Let no Women tear their Faces, or make Lamentations, or Dirges at *Funerals* (t). *Another of Solon's Laws. See Book IV. Chap. v.*

At every one's Death there shall be paid to the Priestesses of *Miner-*

(g) Laertius Solone. (h) Demosthen. in *Aphobum*. (i) Idem in *Macartatum*. (k) Idem in *Nausimachum*. (l) Cicero Lib. II. de *Legibus*. (m) Ibidem. (n) Ibidem. (o) Ibidem. (p) Plutarchus Solone. (q) Demosthenes in *Macart.* (r) Cicero de *Legibus*. (s) Plutarchus Solone. (t) Idem & Cicero.

pa, who is placed in the Citadel, a *Chenix* of Barley, the like of Wheat, and an *Obolus* (*u*). *This Law was enacted by Hippias.*

No Ox shall be offered to atone for, or appease the Ghost of the Deceased (*w*). *One of Solon's Laws. See Book IV. Chap. viii.*

Children and Heirs shall perform the accustom'd Rites of *Parentation* (*x*).

Slaves, when dead, shall not be *embalm'd*, or honour'd, with a *Funeral Banquet* (*y*). *See as before.*

Let there be no *Panegyrics*, unless at *Funerals* publickly solemnized, and then not spoken by Kindred, but one appointed by the Publick for that Purpose (*z*). *See as before.*

They, who fall in the Field, are to have *Obsequies* celebrated at the publick Charge (*a*). *See Book III. Chap. xi.*

Let the Father have the Privilege of giving that Son a *Funeral Entomium*, who dy'd valiantly in the Fight (*b*).

He shall have an annual *Harangue* spoken in his Honour on the Day he fell, who receives his Death with undaunted Prowess in the Battle's Front (*c*).

Let him, who accidentally lights on an *unburied* Carcass, cast Earth upon it, and let all Bodies be *buried* Westward (*d*). *See Book IV. Chap. i. and vii.*

Don't speak Evil of the *Dead*, no not though their Children provoke you (*e*). *One of Solon's Laws. See Book IV. Chap. i.*

Laws against Ruffians and Affassins.

THE *Areopagite-Senate* shall sit in Judgment upon Cases of wilful Murder, of Wounds given wilfully, setting Houses on Fire, or killing by Poison (*f*). *See Book I. Chap. xix.*

The *Affassin's Council* shall not make any preliminary Apology, use any Motives for the gaining of Compassion, or speak any Thing foreign to the Cause (*g*). *See as before.*

The *Thesmothetæ* shall punish Murders with Death (*h*).

The *Affassin* shall suffer Death in the *murder'd* Person's Country; and being hal'd away to the *Thesmothetæ*, according to the Appointment of the Law, he shall be liable to no other Violence or ill Usage, besides what his capital Punishment includes; no Body shall take Money for his Pardon; he that doth, shall pay double the Money he receiv'd of the Criminal, his Name likewise by any Body shall be carried into the *Archons*, but the *Heliastick Court* alone shall pass Judgment upon him (*i*). *One of Solon's Laws.*

If any one kills, or assists in killing a *Murderer* that abstains from the *Forum*, consecrated Places, publick Sports, and the *Amphictionick Festivals*, he shall undergo the Severity of the Law as much as if he had

(*u*) *Aristoteles Oecumen.* lib. II. (*w*) *Plutarchus Solone.* (*x*) *Demosthenes in Timocratem, Isæus de hæred. Cleonymi.* (*y*) *Cic. loc. cit.* (*z*) *Idem.* (*a*) *Thucydides lib. 2.* (*b*) *Polemo argumento τῶν ἐπιταφίων λόγων.* (*c*) *Cicero de Oratore.* (*d*) *Ælianûs Var. Hist. lib. V. cap. 14.* (*e*) *Plut. Solone.* (*f*) *Demosth. in Aristocratem.* (*g*) *Pollux lib. VIII. cap. 10.* (*h*) *Demosthenes in Aristocratem.* (*i*) *Ibidem.*

kill'd a Citizen of Athens. The *Epheta* are to take Cognizance of this Matter (k). *This relates to a Murderer uncondemn'd.*

One accus'd of Murder shall have nothing to do with City-privileges (l).

He, that puts him in Trouble, who was forced to make Flight out of Attica for Chance-medley, shall undergo the same Penalty with him, who doth the like to any Citizen of Athens (d).

He, who commits Chance-medley, shall fly his Country for a Year; till Satisfaction be made to the dead Person's Kindred; then he shall return Sacrifice, and be purified (e). *An ancient and celebrated Law.*

He shall not have an Action of Murder brought against him, who binds him over to his Appearance before the Magistrate, that return'd from Banishment before his limited Time is completed (f). *One of Draco's Laws.*

If any one hath unadvisedly given his Antagonist, in the Exercises, his Death, or kill'd by Chance a Man lying in Ambuscade, or being in the Brunt of an Engagement of War, or one debauching his Wife, Mother, Sister, Daughter, Miss, or the Nurse of his legitimate Children; let not such an one be banish'd (d). *See Book IV. Chap. xii.*

It shall be lawful to kill that Person, who shall make an Assault on the Innocent (e).

If any one, being banish'd for Chance-medley, shall have an Indictment of wilful Murder laid to his Charge, before he hath made up the Difference, with those who banish'd him, he shall make his Defence before the Court of *Proctores*, in a little Vessel, which shall not be permitted to come to Shore, but his Judges shall give Sentence on the Land; if he is cast, he shall answer Justice for wilful Murder; but, if absolved, shall only undergo the former Sentence of Banishment for Chance-medley (f). *See Book I. Chap. xx.*

If any Archon, or Man in private Capacity, is instrumental in the Depravation, or Repeal of these Statutes, let him and his Children be *ἀτιμοί*, and his Goods be sold (g).

It shall be lawful to hale a Murderer, if found in any religious Place, or the Forum, to Gaol; and, if he prove guilty, to put him to Death; but if the Committer of him to Gaol do not procure the fifth Part of the Votes, he shall be fin'd a thousand Drachms (h).

If any one comes to an untimely End, his nearest Relations may bring the Action of *Ἀνδοθήναι* against those People they suspect, either to be Abettors of the Murder, or Protectors of the Felon; and till such Time as these make Satisfaction, or surrender the Delinquent, the murder'd Man's Relations are privileged to seize three Men of their Body.

The Right of the Prosecution of Murderers belongs to the Kindred of the Murdered, Kinsfolks Children, their Sons-in-law, Fathers-in-law, Sisters Children, and those of the same *Φατρία*; the Murderers have Liberty granted of imploring the Father of the murder'd to be mild and favourable; but if he is not alive, then his Brother, or Sons all together shall be intreated; for, without the joint Consent of them

(k) Ibidem. (l) *Antipho de Choreuta*. (a) *Demosthenes in Aristocratem*. (b) Ibidem. *Euripidis Schol.* alique plures. (c) *Demosthenes in Aristocratem*. (d) Ibidem. (e) Ibidem. (f) Ibidem. (g) Ibidem. (h) Ibidem.

all, nothing shall prevail: If these foremention'd Persons are all dead, and the Death of the Person came by *Chance-medley*, according to the Determination of the fifty *Ephetae*, ten of the same *Φαρρία* may, if they think fit, convene, and delegate one and fifty out of the Nobility to the *Ephetae* *. All they, who were *Murderers* before the making of this Law, shall be subject to its Obligation. If any one hath been *murder'd* in any one of the *Boroughs*; and no Body removes him, the *Demarchus* shall give Orders to his Friends to take him away, bury him, and perform the Duty of *Lustration* toward the *Borough* that very Day on which he was kill'd; when a Slave is *murder'd*, he shall inform the Master; when a Freeman, the succeeding Heirs; but if the Person *murder'd* was not a money'd Man, or had no Possessions, the *Demarchus* shall acquaint the Relations; and supposing they give no Heed, and neglect to take him away, the *Demarchus* himself shall see him taken away, and buried, and take Care that the *Borough* be *lustrated*, but all this with as little Charges as may be; which, if he neglect, he shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*, to be paid to the publick Exchequer. He shall take of the *murder'd* Persons Debtors double the Money he expended for the Funeral, which, if he neglected, he shall pay it himself to those of his *Borough* (i).

He, who is *Felo de se*, shall have the Hand cut off, that did the *Murder*, which shall be buried in a Place separate from the Body (k).

No *Murderer* shall be permitted to be buried within the City (l).

Inanimate Things, which have been instrumental to People's Deaths, shall be cast out of *Attica* (m). One of *Draco's Laws*. See Book I. Ch. xx.

He, who strikes the first Blow in a Quarrel, shall be liable to the Action term'd, *αἰτιάσθαι* (n).

He, who hath maliciously hurt another's Body, Head, Face, Hands, or Feet, shall be proscrib'd the City of that Man to whom he offer'd the Detriment, and his Goods be confiscated; if he return, he shall suffer Death (o).

A Law relating to Accusations.

ANY one is permitted to inform against another, that hath done an Injury to a third Person (p). One of *Solon's Laws*.

Laws concerning Damages.

HE, who wilfully infers *Damage*, shall refund twice as much: He, who does it involuntarily, an Equivalent (q).

His Eyes shall be both pluck'd out, who hath blinded any one-eyed Person (r). One of *Solon's Laws*.

That Dog shall be tied up with a Chain four Cubits long, which hath bit any Body (s). Another of *Solon's Laws*.

Laws belonging to Theft.

HE, who steals, shall pay double the Value of the Thing he stole to the Owner, and as much to the publick Exchequer.

* Ibid. (i) Demosthenes in *Macartatum*. (k) Æschines in *Ctesiphontem*. (l) Suidas v. *ἰσχυρῶς*. (m) Æschines in *Ctesiphontem*. (n) Demosthenes *Ariftochrates*. (o) Lyfias pro *Callia*, in *Cimonem*. (p) Plotarchus *Solone*. (q) Demosthenes *Mediana*. (r) Laertius *Solone*. (s) Plotarchus *Solone*.

If any Body that had any Thing *stolen* from him, and has it restored, the *Thief*, with the Abettor, shall pay double the Value; but in Case the *Thief* do not make Restitution ten-fold, and be set in the *Stocks* five Days, and as many Nights, if the *Heliasts* so order it; this Order shall then be made, when they consider what Punishment to inflict upon him (i). *These two Laws were enacted by Solon.*

If any one hath *filch'd* away any Thing by Day, worth above fifty *Drachms*, let the Action call'd *Αναστροφή* be put in Execution against him before the *Eleven*; but if in the Night, any one hath Liberty to kill him, or, upon his making away to wound him, and to issue the same Action out against him; by which, if he be cast, he shall die without any Concession for Sureties, to put in Bail for the Restitution of the *stolen Goods*. He, farther, that shall *purfer* out of the *Lyceum*, *Academia*, *Cynosarges*, or any of the *Gymnasias*, any Thing of the least Value, as a Garment, Oil-vial, &c. or above ten *Drachms* out of the *Baths*, or *Ports*, shall suffer Death (u).

He, that puts a Man in Prison for *Thievery*, and cannot prove it upon him, shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms* (w).

All *Cut-purses*, *Burglars*, and *Kidnappers*, if convicted, shall suffer Death (x).

He, who makes Search after *Thieves* in another's House, must have only a thin Garment hanging loose about him (y).

He, that *takes away* any Thing which is not his own, shall be liable to die for it (z). *One of Draco's Laws. See Book I. Chap. xxvi.*

It is a capital Crime to break into a Man's Orchard, and *steal* his Figs (a). *This Law was abrogated by the following.*

They, who *steal* Figs, shall be fin'd (b). *See Book I. Chap. xxi.*

They, who *steal* Dung, shall be punish'd (c) corporally.

Laws restraining Reproaches.

NO one shall *insult*, or *defame* any Person while alive, in the Temples, judicial Courts, Treasuries, or Places where Games are celebrated. The Delinquent herein shall pay three *Drachms* to the injured Man, and two to the publick Treasury (d). *One of Solon's Laws.*

He shall be fin'd, who *slanders* any Man (e). *Another of Solon's Laws.*

He shall incur a Mulct of five hundred *Drachms*, who *twits* any one with committing some heinous Offence against the Laws (f).

No one shall call another *Cut-throat*, or *Murderer* (g).

He, that *upbraids* another for casting away his Buckler, shall be fin'd (h). *See Book III. Chap. xiii.*

(i) A. Gellius, lib. X. cap. 13. Demosthenes Timocratea. (u) Demosthen. ibid. (w) Suidas. (x) Xenophon Ἀποκρίσεων. lib. I. (y) Aristophanis Scholiastes Nubibus. (z) Plutarchus Solone, A. Gellius, lib. XI cap. 18. (a) Festus. (b) Suidas. (c) Aristophanis Scholiast. Equitibus. (d) Plutarchus Solone. (e) Lysias, Orat. I. in Theomnestum. (f) Isocrates in Lochitem. (g) Lysias loco citato. (h) Ibidem.

Laws about the Management of Affairs.

THEY, who have been negligent in carrying on any Business, shall answer for that Neglect (i).

No Woman shall have any farther to do in Affairs, than a Medimn of Barley will satisfy for Performance (k).

Laws referring to Entertainments.

NO Entertainment is to consist of above thirty Guests (l).

All Cooks, hired to dress up Dishes for Entertainments, are to carry in their Names to the *Gynæconomi* (m).

None but mix'd Wine shall be drunk at Banquets (n).

Let pure and unmix'd Wines be reserved till afterwards, for a relishing Taste to the Honour of the good Genius (o). See Book IV. Chap. xx.

The *Areopagites* shall take Cognizance of all Drunkards (p).

A Law relating to Accusations concerning Mines.

IF any one hath prohibited another from working in the Mines, or hath carried Fire into them, carried away another's Utensile, or Tools, or if he hath dug beyond his Limits, such an one may be prosecuted with the Action call'd *Δίκη μεταλλική* (q).

A Law pertaining to the Action *Εισαγγελία*.

TImocrates hath enacted that whatsoever Athenian is cast by the Action *Εισαγγελία* before the Senate, and shall be secur'd by Imprisonment before, or after the Indictment, his Name not being inserted according to Law by the Scribe of that Pretany in the Accusation-note, and carried up to the *Thesmothetæ*, the *Thesmothetæ*, within thirty Days after the Receipt of the Bill, unless some great Emergency of State intervene, shall appoint the Eleven to sit in Judgment over it, before whom any Athenian may accuse him; if he be convicted, the *Helicæ* shall inflict upon him Punishment, either corporal or pecuniary; if the latter, he shall be clapp'd into Gaol till he pay it (r). See Book I. Chap. xxiii.

Military Laws.

THE Time for Military Service, shall be from eighteen Years to forty.

Till twenty, Men shall remain within Attica to be ready in Arms;

(i) Demosthenes in *Apobolus*. (k) Dio Chrysostomus Orat. *περὶ ἀπικτίας*. (l) Lynceus Samus in *Apophthegmat. Athenæus*, lib. VI. (m) Menander *Cecryphalos*. (n) Alexis *Æsopo*. (o) *Athenæus*, lib. VI. (p) Idem, lib. VI. (q) Demosthenes in *Pantentium*. (*) Demosthenes in *Timocratem*.

after that they shall serve in the Army without *Attica* (s). See Book III. Chap. ii.

He shall be ἀτιμῶς, who offers to serve in the *Horse* before he has undergone the accustom'd Probation (t). See Book III. Chap. iii.

The *Chivalry* shall be detach'd out of the most puissant and wealthy *Athenians* (u).

Soldiers shall not observe the Punctilio's of Spruceness and Foppery in their Hair, &c. (w). This Law was enacted by *Cineas* and *Phrynus*. See Book III. Chap. viii.

None shall pawn their *Arms* (x).

He shall suffer Death, who hath betray'd a *Garrison*, *Ship*, or *Army*.

All *Revolters* to the *Enemy* shall undergo the same Penalty. See Book III. Chap. xiii.

There shall be no *Marching* before the seventh of the Month (y). See Book III. Chap. vii.

The Ceremony for proclaiming of *War* shall be by putting a Lamb into the *Enemy's* Territories (z). See as before.

The *Polemarch* shall lead up the right Wing of the *Army* (a). See Book III. Chap. iv.

All publick *Revenue-keepers*, and *Dancers* at the *Διονυσιακά*, shall be exempted from serving in the *Army* (b). See Book III. Chap. ii.

Of Military Punishments and Rewards.

THEY, who have maintain'd their Post with Courage, shall be advanced, and others degraded (c). See Book III. Chap. xiii.

All Refusers to go into the *Army*, Cowards, and Run-aways, shall be expell'd the *Forum*, shall not be crown'd, or go to the publick Temples; he, who offends against this Law, shall be put into Bonds by the *Eleven*, and carried before the *Heliastæ*, where any one impower'd may accuse him; if he is prov'd guilty, the *Heliastæ* shall pronounce Sentence, and inflict upon him, as the Nature of his Crime requires, a Mult, or corporal Penance; if the former, he shall lie in Gaol till he pays it (d). See as before, and the *Laws* following.

Let him be ἀτιμῶς, who casts away his *Arms* (e).

He, who during the *War* by Sea, runs away from his Ship; and he, who being press'd, doth not go, shall be ἀτιμῶς (f). See Book III. Chap. xx.

All disabled and wounded *Soldiers* shall be maintain'd out of the publick Fame (g). This was enacted by *Pisistratus*.

Their Parents and Children shall be taken Care for, that are cut off in *War*; if Parents are kill'd, their Children shall be put to School at the publick Charge; and when come to Maturity of Age, shall be presented with a whole Suit of Armour, settled every one on his re-

(s) Ulpianus in *Olinthiac*. III. (t) *Lyfias* in *Alcibiadem*. (u) *Xenophon Hipparchico*. (w) *Aristophanis Scholiastes* ad *Equites*. (x) *Idem* ad *Plutum*. (y) *Zenobius*, Cent. II. Prov. LXXIX. (z) *Diogenianus* Cent. II. Prov. XCVI. (a) *Herodotus* Erato (b) *Demosthenes* in *Neæram*, & in *Mediam*. (c) *Xenophon Hipparchico*. (d) *Demosthenes* in *Timocratea*, *Æschines* in *Ctesiphontem*. (e) *Lyfias* Orat. I. in *Theognestum*. (f) *Plutarchus* *Solone*. (g) *Laertius* *Solone*.

pective Calling, and honour'd with first Seats in all publick Places (b). *One of Solon's Laws.*

Miscellany Laws.

THEY shall be prosecuted for Ingratitude, who do not retaliate Kindnesses (i).

The *Borough* and Name of every one's Father shall be written down in all Deeds, Compacts, Suits, and other Concerns (k).

A Discoverer, who alledges Truth, shall be secur'd; but, if Fals-hood, shall suffer Death (l).

He shall be *εἰρηόφρων*, who stands *neuter* in any publick Sedition (m). *This Law was enacted by Solon, to oblige every Athenian to promote the Welfare of the Commonwealth to his utmost.*

He shall die, who leaves the City for Residence in the *Piræus* (n). *This Law was enacted by Solon to prevent Discord amongst the Atheni-ans.*

He shall be fin'd, who is seen to walk the City-streets with a Sword by his Side, or having about him other Armour, unless in Case of Exi-gency (o). *One of Solon's Laws. See Book III. Chap. iv.*

He shall be denied Burial within *Attica*, and his Goods exposed to Sale, who hath been convicted of perfidious Behaviour towards the State, or of Sacrilege (p). *See Book I. Chap. iv.*

He, that hath betray'd his Country, shall not enter into *Attica's* Bor-ders; if he do, he shall expiate his Crime by the same Law, as they who, tho' condemn'd by the *Areopagites* to Banishment, return (q).

Those Compacts shall stand good, which have been approv'd of by the *Judges* (r).

Let there be an *Amnesty* of all former Diffensions, and no one be liable to be call'd in Question, or reproached for any Thing done formerly (s). *This Law was made after the thirty Tyrants Expulsion, to reconcile all former Quarrels, and was sworn to by the Archons, Se-nate of five hundred, and all the Commonalty of Athens.*

When any Person is accused contrary to this Oath, Use may be made of the Plea call'd *παράσπον*; the *Archons* shall have Cognizance of this Matter, and he that makes the Plea shall make his Defence first; the Party that is cast, shall have the Fine call'd *ἑνωβία* im-posed upon him (t). *This Law was enacted by Archinus, as a Secu-rity to the former.*

No Stranger shall be wrong'd or injur'd (u).

Put the bewilder'd Traveller in his Way, and be hospitable to Strangers (w).

No Seller of Rings shall keep by him the Signature of a Ring, when sold (x). *One of Solon's Laws.*

(b) *Lucianus Abdicato, Valerius Maximus, lib. V. cap. 3.* (i) *Demosthen. in Bæo-tum.* (k) *Andocides de Mysteriis.* (l) *Plutarchus Solone.* (m) *Suidas.* (n) *Lucian Ana-charside.* (o) *Xenophon Ἑλληνικῶν, lib. I.* (p) *Dinarchus in Demosthen.* (q) *Demosthenis Halones.* (r) *Cicero, Philip. I.* (s) *Lyfias in Ctesiphontem.* (t) *Andocides de Mysteriis.* (u) *Xenophon Ἀποπνήμα, lib. II.* (w) *Cicero de Offic. lib. III.* (x) *Laertius Solone.*



Archæologia Græca:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Authors of Religious Worship in Greece.



HERODOTUS, in the second Book of his History, is of Opinion, that the *Greeks* deriv'd their Religion from the *Egyptians*: But *Plutarch* (who loves to contradict that Author) peremptorily denies it (a) as being neither mention'd by *Homer*, nor any of the Ancients. *Aristophanes* (b) and *Euripides* (c) say, that *Orpheus* was the first that instructed the *Grecians* in all the Rites and Ceremonies of their Worship: He was a *Thracian*, and therefore, says *Nonnus* (d), Devotion was call'd *Ὀρφεύα* q. *Ὀρασία*, because it was invented by a *Thracian*.

These, I think, were neither altogether in the Right, nor yet wholly mistaken; for as the exact Agreement betwixt some of the *Grecian* Ceremonies, and the religious Worship of *Thrace*, makes it probable that one was deriv'd from the other; so, on the other Side, the Conformity of some other Parts of the *Grecian* Religion to that of the *Egyptians* doth plainly argue, that they were fetch'd from *Egypt*; but, that the whole System of the *Grecian* Religion should be borrow'd

(a) *De Herodot. malevol.* (b) *Ranis.* (c) *Rheso.* (d) *Μετὰ. 1509. in Stel. I.*
N 4 from

from either *Thrace*, or *Egypt*, or any one Country, is improbable, if not impossible; as will evidently appear to every one that considers the great Variety of Religions in *Greece*, where almost every City had different Gods, and different Modes of Worship. 'Tis much more probable, that *Greece*, being inhabited by Colonies from divers Nations, did borrow from every one of these some Part of their religious Ceremonies: Thus the *Thebans*, being descended from the *Phœnicians*, retain'd a great Part of their Worship, and the *Argives* are thought to have been instructed in the *Egyptian* Religion by *Danaus*, and his Followers. *Cecrops*, the Founder of *Athens*, who was the first that worshipp'd *Jupiter* by the Name of Ὑπεριον, the Supreme (e), and introduced Civility among the barbarous *Athenians*, was likewise an *Egyptian*; whence some think he had the Title of διφύης, one with two Natures; ὅτι Αἰγυπτίος ὦν τὰς δύο γλώσσας ἠπίστατο, because, being an *Egyptian*, he spoke two (that is, the *Egyptian* and *Athenian*) Languages. *Phoroneus*, who is by some (f) reported to have brought the Use of Temples, Altars, and Sacrifices into *Greece*, was of the same Nation. And so many of the *Egyptian* Ceremonies and Customs were receiv'd at *Athens*, that one of the *Comedians* upbraids the *Athenians*, that

Αἰγυπτίαν τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν πεποιήκασιν ἄντ' Ἀθηνῶν.

They had made their City to be Egypt instead of Athens. Add to this, that the *Grecians* in general, and the *Athenians* in particular, were so excessively superstitious, that they would not be content to worship their ancient Deities, but frequently consecrated new ones of their own making; and, beside these, assumed into the Number of their own the Gods of all the Nations with whom they had any Commerce; insomuch that even in *Hesiod's* Time they were τρεῖς μύριοι, thirty thousand,

Τρεῖς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες
Ἀθάνατοι Ζηνός, φύλακες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

There are thirty thousand Gods inhabiting the Earth, who are Subjects of Jupiter, and Guardians of Men (g); and tho', as *Isocrates* informs us (h), the ancient *Athenians* thought their Religion consisted chiefly in the Observation of the Rites and Ceremonies deliver'd to them by their Ancestors, yet there was a Custom that oblig'd them to entertain a great many strange Gods; whence it was that they religiously observ'd the Θεοξένια, or Feast of all the strange Gods; which was also celebrated at *Delphos*, as *Athenæus* witnesseth (i). Nay, so fearful were the *Athenians* of omitting any, that, as *Pausanias* (k) tells us, they erected Altars to unknowen Gods. It may be objected, that they condemn'd *Socrates* for no other Crime than worshipping strange Gods, for that this was his Accusation *Laertius* witnesseth in his Life. But to this it is reply'd, that tho' they were so desirous of new Deities, yet none were worshipp'd, till they had been approved, and admitted by the *Areopa-*

(e) Eusebius Chronico, Pausanias Arcadicis. (f) Clemens Alexandrinus Protreptico, Arnobius, lib. VI. contra Gentes. (g) Oper. & Dier. lib. I. v. 250. (h) Orat. Areopag. (i) Dierp. l. IX. c. 3. (k) Atticus.

gites, as *Harpocratio* (l) has observed; and thence was it, that when *St. Paul* preach'd among them *Jesus and the Resurrection*, he was summon'd to appear before this Council, to give an Account of his new Doctrine.

C H A P. II.

Of the Temples, Altars, Images, Groves, Asyla, and Sacred Fields.

THE first Generations of Men had neither Temples, nor Statues, for their Gods, but worshipp'd towards Heaven in the open Air. The *Persians*, even in Ages when Temples were common in all other Countries, ὅτι ἐκ ἀνθρωπομορφίας ἐνόμισαν τὰς Θεάς, καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες; not thinking the Gods to be of human Shape, as did the Greeks, had no Temples (m); which was the Reason, as some think, why *Xerxes* burn'd and demolish'd the Temples of Greece. For the *Persians* thought it absurd to confine the Gods within Walls, quorum hic Mundus omnis Templum esset ac Domus; whose House and Temple was this whole World, to use the Words of *Cicero* (n). The Greeks, and most other Nations, worshipp'd their Gods upon the Tops of high Mountains. Hence, *Jupiter*, in *Homer*, commends *Hector* for the many Sacrifices, which he has offer'd upon the Top of *Ida* (o):

—ὅς μοι πολλὰ βῶν ἐπὶ μεγάρ' ἔκκευ
 Ἰδῆς ἐν κορυφῇσι πολλυπλόχῃ, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
 Ἐν πόλεσι ἀκροτάτῃ—

Strabo observes, that the *Persians* had neither Images nor Altars, but only sacrificed to the Gods ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ, upon some high Place (p). Thus *Cyrus*, in *Xenophon* (q), sacrificeth to Paternal *Jupiter*, the Sun, and the rest of the Gods, upon the Summits of Mountains, ὡς Πέρσαι θύουσιν, as the *Persians* are wont to sacrifice. The Nations, which liv'd near *Judea*, sacrificed also upon the Tops of Mountains. *Balak*, King of *Moab*, carry'd *Balaam* to the Top of *Babal*, and other Mountains, to sacrifice to the Gods, and curse *Israel* from thence (r). The same Custom is attested in almost innumerable Places in the sacred Scriptures: But I shall only add one Testimony more, whence the Antiquity of this Custom will appear. *Abraham* was commanded by God, to offer *Isaac* his Son for a Burnt-Offering upon one of the Mountains in the Land of *Moriah* (s). In the latter Ages, the Temples were often built upon the Summits of Mountains. Thus it is observ'd of the *Trojan* Temples, in which the foremention'd Sacrifices are suppos'd to have been offer'd by *Hector*. And both at *Athens* and *Rome*, the most sacred Temples stood in the most eminent Part of the City. It is farther observable, that very high Mountains

(l) V. ἐπιθετός ἐσθράς. (m) *Herodotus* *Euterpe*. (n) *Lib. II. de Legibus*. (o) *Iliad*. χ'. vers. 70. (p) *Geograph.* lib. XV. (q) *Cyroped.* lib. VIII. Conf. *Herodotus*, lib. I. cap. 11. (r) *Numer.* XXIII. (s) *Gen.* XXII. 2.

were commonly held sacred to *Saturn* or *Jupiter*, and sometimes to other Gods, particularly to *Apollo*, as we are inform'd by *Homer*, who thus addresseth to him:

Πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τε φίλαι, καὶ πρόωγος ἄμρος
Ἑλίων ὀρέων (1). —————

Concerning this Custom, I have more copiously treated in my Commentary upon *Lycophron* (u). What was the Occasion and Original of it may be disputed. However, it appears to have been continued in the Heathen World; because the Tops of Mountains approach'd nearest to the Heavens, the Seat of the Gods. Hence *Tacitus*, in his Annals, speaks of certain Mountains, which did *maxime caelo appropinquare, precesque mortalium à Deo nusquam proprius audiri*, come exceedingly near to the Heavens, and that there was in no Place a nearer Passage for the Prayers of Men to the Gods, than from them. And *Lucian* expressly affirms, that the Priests chiefly frequented such Places, Ὅτι τῶν ἐν ὄρεσιν ἀρχαῖον ἱεραῖον οἱ θεοὶ, because the Gods did thence more easily hear their Prayers. Who it was that erected the first Temple, is not agreed by ancient Writers. Some ascribe it to *Phoroneus*, the Egyptian, others to *Morops*, others, among whom is *Varro*, to *Æacus*, the Son of *Jupiter* (w). Some will have *Jupiter* to have been the first who built Temples, and on that Account to be reputed the first and principal God. The Egyptians refer the Invention to *Isis*, the Phrygians to *Uso*. Others rather chuse to derive it from *Cecrops*, the Founder of *Athens*, or *Dionysius*, otherwise call'd *Bacchus*. Some mention the *Arcadians*, or *Phrygians*, or *Thracians*, or *Cretans*, as the first Founders of Temples. Others name, in particular, *Melisseus*, King of *Crete*. Lastly, That I be not farther tedious, many are of Opinion, that Temples owe their first Original to the superstitious Reverence and Devotion, paid by the Ancients to the Memory of their deceased Friends, Relations, and Benefactors (x); and, as most of the Gods were Men consecrated upon the Account of some publick Benefit conferr'd on Mankind, so most of the Heathen Temples are thought to have been, at first, only stately Monuments, erected in Honour of the Dead. Thus the Temple of *Pallas*, in the Tower of the City *Larissa*, was the Sepulchre of *Acrisius*; *Cecrops* was interr'd in the *Acropolis* of *Athens*, and *Erichthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, to mention no more. A farther Confirmation of this is, that those Words, which, in their proper Acceptation, signify no more than a Tomb, or Sepulchre, are by ancient Writers applied to the Temples of the Gods. Thus *Lycophron*, a noted Affecter of obsolete Words, has us'd (y) Τύμβη:

————— Τύμβη δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκώσσει μὲν
Ὀπλοσμίαις, σφαιρίσιν ἡντρεπισμένον.

'Twas now, when, fatigu'd with the Toil of War,
With eager Haste the Greek did Home repair,

(1) Hymn. in Apollinem. vers. 144. (u) Ad vers. 42. (w) *Arnob.* lib. vi. contra Gentes. (x) *Eusebius*, *Lactantius*, *Clemens Alexandr.* protrept. (y) *Cassandr.* vers. 613.

That from the treach'rous Fate for him design'd,
Great *Juno's* Temple sav'd. —————

H. H.

Where he speaks of *Diomedes*, who, at his Return from *Troy*, was laid in Wait for by his Wife *Egialea*, and forced to take Sanctuary in the Temple of *Juno*. I will give you but one Instance more, and that out of *Virgil* (a):

————— *Tumulum antiquæ Cereris, sedemque sacratam
Venimus.* —————

The Temple and the hallow'd Seat
Of ancient *Ceres* we approach'd. —————

Nor is it any Wonder, that Monuments should at length be converted into Temples, when, at every common Sepulchre, it was usual to offer Prayers, Sacrifices, and Libations; of which more hereafter.

Temples were built and adorn'd with all possible Splendor and Magnificence, no Pains, no Charge was spared upon them, or any Part of Divine Worship. This they did, partly out of the great Respect they had for the Gods, to whom they thought nothing more acceptable than costly Ornaments; and partly, that they might create a Reverence of the Deities in those, who came to pay their Devotions there. The *Lacedæmonians* only had a Law amongst them, that every one should serve the Gods with as little Expence as he could, herein differing from all other *Grecians*; and *Lycurgus* being ask'd, for what Reason he made this Institution, so disagreeable to the Sentiments of all other Men; answer'd, *Lest at any Time the Service of the Gods should be intermitted*; for he fear'd, that if Religion should be as expensive, as in the other Parts of *Greece*, it might some Time or other happen, that the Divine Worship, out of the Covetousness of some, and Poverty of others, would be neglected: And wisely considered, that magnificent Edifices, and costly Sacrifices, were not so pleasing to the Gods, as the true Piety, and unfeign'd Devotion of their Worshipers. This Opinion of his was confirm'd by the Oracle of *Hammon* (b); for the *Athenians* being worsted by the *Lacedæmonians* in many Encounters, both at Land and Sea, sent to *Jupiter Hammon*, to enquire what Means they had best use to obtain Victory over their Enemies; and withal to ask him, why the *Athenians*, who, said they, serve the Gods with more Pomp and Splendor than all the *Grecians* beside, should undergo so many Misfortunes, whilst the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Worship is very mean and slovenly, are always crown'd with Success and Victory? The Oracle made them no other Answer, than that the honest, unaffected Service of the *Lacedæmonians* was more acceptable to the Gods, than all the splendid and costly Devotions of other People. The Reader will pardon this Digression, since it doth so fully and clearly set forth the Temper of two of the most flourishing States of *Greece*.

Sometimes the same Temple was dedicated to several Gods, who were thence term'd *σύναν*, or *συνανίταις*, as they, who had the same Altar in common, were call'd *συνεκάμναι*. Thus we find in the Medal mention'd by *Saubertus* (c), with the following Inscription:

(a) *Æneid*. II. v. 742. (b) *Plato Alcib*. II. (c) *Libro de Sacrificiis veter.*

ΔΙΙ ΗΑΙΩ

ΜΕΓΑΛΩΙ

ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΙ

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΥΝΝΑ

ΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ.

To Jupiter, the Sun, Great Serapis, and the Gods who cohabit in the same Temple. Thus also were join'd in one Temple Isis and Apis. In another, Ceres, Bacchus, and Phœbus. In another at Rome, Jupiter Capitolinus, Juno, and Minerva. In another, Apollo Palatinus, Latona, and Diana. In another, Hercules and the Muses. In another, Venus and Cupid. In another, Castor and Pollux. In another, Æsculapius and Apollo. In another, the Sun and Moon. In another, Mars and Venus. In another, Pan and Ceres: To mention no more Examples.

Temples were built after that Manner, which they thought most agreeable to the Gods, to whom they design'd they should be dedicated: For, as Trees, Birds, and other Animals were thought sacred to particular Deities, so almost every God had a Form of Building peculiar to himself, and which they thought more acceptable to him, than any other. For Instance, the Dorick Pillars were sacred to Jupiter, Mars, and Hercules; the Ionick, to Bacchus, Apollo, and Diana; the Corinthian, to Vesta the Virgin. I deny not, but that sometimes all these were made use of in the same Temple; but this was either in those Temples which were sacred to more Gods than one, or to some of those Gods, who were thought to preside over several Things; for the Ancients, believing that the World was govern'd by Divine Providence, ascrib'd the Management of every particular Affair to this, or that Deity; thus Mars was thought to preside over War, Venus over Love; and to some of their Gods they assign'd the Care over divers Things; so Mercury was the God of Merchants, Orators, and Thieves; Minerva was the Goddess of Warriors, Scholars, and Artificers, &c. and therefore, 'tis no Wonder, that in some of the Temples dedicated to her, there were three Rows of Pillars, the first of the Dorick, the second of the Corinthian, the third of the Ionick Order.

As to the Places of Temples, it being the common Opinion, that some of the Gods delight in Woods, others in Mountains, others in Vallies, others in Fields, others in Rivers or Fountains; it was customary to dedicate the Temples in Places most agreeable to the Temper of the Deities, who should inhabit them. Hence the People hop'd for fruitful Seasons, and all Sorts of Prosperity, wherever the Temples stood. Hence Libanius makes heavy Complaints against the Christians, who demolish'd the Pagan Temples, whereby, as he imagin'd, the Fields became unfruitful, the Temples being the very Life of the Fields; and the Husbandmen, whose only Confidence for themselves, their Wives, their Children, their Corn, their Cattle, their Plantations, was placed in Temples, were miserably disappointed of their Expectations (d). The Temples in the Country were generally surrounded with Groves sacred to the tutelar Deity of the Place, where, before the Invention of Temples,

(d) Libanii Orat. pro Templis.

the Gods were worshipp'd; but when these could not be had, as in Cities and large Towns, they were built amongst, and even adjoining to the common Houses, only the *Tanagræans* thought this inconsistent with the Reverence due to those holy Mansions of the Gods, and therefore took Care to have their Temples founded in Places free from the Noise and Hurry of Business; for which (e) *Pausanias* commends them. Wherever they stood, if the Situation of the Place would permit, it was contriv'd, that, the Windows being open, they might receive the Rays of the rising Sun (f). The Frontispiece was placed towards the West, and the Altars and Statues towards the other End, that so they, who came to worship, might have their Faces towards them, because it was an ancient Custom among the Heathens to worship with their Faces towards the East, of which hereafter. This is affirm'd by *Clemens of Alexandria* (g), and *Hyginus* the Freedman of *Augustus Caesar* (h), to have been the most ancient Situation of Temples, and that the Placing the Front of Temples towards the East was only a Device of later Ages. Nevertheless, the Way of building Temples toward the East, so as the Doors being open'd should receive the rising Sun, was very ancient (i), and in later Ages almost universal; Almost all the Temples were then so contriv'd, that the Entrance and Statues should look towards the East, and they, who paid their Devotion, towards the West; as we are expressly told by *Porphyrus* (k). Thus the Eastern Nations commonly built their Temples, as appears from the Temple of the *Syrian* Goddess in *Lucian*, the Temple at *Memphis*, built by *Psammetichus* King of *Egypt* in *Diodorus the Sicilian*, that of *Vulcan*, erected by another *Egyptian* King, in the second Book of *Herodotus*, and (to mention no more) the Temple of *Jerusalem* (l). If the Temples were built by the Side of a River, they were to look towards the Banks of it (m); if near the Highway, they were to be so order'd, that Travellers might have a fair Prospect of them, and pay their Devotions to the God as they pass'd by.

Temples were divided into two Parts, the Sacred and Profane; the latter they call'd τὸ ἐξω περιεζωάνθηριον, the other τὸ ἔσω. Now this περιεζωάνθηριον, was a Vessel (usually of Stone or Brass) fill'd with holy Water (n), with which all those, that were admitted to the Sacrifices, were besprinkled, and beyond which it was not lawful for any one that was βέηλος, or profane, to pass. Some say it was placed in the Entrance of the Ἄδυτον, which was the inmost Recess of the Temple, into which none enter'd but the Priest, call'd also Ἀνάκτορον, saith *Pollux*; whence βέηλος τόπος is, by *Phavorinus*, said to be call'd in Opposition to this *Adytum*. But *Casaubon* (o) tells us, that the περιεζωάνθηριον was placed at the Door of the Temple: And this Opinion seems the more probable, because all Persons that were ἀβέηλοι, or impolluted, were permitted to pass beyond it, which they could not have done, had it been placed at the Entrance of the *Adytum*.

(e) *Ætolicis*. (f) *Viturv.* lib. IV. cap. 5. (g) *Strom.* VIII. (h) *De agrorum* limit. conf. lib. I. (i) *Dionysius Thrac.* (k) *Libro de antro Nympharum.* (l) *Conf. hujus Archaeologiae* edit. Lat. p. 199, 200. (m) *Ibidem.* (n) *Suidas, Phavorin.* (o) *In Theopb. Charact.*

The Word *Σηκός* is variously used. *Ammonius* (p) and *Pollux* (q) say, that it properly signifies a Temple dedicated to an Hero, or Demi-god: By *Hesychius* and *Suidas*, it is expounded, ὁ ἰδόμενος τὸν τῷ ἱερῷ, the inner Part of the Temple, so that it should seem to have been the same with Ἄδυτον. The Word, in its most proper Acceptation, is used for a *Sheepfold*; and because the Images of the Gods were, according to most ancient Custom, placed in the Middle of the Temple, and close rail'd in on every Side, this Place, as some are of Opinion, from the Likeness it has to a *Sheepfold*, was call'd *Σηκός*, which in Time came to signify the whole Temple, the Part being put for the Whole. In the same Manner was Ἑστία, i. e. the *Fire-place*, or *Hearth*, used for the whole House.

Furthermore, belonging to Temples there was a Place term'd in Greek Ἀρχαῖον, by some translated *summum templum*, which was a Repository or Treasury both for the Service of the Church, and others who desir'd to secure Money or other Things there, as was done by *Xenophon*, who committed his Treasure to the Custody of the Priest of *Diana* at *Ephesus*. Hence those Epithets are given it by *Pollux* (r), μεγαλόπλεστον, πολυχρόστον, ἀρχαιοπλεστον, &c.

The old *Scolia*, upon *Sophocles* (s), and out of them *Phavorinus*, thus describes the Temples: Ναός, and ἱερόν, or the whole Edifice, in which are contain'd, Βωμὸν the Altar, on which they offer'd their Oblations: Πρόναος, the Porch, in which usually stood an Altar, or Image: And Τέμενος, the Place upon which the Image of the chief God was erected.

As, among the most ancient *Egyptians*, ἀεὶ ἄνθρωποι ἦσαν, the Temples were without Statues, if *Lucian* (t) may be credited; so also the *Greeks* worshipp'd their Gods without any visible Representation till the Time of *Cecrops*, the Founder of *Athens*, who, according to *Eusebius's* Account, lived about the Age of *Moses*. The most ancient Representations of the Gods were exceedingly rude and agreeable to the Ignorance of those Ages. The *Scythians* worshipp'd a Sort of Sword call'd ἀκινάκης; the *Arabians* a Stone, the *Persians* a River (u).

The Idol was at first commonly a rude Stock, whence it is call'd Σκῆ by *St. Clemens* of *Alexandria* (w). Such an one was that of *Juno Samia*, which was afterwards in the Magistracy of *Procles* turn'd into a Statue. Sometimes it was a Stone. *Pausanias* (x) tells us, that in *Achaia* there were kept very religiously thirty square Stones, on which were engraven the Names of so many Gods, but without any Picture, or Effigies. In another Place he speaks of a very ancient Statue of *Venus* at *Delos*, which, instead of Feet, had only a square Stone. No Sort of Idol was more common than that of oblong Stones erected, and thence term'd κίονες, *Pillars*. Several Examples are mention'd by the foremention'd *Clemens*, as also by *Eusebius* (y). In the Eastern Countries these sort of Representations seem to have been exceedingly frequent. In some Parts of *Egypt* they were to be seen on each Side of the Highways (z). In the Temple of *Heliogabalus*, i. e. the Sun, in *Syria*, there was one

(p) De Verborum Diff. & Simil. (q) Onom. lib. I. (r) Ibidem. (s) Oedip. Tyr. v. 15. (t) Libro de Dea Syria. (u) Conf. Clemens Alexandrin. Protrept. p. 29 & 30. Strom. I. p. 348, 349. (w) Protrept. (x) Achaicis. (y) Præp. Evangel. lib. I. (z) Strabo Geograph. lib. XVII.

pretended to have fallen down from Heaven (a). Such a Stone is feign'd by the Poets to have been swallow'd by Saturn instead of his Son Jupiter. Hence came the Worship paid to them. Others rather derive it from the Appointment of Uranus, the first God, and Father of Saturn (b). One Thing is remarkable, both in these Stones, and others of different Figures, as particularly in the square Stone, which represented the God Mars at Petra in Arabia, that their Colour was most commonly black (c), which seems to have been thought in those Times most solemn and becoming Things dedicated to religious Uses. They were call'd Βαίλῑα or Βαίλῑος (d), which Name seems to be derived from the Phœnician Language, wherein Bethel signifies the House of God. And some are of Opinion, that their true Original is to be derived from the Pillar of Stone, which the Patriarch Jacob erected at Bethel (e). Most of the barbarous Nations worshipp'd Mountains, or rude Stocks of Trees, or unform'd Stones (f). Thus Tacitus affirms, that in Germany the Images of the Gods consisted *è stipibus rudibus, & impolito robore*, of rude Trunks; and unpolish'd Oak (g). Thus Lũtan also describes the Gods of Massilia:

—————*Simulacraque missa Deorum*
Arte carent, cæsisque extant informia truncis.

And Themistius (b) hath told us, that all the Grecian Images till Dædalus's Time were unform'd; he it was that first made two separate Feet, whereas before they were but one Piece; whence it was reported (saith Palæphatus) that Dædalus form'd moving and walking Statues. At the first therefore they were only call'd (i) Εἱδωλα, διὰ τὸ ἀποξῦσθαι, because they were shaven; and this Word properly denotes an Idol, that is, ἱεροµένον, or shav'd out of Wood, or Stone, says Hesychius (k). In After-ages, when the Art of Graving and Carving was invented, they changed the rude Lumps into Figures resembling living Creatures, generally Men, and then an Image was call'd Εἰδωλον, διὰ τὸ βροτῶ ἐκείνους, because it was like a Man (l). Nevertheless, in more refin'd Ages, such of the unform'd Images, as were preserv'd, were revered for their Antiquity, and prefer'd to the most curious Pieces of modern Art (m).

The Matter of which Statues were made was, amongst the ancient Greeks, generally Wood, as Plutarch and Pausanias inform us; the latter of which reports, that he observ'd these Trees, for the most Part, to be made Use of for this Purpose, viz. the Ebon, Cypress, Cedar, Oak, Yew, and Box-trees. To these Theophrastus (n) adds the Root of the Olive-tree, of which, he says, the lesser Images were usually compos'd. It is also observ'd, that those Trees, which were sacred to any God, were generally thought most acceptable to him, and therefore Jupiter's Statue

(a) Herodianus, lib. 5. cap. 5. (b) Sanchoniathon apud Euseb. Demonstra. Evangel. lib. 1. cap. 10. (c) Strabo loc. cit. Suidas voce Βαίλῑος. (d) Eusebius loc. cit. Hesychius. (e) Genes. XXVIII. 18. 19. (f) S. Chrysost. Serm. XII. (g) Libro de Moribus Germanorum. (h) Orat. XV. (i) Clemens Protrept. (k) Voce ἱεροµένον. (l) Clementi loco cit. (m) Porphyrius de Abstin. lib. II. Sect. XVIII. (n) Lib. de Plant.

Statue was made of Oak, *Venus's* of Myrtle, *Hercules's* of Poplar, *Minerva's* of the Olive-tree, &c. These Observations are (I think) for the most Part true, but not so universally, as that they should never fail. Sometimes they were made of Stone, and not only of common, but also of precious Stones; sometimes of black Stone, whereby was signified the Invisibilty of the Gods. Marble and Ivory were frequently made Use of, and sometimes also Clay and Chalk, and last of all, Gold, Silver, Brass, and all other Metals were put to this Use. The Forms and Postures of the Statues are uncertain, being commonly made in Imitation of the poetical Descriptions of the Gods, especially those in *Homer*, whose Authority was most sacred.

The Place of the Images was in the Middle of the Temple, where they stood on Pedestals raised above the Height of the Altar, and were inclosed with Rails; whence this Place was call'd *ἑνὸς*. And that the Images were placed thus, *Virgil* bears me Witness, when he saith,

Tum foribus Divæ, media testudine templi.

Then at the Chancel Door, where *Juno* stands.

Where, by the *fores Divæ*, is to be understood the Entrance of the *Βαυός*. And another of the Poets, where he talks of erecting a Temple, saith,

In medio mihi Cæsar erit—

I'll *Cæsar's* Statue in the Midst erect.

More Instances might be produced, were not this Custom too well known to stand in Need of any farther Confirmation.

Βαυός, among the *Greeks*, is a Word of larger Extent than *Altare* among the *Latins*; for this, in its proper Signification, only denotes the Place, on which they sacrificed to the Celestial Gods, being raised up high from the Ground, and therefore call'd *Altare*, *ab altitudine*, from its Height; but *Βαυός* is used to signify not only this high Altar, but those lower ones call'd in *Latin*, *Aræ*. These Altars differ'd according to the Diversity of the Gods to whom they were consecrated; for the *Θεοὶ ἑρᾶνοι*, or *Celestial Gods*, had their Altars raised up a great Height from the Ground, insomuch that *Pausanias* (o) tells us, the Altar of *Olympian Jupiter* was almost twenty-two Feet high. *Porphyry* makes no Distinction betwixt these and the Altars of the *Θεοὶ χθόνιοι*, or *Terrestrial Gods*. But though they are both signified by the same Word, yet they seem not to have been of equal Height. To the Heroes they sacrificed upon Altars close to the Ground, which the *Greeks* call'd *ἑσχαῖαι*, being only one Step high (p). The subterranean, or internal Gods, call'd *ὑποχθόνιοι*, had, instead of Altars, little Ditches or Trenches digged or ploughed up for that Purpose; these the *Greeks* call'd *λάκκοι* and *βόθροι*. *Porphyry* adds a fifth, telling us, that the *Nymphs*, and such-like Deities, instead of Altars, had *Ἀντρα*, or *Caves*, where religious Worship was paid to them: *διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς καταβύζοντα ὕδατα*; ὥς αἱ *Ναΐαδες* προσήμασι *Νύμφαι*, by reason of the Waters, which are disill'd into the Caverns, and whereof the *Nymphs* call'd *Ναΐαδες* are *Presidents*.

(o) *Eliac.* 4. (p) *Eurip. Schol. in Phœniss.*

The Altars were always lower than the Statues of the Gods. They were commonly made of Earth heap'd together, sometimes of Ashes, as was that of *Olympian Jupiter* beforementioned, which, *Pausanias* (a) saith, was made of the Ashes of burnt Sacrifices. Another of Ashes was dedicated at *Thebes* to *Apollo*, who had hence the Name of *Ἐπόδιον*, as we learn from the same Author. Lastly, any other durable Materials. As Horn in the famous Altar at *Telos*; Brick in one mention'd by *Pausanias* (b); but chiefly and most commonly Stones. Before Temples were in Use, Altars were sometimes erected in Groves, sometimes in other Places; and *Eustathius* (c), upon the second *Iliad*, tells us, that they were often erected in the Highways, for the Convenience of Travellers. The Terrestrial Gods had their Altars in low Places, but the Celestial were worshipp'd on the Tops of Mountains. And as for want of Temples they built their Altars in the open Air; so for want of Altars they anciently used to sacrifice upon the (d) bare Ground, and sometimes upon a Turf of green Earth; which is call'd *cespes vivus*, a living Turf, by *Horace*. And the Sacrifices, offer'd without Altars, were term'd *ἀποθύμια θυοίαι*, as we are inform'd by *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus*.

The Form of Altars was not always the same. *Pausanias* (e) in one Place mentions an *oblong* (*ἰμμήναις*) Altar dedicated to the *Parcæ*: In another (f), a square Altar upon the Top of Mount *Citheron*. And from ancient Medals it appears, that other Altars were of a round Figure. The most ancient Altars were adorn'd with Horns. *Nonnus* (g) introduces *Agave* offering a Sheep by the Direction of *Cadmus* *ἐν ἑκατόντῳ*, upon an Altar beautified with Horns. The Figures of Roman Altars upon Medals are never without Horns (h); and the Altars which remain in the Ruins of old *Rome* have the same Ornament (i). And *Moses* was commanded to erect an Altar with four Horns (k). These Horns serv'd for various Uses. The Victims were fasten'd to them. Suppliants, who fled to the Altar for Refuge, caught hold of the Horns. Yet it is not certain they were chiefly and originally intended for these Purposes. Some derive them from a Practice of the first Age, wherein Horns were an Ensign and Mark of Power and Dignity. Hence the Pictures of the most ancient Gods and Heroes, as also those of Rivers, were commonly adorn'd with Horns. The same are often found upon the Medals of *Serapis*, *Isis*, *Jupiter Hammon*, and *Bacchus*; as also upon the Coins of the *Persian Kings*, and of *Alexander* and his Successors. We are inform'd by *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (l), that *Alexander* sometimes wore Horns, as a Token of his Divine Extraction. And the *Phœnician* Accounts relate, that *Astarte*, one of the most ancient *Phœnician* Queens, used to wear upon her Head Bulls Horns, *ὡς βοοειδίας* *παράσημον*, as an Ensign of Royalty (m).

(a) *Eliac. 2.* (b) *Lib. VI.* (c) *Pag. 171. Edit. Basil.* (d) *Lil. Givald. de Dil. Syntagma XVII.* (e) *Eliacis.* (f) *Ætolicis.* (g) *Dionysiac. lib. XLIV. ver. 96.* (h) *Sanctius Comment. in Reg.* (i) *Fortunatus Scacchius Myrothec. lib. II. cap. 65.* (k) *Exod. II. 27.* (l) *Protreptico.* (m) *Eusebius Præp. Evangel. lib. I. cap. ult.*

It was customary to engrave upon Altars the Name or proper Ensign or Character of the Deity, to whom they belong'd. This we find done to the *Athenian* Altar, upon which St. Paul observ'd this Inscription, Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, *To the unknown God*. Sometimes the Occasion of the Dedication, with other Circumstances, was express'd. Thus in the *Roman* Altar, upon which was found this Inscription,

C. JULIUS ANICETUS
SOLI DIVINO SUSCEPTO VOTO
ANIMO LUBENS DD.

Caius Julius Anicetus willingly dedicates this Altar to the Divine Sun in Performance of a Vow.

Some Altars were ἑμπύροι, design'd for Sacrifices made by Fire. Others ἄπυροι, without Fire, and ἀναιμάκτοι, without Blood: Upon which neither Fire nor Blood could lawfully be placed, but only Cakes, Fruits of the Earth, and inanimate Things. An Example of these Altars we find in the following Verse of *Orpheus* (n):

Πρῶτα μὲν ἔν σπυδόντας, ἀναιμάκτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν.

Another, near the Altar of Horn at *Delos*, sacred to *Apollo* Genitor, upon which *Pythagoras*, who thought it unlawful to put Animals to Death, used to sacrifice, is mention'd by *Diogenes Laertius* (o). Another dedicated to *Jupiter* ὕπατος, the Supreme, in the Time and by the Order of *Cecrops*, King of *Athens*, we find in *Pausanias* (p). Lastly, To forbear the Mention of any more Examples, *Paphian Venus* had an Altar, which was ἀναιμάκτος, free from Blood, it being unlawful to offer Animals upon it: But not ἄπυρος, void of Fire; for the Goddess was worshipp'd solis precibus ἔξ igne puro, only with Prayers and pure Fire, as *Tacitus* affirms (q).

The Manner of consecrating Altars and Images was the same, and is thus described by the *Scholias*t upon *Aristophanes* (r); a Woman, dress'd in a Garment of divers Colours, brought upon her Head a Pot of sodden Pulse, as Beans, Pease, or the like, which they gratefully offer'd to the Gods, in Remembrance of their ancient Diet. But this Custom seems to have been more especially practis'd in the Consecration of the Ἑρμαῖ, or Statues of *Mercury*, and then only by the poorer Sort, as the *Comedian* intimates, when he speaks of the Consecration of another Image in his Play entitled, *Peace* (s);

Χο. Ἄγε δὴ τί νῦν ἐντευθενὶ ποιητέον;

Τρ. Τί δ' ἄλλο γ', ἢ ταύτην χύτρας ἰδρυτέν;

Χο. Χύτραισιν, ὥσπερ μεμφόμενον Ἑρμίδιον,

Τρ. Τί δαὶ δοκεῖ; βέλεσθε λάρινά βοῖ;

CH. What other Expedient still requires Dispatch?

TR. Nought, but that you consecrate with these Pots
The Goddesses *Peace*:

(n) De Lapidibus. (o) Pythagora. (p) Arcadicis p. 456, 457. Edit. Hanov. (q) Hist. lib. II. (r) Plato Act. V. Scen. III. (s) Pag. 660. Edit. Amstelod.

CH. How, with these Pots? What like
Those Pygmy Statues of God Mercury?
TR. What if this Goddess we should consecrate
With a fat Ox?

H. H.

Where the *Scholiast* observes, that sometimes their Consecrations were more expensive, being perform'd with more sumptuous Offerings, and Ceremonies. But these, like the other Parts of Divine Worship, were varied according to the Condition of the Worshippers, and the Nature or Humour of the Deities. To give one Instance; *Athenæus*, in the IXth Book of his *Deipnosophists*, tells us, that *Jupiter Ctesias's* Statue was consecrated in this Manner: They took a new Vessel with two Ears, upon each of which they bound a Chaplet of white Wool, and another of yellow upon the fore Part of it, and cover'd the Vessel; then they pour'd out before it a Libation call'd *Ambrosia*, which was a Mixture of Water, Honey, and all Sorts of Fruit. The Truth of the Matter is this; The primitive *Greeks*, according to their usual Frugality, consecrated the Statues of the Gods with very little Expence. Afterwards when they increased in Wealth, and fell into a more sumptuous Way of living, more pompous and costly Ceremonies were, by Degrees, introduced in their religious Worship. Only the poorer Sort, out of Necessity, still adher'd to the ancient Customs: Especially when the meaner Sort of Statues, such as were those of *Mercury*, which stood in the publick Streets, were to be dedicated. In former Ages, even the Images and Altars of *Jupiter* were consecrated in the same Manner with the *Mercuries*. This is plain from the Verses cited by the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes* (1), out of the *Danaides* of that Poet:

Μαρτύρομαι δὲ Ζηνὸς Ἐρίε χύτρας,
Παρ' αἷς ὁ Βωμὸς ἔστι· ἰδρίθη ποτὲ
Πορφυροῖς δὲ καὶ ποικίλοις ἡματίαις
Ἐπόμπην.

But the most usual Manner of Consecration was perform'd by putting a Crown upon them, anointing them with Oil, and then offering Prayers and Oblations to them. Sometimes they added an Execration against all that should presume to profane them, and inscribed upon them the Name of the Deity, and the Cause of their Dedication. In this Manner the *Spartan Virgins*, in *Theocritus's* eighteenth *Idyllium*, promise to consecrate a Tree to *Helena*; for it was customary to dedicate Trees, or Plants, after the same Manner with Altars and Statues:

Πρᾶται τοι γήφανον λωτῷ χαμαὶ αὐξομένῳ
Πλέξασαι, σκιερὰν καταθήσομεν ἐς πλατάνισον,
Πρᾶται δ' ἀργυρέας ἐξ ὀλπίδ' ὑγρὸν ἄλειψας
Λασδόμεναι, σαξεύμεν ἐπὶ σκιερὰν πλατάνισον,
Γράμματα δ' ἐν φλοιῷ γεγράφεται (ὡς παριὼν τις
Ἀλκίον) Δωρις, Σέβει μὲν. Ἑλένας φυτὸν εἰμὶ.

(1) In *Plut.* loc. cit.

We'll search the Meads where humble *Lotus* grows,
 Then Chaplets weave, and twine them on the Boughs;
 On chequer'd Grass beneath the shady Bower,
 From costliest Vials sweetest Oils we'll pour;
 And then in spreading Letters this indite,
I'm Helen's Plant, and Worship is my Right.

H. H.

Ovid likewise, in the eighth Book of his *Metamorphoses*, speaks of adorning them with Ribbands,

*Stabat in his ingens annofo robore quercus
 Una nemus; vittæ mediam, memoresque tabellæ,
 Sertaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis.*

In these a well-grown Oak majestick stood,
 Whose spreading Arms alone compos'd a Wood,
 With Ribbons grac'd, and Crowns th' undoubted Proof
 Of Vows obtain'd:—

H. H.

The Act of Consecration chiefly consisted in the Unction, which was a Ceremony derived from the most primitive Antiquity. The sacred Tabernacle, with all the Vessels and Utensils, as also the Altar and the Priests themselves were consecrated in this Manner by *Moses* at the Divine Commands (*u*). It is well known, that the *Jewish* Kings and Prophets were admitted to their several Offices by Unction. The Patriarch *Jacob*, by the same Rite, consecrated the Altars which he made Use of (*w*); in doing which it is more probable, that he followed the Tradition of his Forefathers, than that he was the Author of this Custom. The same, or something like, was also continued down to the Times of Christianity. We find that in *Theodore's* Time, superstitious Women anointed the Ballisters (*κυκλίδες*) of the Churches, and the Repositories of Martyrs (*x*). And in the primitive Ages of the Church, Oil was used upon some other Occasions, which do not belong to this Place (*y*).

At the Time of Consecration it was customary to offer great Numbers of Sacrifices, and to make sumptuous Entertainments. Thus the *Egyptians* consecrated their God *Apis*, which was an Ox (*z*). In the same Manner we find the Temple of *Solomon* dedicated. At the Consecration of *Moses's* Tabernacle, an Oblation was presented by all the *Jewish* Princes (*a*). And when the golden Calf, and the Altar erected before it, were to be consecrated, *Aaron* made Proclamation and said, To-morrow is a Feast of the Lord. And they rose up early on the Morrow, and offer'd Burnt-offerings, and brought Peace-offerings; and the People sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play (*b*).

The Consecration of single Trees hath been already mention'd. It may here be farther observ'd, that Altars were often erected under the Shade of Trees. Thus we find the Altar of *Jupiter Hercus* placed within the Court of *Priamus* King of *Troy*.

(*u*) Exod. XI. 9, 10. Num. VII. 1. (*w*) Gen. XXVIII. 18. XXXV. 14. (*x*) *Quest.* LXXIV. in Gen. (*y*) *Jacob*. (*z*) *Suidas*. (*a*) Num. VII. (*b*) Exod. XXXII. 5, 6.

*Ædibus in mediis, nudoque sub ætheris axe
Ingens ara fuit, juxtaque veterrima laurus
Incumbens aræ, atque umbra complexa Penates (c).*

But where Groves of Trees could be had, they were preferr'd before any other Place. It was so common to erect Altars and Temples in Groves, and to dedicate them to religious Uses, that ἅλσιν καλῶσι τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα, all sacred Places, even those where no Trees were to be seen, were call'd Groves; as we learn from Strabo (d). And it seems to have been a general Custom, which prevail'd not only in Europe, but over all the Eastern Countries, to attribute a Sort of Religion to Groves. Hence, among other Precepts whereby the Jews were kept from the Imitation of the Pagan Religion, this was one; *Thou shalt not plant thee a Grove of any Trees near unto the Altar of the Lord thy God (e)*. This Practice is thought to have been introduced into Greece from Phœnicia by Cadmus. And some are of Opinion, that hence *Ascrea*, a Village in *Bœotia*, where *Hesiod* was born, received its Name: For in the Scripture אשדד is the Name of a Grove; and ἄσκρα is, by *Hesychius*, interpreted δρῦς ἀκαρπία, a barren Oak. Several Causes are assign'd why Groves came into so general Request.

As, first, the Pleasantness of such Places was apt to allure the People, and to beget in them a Love for the religious Worship, which was paid there; especially in hot Countries, where nothing is more delightful and refreshing than cool Shades. For which Cause the sacred Groves consisted of tall and beautiful Trees, rather than such as yield Fruit. Hence *Cyril* does expressly distinguish τὰ ἀλσῶδες ξύλον, the Tree fit for Groves, from τὸ καρποφόρον, that which bears Fruit, it being the Custom to plant Groves, not with Vines or Fig-trees, or others which produce Fruit; but only with τὰ ἀκαρπία ξύλα, Trees which afford no Fruit for human Use, τέρψιν; χάριν, merely for the Sake of Pleasure (f). Thus one of the Temples of *Diana* is described by *Herodotus* (g) to stand within a Grove δεινέων μεγίστων, of the largest Trees. And the Way to *Mercury's* Temple was set on both Sides with δένδρεα ἑκατομῆκτα, Trees reaching up to Heaven, as we are told by the same Historian. The same is farther confirm'd by the Description of Groves, which remain in the ancient Poets.

Secondly, The Solitude of Groves was thought very fit to create a religious Awe and Reverence in the Minds of the People. Thus we are told by *Pliny*, that in Groves, ipsa silentia adoramus, the very Silence of the Place becomes the Object of our Adoration (h). *Seneca* also observes, that when we come into such Places, illa proceritas sylvarum, & secretum loci, & admiratio umbræ, fidem Numinis facit: The Height of the Trees, the Solitude and Secrecy of the Place, and the Horror which the Shade strikes into us, does possess us with an Opinion that some Deity inhabits there (i). It may not be impertinent to add one Testimony more from *Ovid*, who speaks thus (k):

(c) *Virg. Æneid. lib. II. ver. 512.* (d) *Geograph. lib. IX.* (e) *Deuteron. XVI. 21.* (f) *Cyrillus Homil. in Jerem. (g) Euterp. cap. 138.* (h) *Nat. Hist. lib. X. cap. 1.* (i) *Lib. V. Epist. 4. cap. 4.* (k) *Fastor. lib. III.*

*Lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra,
Quo possis viso dicere, Numen inest.*

Thirdly, Some are of Opinion that Groves derived their Religion from the primitive Ages of Men, who lived in such Places before the Building of Houses. Thus *Tacitus* (1) reports of the ancient *Germans*, that they had no other Defence for their Infants against wild Beasts, or the Weather, than that was afforded *ramorum nexu*, by Boughs of Trees compacted together. All other Nations lived at first in the same Manner; which was derived from Paradise, the Seat of the first Parents of Mankind. And it is not unworthy Observation, that most of the Ceremonies used in Religion were at first taken from the Customs of human Life. Afterwards the Manners and Customs of Men changed, but the same Rites still were preserved in religious Worship, which it was thought a Sort of Irreverence to alter. Thus, from the Houses of Men, were derived the Temples and Habitations of the Gods; which were not built in the most primitive Ages, as hath been before observ'd, Men having not then invented the Art of making Houses. The Altars serv'd instead of Tables, and the Sacrifices were the Entertainments of the Gods. And it is farther observable, that the several Sorts of Things offer'd in Sacrifice were taken from their Use in human Food. The Animals most commonly eaten by Men were made Victims to the Gods: And those Ages, which were reported to have lived only on the Fruits of the Earth, are likewise said to have refrain'd from sacrificing Animals; which will farther appear in the fourth Chapter of this Book (m).

In latter Ages, when Cities began to be fill'd with People, and Men to delight in magnificent Edifices and costly Ornaments more than the Country and primitive Way of living, Groves by Degrees came into Disuse. Yet such of the Groves as remain'd from former Times were still held in great Veneration, and revered the more for the Sake of their Antiquity. As in the early Times it was accounted an Act of Sacrilege to cut down any of the consecrated Trees, which appears from the Punishment inflicted by *Ceres* upon *Erichonius* for this Crime, whereof there is a prolix Relation in *Callimachus* (n); so in latter Ages, the same was thought a most grievous Wickedness; whereof it will be sufficient to mention this one Example, where *Lucan* speaks of *Cæsar's* Servants, in Allusion to the Fable of *Lycurgus*, who, endeavouring to destroy the Vines of *Bacchus*, cut off his own Legs;

*Sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verenda
Majestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent,
In sua credebant reditura membra secures,*

The Temples, Statues, and Altars were accounted so sacred, that to many of them the Privilege of protecting Offenders was granted; so that, if any Malefactor fled to them, it was accounted an Act of Sacri-

(1) Libro de Moribus Germanorum. (m) Conf. *Cluverius* ubi de *Germanorum* Moribus agit, *Medus* nostras Dissert. de Sanctis, Relat. *Spencerus* de Legibus *Hebræorum*, (n) Hymno in *Cerere*.

lege to force him thence, and they thought his Blood would be upon them that should do it; insomuch that those who kill'd the Followers of *Cylon*, who had plunder'd the Temple of *Minerva*, because they executed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after call'd *Ἀλιστήριοι*, profane and impious *. And in *Ætolia*, when *Laodamia*, who had fled for Protection to *Diana's* Altar, was kill'd in a Tumult of the People, there ensued a dreadful Famine, with civil and foreign Wars, till the whole *Ætolian* Nation was quite destroy'd. *Mylo*, who kill'd *Laodamia*, fell into Distraction and Madness, and, having torn out his own Bowels with his Teeth, died on the twelfth Day after the Fact was committed (o). Hence, and from other Examples of the like Nature, it came to pass, that the Privileges of the *Asyla* were preserved inviolable; whence *Tacitus* complains, that the *Grecian* Temples were fill'd with the worst of Slaves, with insolvent Debtors, and Criminals who fled from Justice; and that no Authority was sufficient to force them thence (p). And that this was a very ancient Cause of Complaint, may be learn'd from the following Words of *Ion* in *Euripides* (q).

Φεῖ Δείνων γὰρ, Σηλοῖς τῆς νόμος ὡς οὐ καλῶς
 ἔθηκεν ὁ Θεός, οὐδ' ἀπὸ γνῶμης σοφῆς,
 Τὴς μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκους βαμῆς οὐχ' ἔξιν ἔχρη,
 Ἀλλ' ἐξιλαύνει· οὐδὲ γὰρ ψάτειν καλόν
 Θεῶν πομπῶν χεῖρα τοῖσι δ' ἐνδίκους
 ἱερὰ καθίξιν, ὅστις ἡδικεῖτ' ἐχρη.
 Καὶ μὴ πὶ ταῦτό τοῦτ' ἰόντ' ἴσον,
 Τὸν τ' ἐσθλὸν ὄντα, τὸν τὲ μὴ, Θεῶν πάρα.

How infinitely more wisely were the *Jewish Asyla*, or Cities of Refuge, order'd, in which they, who had been guilty of Manslaughter, were protected only till their Cause was brought to a fair Hearing, and then, if they appear'd to deserve Punishment, deliver'd up to Justice? When *Pausanias* King of *Sparta*, who had held a Correspondence with the King of *Persia*, and conspired against his native Country, fled to the Temple of *Minerva Chalciceus*, the *Lacedæmonians*, unwilling both to offend the Goddess, and to let the Criminal escape, permitted him to remain in the Temple, but uncover'd it, and so left him to perish with Cold and Hunger. But how unusual this Way of Proceeding was, may appear from *Pausanias* (r), who informs us, *μόνον αὐτὸν ἱκευσάντων τῶν Χαλμίοικον ἀμαρτῶν ἀδίκας*: that of all who had fled for Protection to the Goddess *Chalciceus*, he was the only Person who fail'd of it. Nevertheless, there are Instances in other Places, where the Doors of the Temples were shut, and the Roof uncover'd, in order to starve Criminals, who had taken Sanctuary there. Sometimes they were forced away by Fire, as hath been observed by the *Scholiast* of *Euripi-*

* Conf. *Plutarchus Solone*, *Pausanias Atticis*, & *Archaicis*. (o) *Justinus Histor. lib. XXVIII. cap. 3.* (p) *Annal. lib. III. cap. 60.* (q) *Ion. vers. 13. 2. Act. IV. scene.* (r) *Laconicis p. 194. Edit. Hanov.*

des, where *Hermione* threatens *Andromache*, who had fled for Refuge to *Thetis* to drive her away by that Means (s) :

Πῦρ σοι προσοίσω, τὸ δὲ σὸν προσκίψομαι.

In the same Manner *Lycus* treats the Relations of *Hercules* (t) :

Ἄγ' οἱ μὲν Ἑλικῶν, οἱ δὲ Πταρναεὺς πύλας
 Τέμνειν ἀναρχθ' ἰλθόντας ὑληγῆς δρυὸς
 Κορυμῆς· ἐπιδαῖν εἰσκομισθῶσιν πόλει,
 Βομόν περὶ ἥσαντις ἀμφήρη ξύλα
 Ἐμπίπρατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πυροῦτε σώματα.

In Imitation, and as an Improvement of this Passage, *Lycus* is introduced by *Seneca*, commanding not only the Family of *Hercules*, but the very Temples to be burnt. Which is an Exaggeration very agreeable to the Genius of that Poet, but quite contrary to the Manners of the Times he describes. His Words are these * ;

Congerite filvas ; templa supplicibus suis
 Injesta flagrent ; conjugem & totam gregem
 Consumat unus igne subiecto rogos.

There are several Examples of the same Custom in *Plautus*. When *Tranio*, the Slave of *Theuropides*, had fled to a Sanctuary, his Master threatens him thus (u) :

Jam jubebo ignem & sarmenta, carnifex, circumdari.

In another Place of that Author, *Labrax*, in the same Manner, bespeaks his Damsels, who had betaken themselves to the Protection of *Venus* (w) :

Vulcanum adducam, is Veneris est adversarius.

And it being a direct Act of Sacrilege to take away Suppliants from the Sanctuary, whither they had fled for Protection, this Method was used to constrain them to leave it, as it were, of themselves, and by their own Consent. Nevertheless, this Evasion of the sacred Privileges was not thought free from Impiety. Whence the foremention'd Words of *Hermione* are thus answer'd by *Andromache* (x) in *Euripides* ;

Σὺ δ' ἔν κατὰ ταις· Θεοὶ γὰρ εἰσονται τάδε.

Burn me then, for the Gods will see it.

From the frequent Mention of Suppliants securing themselves in the Temples, and at the Altars and Images of the Gods, it may be thought that all of them were *Asyla*, according to the general Expression of *Euripides* (y) ;

(s) *Andromach.* ver. 256. (t) *Euripides Hercul. Furent.* ver. 240. * *Hercul. Fur.* ver. 106. (u) *Mosell. Act. V. Sc. I.* (w) *Rudent. Act. III. Sc. IV.* (x) *Eurip. Androm.* v. 257. (y) *Suppl.* ver. 257.

ἔχει γὰρ καλαφύην, θῆε μὲν αἵτταν,
Δούλοι δὲ βωμῶν; θεῶν.

The wild Beast is secured by the Rocks, and Slaves by the Altars of the Gods. Nevertheless, it is most certain, to use the Words of Servius (a), *non fuisse asylum in omnibus Templis, nisi quibus consecrationis lege concessum est*: That all Temples were not Sanctuaries, but only such as receiv'd that Privilege from the Manner of their Consecration. Whence, at the Dedication of such Places, particular Mention is often made by Authors, that they were appointed to be Sanctuaries; which would have been needless, if all Temples had been invested with that Privilege. The same farther appears from this, that some of the *Asyla* were free for all Men, others appropriated to certain Persons, or Crimes. Thus the Temple of *Diana*, at *Ephesus*, was a Refuge for Debtors; the Tomb, or Temple of *Theseus*, was a Sanctuary for Slaves, and all those of mean Condition, that fled from the Severities and hard Usage of their Masters, and Men in Power; in Memory that *Theseus* was an Assister and Protector of the Distressed, and never rejected the Petitions of the Afflicted, that fled to him for Succour and Defence, as *Plutarch* (b) reports. Nor was this Honour only granted to the Gods, but also to the Statues or Monuments of Princes, and other great Persons (c). So the Sepulchre of *Achilles*, on the *Sigean Shore*, was, in after Ages, made an *Asylum*; and *Ajax* had the like Honour paid his Tomb on the *Rhaetian*.

The first *Asylum*, some say, was built at *Athens* by the *Heracidae*, and was a Refuge for those, that fled from the Oppression of their Fathers: Others will have this to be a Sanctuary for all Sorts of Suppliants (d). Others affirm, that the first was erected at the Building of *Thebes* by *Cadmus*, where the Privilege of Sanctuary was granted to all Sorts of Criminals; and in Imitation of these, they say, the *Asylum* at *Rome* was open'd by *Romulus* (e). This is certain, that Sanctuaries were common in the heroical Times. Hence, *Troy* being taken, *Priamus* fled for Protection to the Altar of *Jupiter Herceus*, as we are inform'd by *Pausanias* (f): *Virgil* (g) adds farther, that he was accompanied by his Wife *Hecuba*, and his Children. And *Polyxena*, who was to be sacrificed to appease *Achilles's* Ghost, is thus advis'd by one in *Euripides* (h):

Ἄλλ' ἴθι πρὸς ναῦς, ἴθι πρὸς βωμῶν,

Go to the Temples, go to the Altars.

The Sacredness of these Places was held entire till the Reign of *Tiberius Caesar*, who, upon Consideration of the many Inconveniencies, which must necessarily be the Effect of tolerating so many Villains, as were always harbour'd in them, dissolv'd them all, preserving only to *Juno Samia* and one of *Aesculapius's* Temples their ancient Privileges. *Suetonius* indeed reports, that he did *abolere jus moremque asylorum, quæ usquam erant*, abolish the Privileges and Customs of *Asyla* in all Parts of

(a) Comment. in *Æneid.* lib. II. (b) *Theseo.* (c) *Strabo.* lib. III. (d) Conf. *Statius Theb.* lib. XII. ejusque vetus Interpret. Item *Servius* in *Æneid.* lib. VIII. (e) *Alex. ab Alex.* lib. III. c. p. 20. *Pausanias*, lib. VII. *Epigram. Græc. Antholog.* lib. IV. (f) *Corinthiacis.* (g) *Æneid.* lib. II. ver. 512. (h) *Hecuba*, ver. 146.

the World (*i*). But from *Facitus*, who has more exactly reported this Matter, we learn, that the Privileges of Sanctuaries were not then wholly taken away, but only regulated and reform'd (*k*).

Before the Conclusion of this Chapter, it will not be improper to mention the *Fields* dedicated to religious Uses. These were call'd *Τέμενος*. *Τέμενος* is interpreted by the *Scholiast* upon *Homer* (*l*) to be *ἱερὸν χωρίον, ἀφορισμένον θεῷ κατὰ τέμνην, ἢ ἡρώ* a sacred Portion of Land set apart in Honour of some God or Hero. Several of these Places are mention'd by *Homer*, *Pausanias*, and other Authors. Sometimes their Product was carefully gather'd in, and reserv'd for the Maintenance of the Priests, and other religious Purposes (*m*). For, as has been already observ'd, it was customary to pay the same Offices to the Gods, which Men stand in Need of. The Temples were their Houses, Sacrifices their Food, Altars their Tables, Images represented their Persons, and Portions of Land were also set apart for the Maintenance of their Families. The same Respect was paid to Kings, and Men who had done eminent Service for their Country. Thus *Tarquinius Superbus* had a Portion of Ground in the *Campus Martius* at *Rome*. King *Latinus*'s Field is mention'd by *Virgil* (*n*):

Insuper id campi, quod Rex habet ipse Latinus.

This was also call'd *Τέμενος*, which Word, according to *Hesychius*, signifies whatever is set apart *θεῷ ἢ βασιλεῖ* for a God or a King. Thus the *Lycians* assign'd *Τέμενος*, a Portion of Land, for the private Use of *Bellerophon* (*o*). The same was promis'd by the *Ætolians* to *Meleager* (*p*); and in *Lycia* enjoy'd by the two Kings *Sarpedon* and *Glaucus*, the former of which thus speaks to the latter in *Homer* (*q*);

*Καὶ τέμενος μερόμεσθα μέγα ξανθοῖο παρ' ὄχθας,
καλὸν φυταλῆς καὶ ἀρέρης πυροφόρου.*

C H A P. III.

Of the Grecian Priests, and their Offices.

IT has been the Custom of all Nations to pay a peculiar Honour to their Priests; which was partly done out of Respect to the Gods, whom they represented; and partly (as *Plutarch* in his *Morals* tells us) because they did not pray for a Blessing on themselves, their own Families and Friends only, but on whole Communities, on the whole State of Mankind. They were accounted Mediators between Gods and Men, being oblig'd to offer the Sacrifices and Prayers of the People to their Gods, as will farther appear in the following Chapter; and on the other Side, *ἐμμενεῖναι παρὰ θεῶν ἀνθρώπους* deputed by the Gods to be their Interpreters to Men, to instruct them how to pray for themselves, what

(*i*) *Tiberii*, cap. 17. (*k*) *Annal.* lib. III. 60, 61, 62, 63. (*l*) *Iliad* B. ver. 696.
(*m*) *Plato*, lib. 6. de *Legibus*. (*n*) *Æneid.* lib. IX. ver. 274. (*o*) *Iliad*. V. ver. 194.
(*p*) *Iliad*. IX. ver. 574. (*q*) *Iliad*. μ'. ver. 313.

it was most expedient to ask, what Sacrifices, what Vows, what Gifts would be most acceptable to the Gods; and, in short, to teach them all the Ceremonies used in the divine Worship, as *Plato* informs us (r). On this Account, the Priests were honour'd with the next Places to their Kings and chief Magistrates, and in many Places wore the same Habit. In most of the *Grecian* Cities, and particularly at *Athens*, as we are inform'd by *Plato* (s), and several others, the Care of divine Worship was committed to the chief Magistrates: And these were often consecrated to the Priesthood. Thus *Anius* in *Virgil* was King of *Delos*, and Priest of *Apollo* (t):

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos.

In *Egypt* the Kings were all Priests; and if any one, who was not of the Royal Family, usurp'd the Kingdom, he was oblig'd to be consecrated to the Priesthood, before he was permitted to govern (u). In some Places of *Greece*, ἀντίστονον ἦν τὸ ἱερουργεῖν ἀξίωμα πρὸς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας: the Dignity of Priests was equal to that of Kings, as we are assured by *Plutarch* (w). At *Sparta*, the Kings, immediately after their Promotion, took upon them the two Priesthoods of the *Heavenly*, and the *Lacedæmonian Jupiter* (x), which was rather esteemed an Accession to their Honour, than any Diminution of it. And all the publick Sacrifices, for the Safety of the Commonwealth, were offer'd by them only; it being the common Opinion, that the Gods were more ready to hear the Prayers of them than other Men. Neither was this a Privilege peculiar to Royal Priests, but common to all others, even in the most ancient Times; they being all accounted the immediate Ministers of the Gods, and by them commission'd to dispense their Favours to Mankind. Hence, tho' at other Times it was not unlawful for other Men to offer Sacrifices, yet when any publick Calamity was to be averted, or any great and uncommon Blessing to be obtain'd, they had Recourse to some of those, who were consecrated to the Office of Priesthood. Thus the Pestilence could not be removed from the *Grecian* Army by any Prayers or Sacrifices, till they did

— ἀγνῶν ἱερὸν ἐκατόμωτον
Πρὸς Χρῦσεν — (y).

carry a sacred Hecatomb to *Chryses*, the Priest of *Apollo*. At other Times, and in the Absence of Priests, it was customary for others to offer Prayers and Sacrifices. Thus *Eumæus* is said to have done in *Homer's Odyssey*, and the same is frequently done in other Places by the Heroes, Princes, or Masters of the Family: It being customary for the most honourable Person in the Company, to perform the religious Rites. The same Method was observ'd by the *Patriarchs* in the holy Scriptures, where we find Oblation made by *Cain*, *Abel*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Job*, *Ja-*

(r) *Politico*, pag. 550. Edit. *Franc.* Conf. idem *Consejo* pag. 1194. (s) *Loc. citato*.
(t) *Eneid.* III. v. 80. (u) *Plato loco citato*. (w) *Quæst. Roman. sub finem*. (x) *Alex.*
ab *Alexandro Gen. Diet.* lib. III. cap. 7. *Nic. Cragius de Rep. Laced.* lib. II. cap. 2.
(y) *Iliad* 4. v. 99.

cob, and others till the Time of Aaron's Consecration to the Priesthood, after which it was reputed an Act of Sacrilege for private Persons to intermeddle with any of the sacred Rites.

Some of the Priests obtain'd their Office and Dignity by Inheritance. This was the constant Method in *Egypt* (a), amongst the *Jeus*, the sacred Families at *Athens*, and in many other Places. Some were appointed by Lots, others by the Designation of the Princes, and others by popular Elections. And that this last Method was very ancient, appears from *Homer* (b), where he speaks of *Theano's* being appointed Priestess of *Minerva* by the *Trojans*:

Τὴν μὲν Τρῶες ἴθικαν Ἀθηναίης ἱέρειαν.

Her the Trojans appointed to be Priestess of Minerva. Where *Eustathius* observes, that she was ἑτε κληρωτῇ, ἑτε ἐκ γένους, ἑτε ἐνὸς ἡέφου, ἀλλ' ἦν, ὡς παλαιὸι φασι, τὸ πλῆθος εἰλέο. *Neither appointed by Lots, nor by Right of Inheritance, nor by the Designation of a single Person, but, as the Ancients say, elected by the People.* By which Words he describes the several Ways of appointing Priests, which were us'd by the ancient *Greeks*.

It was required, that whoever was admitted to this Office, should be sound and perfect in all his Members, it being thought a Dishonour to the Gods to be serv'd by any one that was lame, maim'd, or any other Way imperfect; and therefore, at *Athens*, before their Consecration, it was examin'd, whether they were ἀφελῆς, that is, perfect and entire, neither having any Defect; nor any Thing superfluous (c). In the same Manner it was commanded by one of the *Jeewish* Laws, which in many Things agree with those of *Athens*, that *no Man that had a Blemish of the Seed of Aaron, shall come nigh unto the Altar* (d).

Nor ought they to be perfect in Body only, but upright in Mind: Nothing ought to approach the Gods, but what is pure and uncorrupt; therefore the Priests liv'd temperately and chaste, abstaining even from those Pleasures which were allowable to other Men; insomuch that *Euripides* tells us, that in *Crete* the Prophets of *Jupiter* did not only deny themselves the Use of Flesh-meat, but forbore to eat any Thing that was boiled. Some were so rigid Observers of the Rules of Chastity, that, like the Priests of the *Mother of the Gods* at *Samos*, they dismember'd themselves. The *Hierophantes* at *Athens*, after their Admission, enfeebled themselves by a Draught of the Juice of *Hemlock*: In short, 'twas very customary for those, that attended on the more sacred and mysterious Rites, by using certain Herbs and Medicaments, to unman themselves, that they might worship the Gods with greater Chastity and Purity. They also generally retir'd from the World, to the End, that, being free from Business and Cares, they might have the more Leisure to attend on the Service of the Gods, and wholly devote themselves to Piety, and the Exercise of Religion. One of the Herbs, commonly made Use of by them, was the *Agnus-castus*, in Greek λύνγος, or ἄλνγος, so call'd from

(a) *Herodotus Euterpe.* (b) *Il. Z. v. 300.* (c) *Hesychius, Etymologici Autor v. Ἀφελῆς.* (d) *Levit. XXI. 22, 23.*

being ἄγονοι, an Enemy to Generation; this they were wont to strew under the Bed-cloaths, believing it had a certain natural Virtue, whereby it was able to preserve their Chastity, as *Eustathius* (f), besides many others, hath observ'd. But tho' most of them were oblig'd to strict Chastity and Temperance, and some to practise these Severities upon themselves, yet were others allow'd to marry; and *Eustathius* (g) tells us, that it was but an Institution of latter Ages, that the Priestesses should be Virgins; to confirm which, *Homer* gives us an Instance in *Theano*, who was Priestess of *Minerva*, and Wife of *Antenor* the Trojan,

Θεανῶ καλλιπάρῃ
Κισσηῖς, ἄλοχ' Ἀντήνορος ἱπποδάμοιο,
Τὴν γὰρ Τρῶες ἔθηκεαν Ἀθηναίης ἱέρειαν (b).

Beauteous *Theano*,
Daughter to *Cisseus*, but *Antenor's* Bride,
Antenor skill'd the wanton Steed to guide.
For *Trojans* her had made with joint Consent
Minerva's Priestess.——

H. H.

In *Homer's* first *Iliad*, Mention is made of *Chryseis*, the Daughter of *Chryses*, *Apollo's* Priest. And to omit many other Examples, in the fifth *Iliad*, *Dares*, the Priest of *Vulcan*, is said to have two Sons. Nevertheless, second Marriages were not reputed creditable. Hence *Dido* in *Virgil*, speaking of being marry'd to *Aeneas*, after the Death of a former Husband, calls it *Culpam*, a Fault (i):

Huic uni forsan potui succumbere Culpæ.

Where *Servius* has made this Remark, *Quod antiqui à Sacerdotio repellabant bis nuptas*: That the Ancients us'd to exclude those, who had been twice marry'd, from the Priesthood. By which Words it is imply'd, that in the latter Ages, such Persons were admitted to this Office. And in some Places, to have several Husbands, or several Lovers, was a necessary Qualification for the Priestess. *Alia sacra coronat univira, alia multi-vira, & magna religione conquiritur quæ plura possit adulteria numerare*, saith *Minutius Felix* (k). This we find reported concerning the Priestesses in *Lydia* by *Herodotus* (l), and those in *Armenia* by *Strabo* (m).

At *Athens*, all the Priests and Priestesses, with the sacred Families, and all others, who were entrusted with the Care of Religion, were oblig'd to give Account before certain Officers, how they had discharged their several Functions (n).

In small Cities, all the sacred Offices were commonly executed by one Person, who both offer'd Sacrifices, had the Care of the Temple, collected the Revenues belonging to it, and had the Management of other Things, which any Way related to the Worship of the Gods. But where the Worshippers were numerous, and by Consequence, the reli-

(f) Il. ζ'. p. 768. Edit. Basil. (g) Ibidem. p. 503. (b) Il. ζ'. v. 298. (i) *Æneid*. IV. v. 19. (k) *Oration*. p. 236. Edit. Bas. (l) Lib. I. (m) Lib. XII. (n) *Æschines* in *Ctesiphont*. p. 18. Edit. Oxon.

gious Services too burthensome for one Priest, several Priests were appointed, and other Officers *κεχωρισμένοι τῆς ἱερᾶς ὑπηρεσίας*, distinct from the Priesthood, as *ἱεροποιοὶ, ναοφύλακες, ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων* Sacrificers, Keepers of the Temple, Treasurers of the sacred Revenues (o), and others.

Of the different Orders of Priests nothing exact can be deliver'd; for not only every God had a different Order of Priests consecrated to him, but even the Priests of the same Gods were very different, according to the Diversity of Place, and other Circumstances. I shall not therefore trouble the Reader with an Account of the particular Priests belonging to every Deity in the many Cities of Greece, which would be both unpleasant, and not very useful, but only briefly mention the general Orders, and Offices of them. First, in every Place they seem to have had an *Ἀρχιερεῦς*, or High-Priest, whose Office it was to superintend over the rest, and execute the more sacred Rites and Mysteries of Religion. Amongst the *Opuntians* (p) there were two Chief-Priests, one of which belong'd to the chief and celestial Gods, the other to the *Δαίμονες*, or Demi-gods. At *Athens* they had a great many, every God almost having a Chief-Priest that presided over the rest; as the *Dadouchus* over the Priests of *Hercules*, and the *Stephanophorus* over those of *Pallas*. The *Delphians* had five Chief-Priests, who help'd to perform the holy Rites with the Prophets, and had the chief Management of all Parts of divine Worship; these were call'd *Ἵερες*, i. e. *Holy*, and the Chief of them that presided at Sacrifices, *Ἵερὸς*, i. e. *Purifier*, one that makes holy; and another that had the Care of the Oracle, call'd *Ἀφῆτωρ*, which is a Sirname of *Apollo*, given him by *Homer*, and signifies one that gives Oracles.

Another holy Order was that of the *Parasiti* (q), which Word, saith *Clearchus* the *Solenbrian*, one of *Aristotle's* Scholars, in its first Acceptation signified τὸν ἱταύμον, a Man quick and expeditious, but was afterwards taken for a *Table Companion*; tho' *Polemon* is of Opinion, that this was its ancient Signification, and that they were so call'd, because they were allow'd Part of the Sacrifices, together with the Priest, as is evident from an Inscription on a Pillar in the *Anaceum*:

ΤΟΙΝ ΔΕ ΒΟΟΙΝ ΤΟΙΝ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΙΝ ΤΟΙΝ
ΕΞΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΝ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΙΣ
ΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΤΑ ΔΕ ΔΥΟ ΜΕΡΗ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ
ΤΟ ΙΕΡΕΙ ΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΣΙΤΟΙΣ.

That of the Oxen one Part should be reserv'd for the Games; and of the other two, one should be given to the Priests, another to the *Parasiti*. It was at the first an Office of great Honour; for, by the ancient Law, the *Parasiti* were reckon'd among the Chief Magistrates. Their Office was to gather of the Husbandmen the Corn allotted for publick Sacrifices, which they call *Προσόδεια μεγάλα*, the great Income, and is by (r) *Aristophanes* put for the great Sacrifices, which, as the *Scholiast* tells

(o) *Aristoteles Polit. lib. VI. cap. 8. p. 506. Tom. 3. Edit. Paris.* (p) *Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dierum lib. II. cap. 8.* (q) *Athenæus Deipnosoph. lib. VI. p. 235. Pollux, lib. VI. cap. 7. Hesychius.* (r) *Avibus.*

us, were so call'd, because their Charges were defray'd by these publick Revenues. The publick Store-house, where they kept these First-fruits, were call'd Παράσιον (b). Diodorus the Sinopenſian in Athenæus tells us, that in every Village of the Athenians, they maintain'd at the publick Charge certain *Parasiti* in Honour of *Hercules*, but afterwards, to ease the Commonwealth of this Burden, the Magistrates oblig'd some of the wealthier Sort to take them to their own Tables, and entertain them at their own Cost; whence this Word seems in later Ages to have signified a *Trencher-friend*, a *Flatterer*, or one, that, for the Sake of a Dinner, conforms himself to every Man's Humour. Thus indeed *Cassaubon* interprets that Passage, but the Meaning of it seems rather to be this: That whereas in former Times *Hercules* had his *Parasiti*, the rich Men of later Ages, in Imitation of that Hero, chose likewise their *Parasiti*, tho' not χαρίεσται, such as *Hercules* us'd to have, τὰς κολακίαις ἐναγμένους; such as would flatter them most.

The Κήρυκες also, or publick Criers, assisted at Sacrifices, and seem to have had the same Office with the *Popeæ* and *Victimarii* among the Latins; for in Athenæus (c), one *Clidemnus* tells us, they were instead of μάγειροι and βεβυται, Cooks and Butchers; and adds, that a long Time the Crier's Office was to kill the Offering, prepare Things necessary for the Sacrifices, and to serve instead of a Cup-bearer at the Feast; he also tells us, that the Ministring at Sacrifices did of old belong to the Criers. The same is also confirm'd by *Eusebius* on this Verse of *Homer* (d),

Κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεῶν ἱερὴν ἐκατόμβην
ἦγον. —

Along the Streets the sacred Hecatomb
The Criers dragg'd. —

Phavorinus and *Cælius Rhodiginus* give this Reason for their being call'd Διὸς ἄγγελοι by *Homer*, viz because they assisted at the Sacrifices of the Gods, and (as the former adds) τὰς ἐορτὰς τῶν θεῶν ἡγέλον, gave publick Notice of the Times wherein the Festivals were to be celebrated. To this Purpose I might bring many Instances out of the ancient Poets, and especially *Homer*. These Κήρυκες, indeed, were a kind of publick Servants employ'd on all Occasions; they were instead of Ambassadors, Cooks, and Criers; and, in short, there was scarce any Office, except such as were servile and base, they were not put to; but their Name was given them ἀπὸ τοῦ κηρύττειν, saith *Athenæus*, from the best and most proper Part of their Office, which was τὸ κηρύττειν, to proclaim, which they did as well in Time of Divine Service, as in Civil Affairs; for, at the Beginning of the holy Rites, they commanded Silence and Attention in these, or such like Words, Εὐφραμεῖτε, σὺν ᾧ πᾶς ἔσται λαός; when the religious Mysteries were ended, they dismiss'd the Congregation with these Words, Λαὸν ἀφεςις, of which more afterwards. At Athens there was a Family nam'd Κήρυκες, from Κήρυξ, the Son of *Mercury* and *Pandrosia*, which was accounted sacred, whence *Suidas* * calls them γένος ἱερὸν καὶ θεόφιλον, a holy Family, beloved by the Gods;

(b) In Ἐπικλήσει. (c) Lib. X. & XIV. (d) Odyss. ii. * Εὐμολπίδαι.

such

such also were the *Emolpidae*, who enjoy'd a Priesthood at *Athens* by Inheritance, being either descended from King *Eumolpus*, or instituted in Memory of him. The *Ceryces*, as *Anthemio* the Comedian in *Athenæus* (e) tells us, were the first that taught Men to boil their Victuals, as the Flesh of Sheep and Oxen, which before they devour'd raw. They were had in great Honour at *Athens*, insomuch that *Athenæus* endeavours to prove that the Trade of a Cook was a creditable Calling, from the Respect paid to these *Ceryces*, who were Cooks at Sacrifices, and likewise seem to have perform'd those other holy Offices, which belong'd to the *Kérynes* in other Places. *Diodorus Siculus* (f) resembles them to the *Egyptian Pastophori*, and thinks they had their Original from them; indeed some Parts of their Office were much alike, for both of them kill'd the Victim, and attended on their Sacrificers.

Νεωκόροι, call'd by *Nicaner Zanōroi* (g), so nam'd from *κορῆν*, which signifies to keep neat and clean, or to adorn; for it was their Duty to adorn the Temples, and look after the Furniture of them; but they submitted not to such mean Offices, as the Sweeping of them, as *Suidas* (h) would have it; but herein he contradicts *Euripides* (i), who brings in *Ion*, the *Νεωκόρος*, or *Ædituus* of *Apollo*, telling *Mercury*, that he swept the Temple with a Beesom of Laurel. There were also *Ναοφύλακες*, whose Charge it was to take Care of the holy Utensils, and see that nothing was wanting, and to repair what went to Decay, saith *Aristotle* (k). Sometimes the *Parasiti* are said to have been entrusted at *Athens*, that whatever they expended this Way should be repaid them.

There were also other Priests, one of which *Aristophanes* (l) calls *Πρόπολος*, which is a general Name for any *Servant*, and therefore to restrain it he adds *θεῖς*, calling him *πρόπολος θεῖς*. These were Priests waiting always on the Gods, whose Prayers the People desired at Sacrifices, at which these seem to have perform'd some other Rites distinct from those which belong'd to the *Ceryces*; their Share in the Sacrifices was the Skin and Feet; the Tongues were the Fees of the *Ceryces*. Indeed, all that serv'd the Gods were maintain'd by the Sacrifices, and other holy Offerings. To which there is an Allusion in *Aristophanes* (m), where *Cario* thus speaks to the Priest:

Οὐκὲν τὰ νομιζόμενα σὺ τῶτων λαμβάνεις;

*Why don't you take the Part allotted you by Law? Where the Scholiast observes, there was a Law, τὰ υπολειπόμενα τῆς θυσίας τὸν ἱερεῖα λαμβάνειν. That the Remains of Sacrifices should belong to the Priest, and that these were δερμάτια καὶ πόδια, the Skins and Feet. Which he has repeated in another Place (n). Thus likewise *Apollo* in *Homer* (o) promises the *Cretians*, whom he had chosen to be his Priests, that they should have a Maintenance out of the Sacrifices. Hereby, together with other Advantages, the Priests in the primitive Times seem generally to have*

(e) Lib. XIV. (f) Lib. I. (g) Alexipharm. (h) In voce *Νεωκόρος*. (i) In *Ionæ*, v. 121. (k) In *Politie*. (l) *Pluto*, Act. III. Scen. II. (m) *Pluto*, Act. V. Scen. II. (n) In *Vesp*. (o) *Hymno Apolliniis*, v. 535.

grown rich : Whence *Chryses*, in *Homer* (a), offers for the Redemption of his Daughter ἀπείριστος ἄποινα, an infinite Price ; and *Dares*, the Priest of *Vulcan*, is, by the same Poet (b), said to have been a wealthy Man :

Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης, ἄφειδός, ἀμύμων,
Ἴρεός, Ἡφαίστιοιο —————

These are the most general Orders of Priests ; others were appropriated to certain Gods, and sometimes certain Feasts, of which I shall have Occasion to speak hereafter, as likewise of those that attended the Oracles, and those who were any Way concern'd in the Art of Divination.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Grecian Sacrifices, sacred Presents, and Tythes.

D IDYMUS, in his Annotations upon *Pindar* (c), reports, that one *Melissus*, a King of *Crete*, was the first that offer'd Sacrifice to the Gods, and invented religious Rites and Ceremonies, and that *Amalthea* and *Melissa*, who nurs'd *Jupiter*, and fed him with Goats-milk and Honey, were his Daughters. Others relate, that *Phroneus*, some that *Merops* was the first who erected Altars and Temples, and offer'd Sacrifices (d). And others will have the Use of (ἱλαρὰ θυσία) propitiatory Sacrifices to have first begun by *Chiron* the Centaur (e). But passing by these and the like fabulous Narrations, I shall endeavour to describe the Customs in Use amongst the ancient *Greeks* at their solemn Sacrifices. In doing which, I shall first treat of the Occasion and End of them. 2. Of their Matter. 3. Of the Preparations requir'd before them, with all the Ornaments both of the Sacrifices, Victims, and Altars. 4. Of the sacred Rites used at and after their Celebration.

As to the Causes and Occasions of them, they seem to have been chiefly four. For Sacrifices were,

1. Εὐχταῖα, or Χαριτήρια, Vows, or free-will Offerings ; such were those promised to the Gods before, and paid after a Victory : As also the First-fruits offer'd by Husbandmen after Harvest, being grateful Acknowledgments to the Gods, by whose Blessing they had receiv'd a plentiful Reward for their Labour and Toil in tilling the Ground. These are, by *Suidas* (f), call'd Θυσία δωροφορικαί, because they were Free gifts ; and ἀποπληστικαί, because thereby they fulfill'd some Vow made to the Gods ; both which, being Effects of Gratitude, I have reduced under one Head. It may not be improper here to correct the Mistake of *Saubertus* (g), who takes εὐχταῖα for αἰτητικὰ, petitionary Sacrifices : Whereas the proper Meaning of εὐχταῖον is, according to *Hesychius*, τὸ κατ' εὐχὴν ἀποδιδόμενον, that which is paid to discharge a Vow.

(a) *Iliad*. á. 13. (b) *Iliad*. é. v. 9. (c) *Cæli Rhod. lib. XII. cap. 1.* (d) *Clementis Alex. Protrept. p. 28.* (e) *Idem, Strom. I. p. 306.* (f) In voce *Θυσία*. (g) *Libro de Sacrificiis.*

2. ἱλαστικά, or διαλλακτικά, propitiatory Offerings, to avert the Anger of some offended Deity. Such were all the Sacrifices used in Expiations.

3. Αἰτητικά, petitionary Sacrifices, for Success in any Enterprize. So religious were the Heathens, that they would not undertake any Thing of Moment, without having first ask'd the Advice, and implored the Assistance of the Gods by Sacrifices and Presents.

4. Τὰ ἀπὸ μαθήας, such as were imposed and commanded by an Oracle or Prophet. Some others have been added, which I have purposely omitted, as reducible to some of these four.

I come now in the second Place to treat of the Matter of their Oblations. In the most ancient Sacrifices there were neither living Creatures, nor any Thing costly or magnificent; no Myrrh, or Frankincense, or other Perfumes were made Use of; but instead of them all (*b*) Herbs and Plants, pluck'd up by the Roots, were burnt whole with their Leaves and Fruit before the Gods; and this was thought a very acceptable Oblation. The like Customs prevail'd in most other Nations, and particularly amongst the primitive *Italians*, of whose Sacrifices *Ovid* has left us the following Description (*i*):

*Ante, Deos homini quod conciliare valeret,
Far erat, & puri lucida mica salis.
Nondum pertulerat lacrymatas cortice myrrhas
Acta per æquoreas hospita navis aquas.
Thura nec Euphrates, nec miserat India costum:
Nec fuerant rubri cognita fila croci.
Ara dabat fumos herbis contenta Sabinis,
Et non exiguo laurus adusta sono.
Siquis erat, factis prati de flore coronis
Qui posset violas addere, dives erat.*

Some report, that *Cecrops* introduced the Custom of sacrificing Oxen (*k*); but *Pausanias* (*l*) making a Comparison between *Cecrops* and his Contemporary *Lycaon*, King of *Arcadia*, affirms, that whereas the latter of these sacrificed a Child to *Jupiter Lycaeus*, and polluted the holy Altar with human Blood; the former never sacrificed any Thing endued with Life, but only the Cakes used in his own Country, and there call'd *σέλανος*. Some Ages after, the *Athenians* were commanded, by one of *Triptolemus's* Laws, to abstain from living Creatures (*m*). And even to *Draco's* Time the *Attick* Oblations consisted of nothing else but the Earth's Beneficence. This Frugality and Simplicity had in other Places been laid aside before his Time, and here not long after; for no sooner did they leave their ancient Diet of Herbs and Roots, and begin to use living Creatures for Food (which the Ancients are said to have thought altogether unlawful) but they also began to change their Sacrifices; it being always usual for their own Feasts, and the Feasts

(*b*) *Cal Rhod.* lib. XII. cap. I. (*i*) *Festor.* lib. I. (*k*) *Eusebius Chron.* pag. 361. (*l*) *Arcaditis.* (*m*) *Porphy.* de Abstin. ab Animal.

of the Gods (such they thought the Sacrifices) to consist of the same Materials.

The solemn Sacrifices consisted of these three Things, Σπονδή, Θυσίαμα, and Ἱερῶν. This *Hesiod* (n) seems to intimate in the following Verses :

Καθ' δ' ἄνακτι δ' ἔρδειν ἱερ' ἀθανάτοισι θεῶσιν
Ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, ἐπὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ κηρία καίειν,
Ἄλλοις δ' ἢ σπονδῇσι, δύνεσσι τε ἰλάσκεσθαι,
Ἢ μὲν ὅτ' εὐνάξῃ, καὶ ὅταν φάει ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ.

Offer to *Jove* with an untainted Mind,
Offer the best, if you'd have him prove kind:
Let lulling Sleep ne'er seal your drowzy Eyes,
Nor purple Morn gild o'er the Eastern Skies,
Till you accoit the Gods with Sacrifice.

H. H.

Where it may be observed, that tho' the more solemn Sacrifices consisted of all these three Parts, yet it was lawful to use some of them by themselves. Whence *Eusebius* (o) tells us, it was not only usual to offer Drink-offerings of Wine at Sacrifices, but also at the Beginning of a Journey by Land, or Sea, before they went to sleep, when they entertain'd a Stranger, and at any other Time. In short, in all the smaller Affairs of Life, they seem to have desired the Protection and Favour of the Gods, by Oblations of Incense, or Drink-offerings; whereas the more solemn Sacrifices were only used upon set Times, and weighty Occasions, both because of the Expensiveness and Trouble of them. The Case seems to have been this: The Oblations of the Gods, as hath been before observed, were furnished after the same Manner with the Entertainments of Men. Hence, as Men delight in different Sorts of Diet, so the Gods were thought to be pleased with several Sorts of Sacrifices. Some with human Victims, others with Beasts of various Kinds, others with Herbs only, and the Fruits of the Earth. All required Salt and Drink; whence there was scarce any Sacrifice without Salt, and an Oblation of Drink. And the latter of these was frequently offer'd without Victims, tho' Victims were rarely, if ever, sacrificed without Oblations of Drink; it being the Custom of Men to drink without eating, but very seldom to eat a Meal without drinking.

Σπένδειν, and λίσσειν, amongst the *Greeks*, have the same Signification as *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus* have observ'd, and imply no more than to *pour forth*, which is also the proper Sense of the *Latin* Word *libare*, saith *Isidorus* (p); but because of their constant Use at the Drink-offerings of the Gods, they came at length to be appropriated to them. The same may be observ'd of their Derivatives σπονδή, λίσση, and *libatio*, which Words differ not at all from one another. The Matter in the σπονδαί was generally Wine. Of Wine there were two Sorts, the one ἐνσπονδον, the other ἀσπονδον; the former was so call'd, because it was *lawful*, the latter, because it was *unlawful* to make Use of it

(n) Ἔργ. β' Ἡμέρ. v. 334. βιβλ. α. (o) Il. α. p. 102. Edit. *Basil.* (p) *Origin.* l. VI. c. 19.

in these *Libations*; such they accounted all Wine mix'd with Water; whence ἀκράτος, i. e. *pure and unmix'd* Wine, is so often made Mention of by ancient Writers. And tho' sometimes mix'd Wine is mention'd at Sacrifices, yet, if we may believe *Eustatbius*, this Mixture was not made of Wine and Water, but of different Sorts of Wine. *Pliny* (q) also tells us, that it was unlawful to make an Oblation of Wine, press'd from Grapes cut, par'd round, or polluted with a Fall on the Ground; or such as came out of a Wine-press trodden with bloody and wounded Feet, or from a Vine unpruned, blasted, or that had a Man hang'd upon it. He speaks also of a certain Grape call'd *Aspendia* (r), whose Wine it was unlawful to offer upon the Altars. But tho' these *Libations* generally consisted of Wine, yet they were sometimes made of other Ingredients, and call'd *νηφάλιαι θυσίαι*, ἀπὸ τῆς νήφειν, from being *sober*. Such as these were offer'd to the *Eumenides*; for which *Suidas* (s) gives this Reason, viz. that divine Justice ought always to be vigilant. He likewise adds, that at *Athens* such Oblations were made to the *Nymphs*, to *Venus Urania*, *Mnemosyne*, the *Morning*, the *Moon*, and the *Sun*; and there seems to have been a particular Reason, why every one of these were honour'd with such Oblations. For Instance, *Eustatbius* (t) tells us, that Honey was offer'd to the *Sun*, but Wine was never used upon any Altar dedicated to him; because he, by whom all Things are encompassed, and held together, ought to be temperate. *Plutarch* (u) says, that these *νηφάλιαι θυσίαι* were often performed to *Bacchus*, for no other Reason than that Men might not be always accustomed to strong and unmixed Wines. *Pausanias* affirms, that the *Eleans* never offer'd Wine to the *Δέσποινας*, i. e. *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, nor at the Altar dedicated to *all the Gods*. To *Pluto*, instead of Wine, Oil was offer'd, as *Virgil* (w) witnesseth; and *Homer* (x) brings in *Ulysses* telling *Alcinous*, that he had made an Oblation to the infernal Gods, in which he pour'd forth, first, Wine mixed with Honey, then pure Wine, and, after all, Water. His Words are these;

— ἐγὼ δ' ἄρ' ἄξυ ἐρυσσάμενθ' παρὰ μηρῶ,
 Βόθρον ὄρυζα ὅσοντε πυγύσιον ἔνθα κ' ἔνθα·
 Ἄμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ χοὰς χεύμεν πᾶσι νεκύεσσι,
 Πρώτα μελικρήτω, μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδεῖ οἶψι,
 Τὸ τρίτον αὖθ' ὕδατι ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιλα λευκὰ πάλυνοι·

Straight from my Side I drew my sharpen'd Blade,
 A Trench, a Cubit every Way I made,
 Then these Libations pour'd around the Brim,
 To th' Ghosts that shoot along the *Stygian Stream*;
 First *Wine* with *Honey* mix'd, then *Wine* alone,
 Next *Water*, presently, when this was done,
 With finest *Flour* besprinkled all around.

H. H. }

(q) Nat. Hist. lib. XIV. c. 19. (r) Nat. Hist. lib. XIV. c. 18. (s) Voce *νηφάλιαι θυσίαι*. (t) *Odyss.* κ'. (u) *De sanitate*. (w) *Æn.* VI. 154. (x) *Odyss.* XI. v. 25.
 But

But concerning the Oblations of the infernal Gods, I shall discourse in another Place.

There were also other Gods, to whom, in certain Places, they sacrificed without Wine; such was *Jupiter ὑπάτος*, the *Supreme*, upon whose Altar the *Athenians* never offer'd Wine, or living Creatures. The *νηφάλια* *ἑστιά*, *sober Sacrifices*, are divided into four Sorts. 1. τὰ ὑδρόσπονδα, *Libations of Water*. 2. τὰ μέλισσπονδα, *Libations of Honey*. 3. τὰ γαλακτοσπονδα, *Libations of Milk*. 4. τὰ ἰλαίοσπονδα, *Libations of Oil*. Which Liquors were sometimes mix'd with one another. If *Porphyry* (y) may be credited, most of the Libations in the primitive Times, were *νηφάλια*. And of these Water was first used, then Honey, which is easily to be had, afterwards Oil, and in latter Ages Wine came to be offer'd. It is very probable, whether this Order was observed, or not, that the most primitive Oblations, like the Way of living in those Ages, were exceeding simple, and consisted of such Materials as were most easily to be provided.

Lastly, it must be further observed, that Libations were always offer'd in Cups full to the Brim, it being a Sort of Irreverence to the Gods to present any Thing which was not τέλειον καὶ ὅλον, *whole and perfect*. Thus to fill the Cup was term'd ἐπιστέφειν κρατῆρα, *to crown it*; and the Cup so fill'd, ἐπιστέφειν οἶνον, *crown'd with Wine*, ἥτοι ἐπιστεφύλης πομῆται ὥστε διὰ τῆ ποτῆ ἐκφανέσθαι the *Liquor appearing above the Cup in the Form of a Crown*, according to *Athenæus* (z). The Poets often express this Custom. Hence the following Verse of *Homer*,

Κῆρυ δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπιστέφαντο ποτοῖο.

And that Allusion of another Poet cited by *Athenæus*,

Ἄλλ' αὖ θεὸς μερῶν ἔπεισι γέφει.

And *Vina coronare*, to crown the Wine, is an Expression used by *Virgil*.

The second Thing to be consider'd in the Sacrifices is the *Suffitus*, in Greek called ὄσθον, which Word doth not originally signify the Victim, but τὰ φαιρά, i. e. *broken Fruits, Leaves, or Acorns*, the only Sacrifices of the Ancients; whence, in *Suidas* τὰ θύη are expounded θυμιάματα, or *Incense*. In like Manner the Verb θύω is never used by *Homer* to signify the Offering of the Victim (for in this Sense he has made Use of θύω and θύαν, but only of these φαιρά, says *Athenæus* (a); which Signification was afterwards changed, and almost appropriated to Animals (b). If *Aldrovandus* (c) may be credited, there were no Sacrifices in the primitive Times, in quibus arbores, earumque partes, partem haud exiguam sibi non vendicabant; whereof Trees, or some Parts of them, were not made a considerable Part of the Oblation. These were chiefly odoriferous Trees, some Parts whereof πολλοὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι δέουσι, *many do even in this Age offer*, saith *Porphyry* (d). But the most primitive Offerings were only χλόαι, *green Herbs*, as we are inform'd by the same Author. In latter Ages they commonly made Use of Frankin-

(y) De Abstinent. lib. II. (z) Lib. I. cap. 11. Item lib. XV. cap. 5. (a) Deipn. lib. XIV. (b) Porph. lib. II. de Abstinent. (c) Dendrolog. lib. I. (d) Libro cita o.

cense, or some Perfume. But it was a long Time before Frankincense came to be in Use. In the Times of the *Trojan War* it was unknown, but instead thereof they offer'd Cedar and Citron, saith *Pliny* (e); and the *Grecian Fables* tell us, that Frankincense was first used after the Change of a devout Youth, call'd *Libanus*, into that Tree, which has taken its Name from him. It may be farther observed, that some Sorts of Trees were offer'd with Libations of Wine, others only with *νεφέλια ιερά*, which are thence call'd *νεφέλια ξύλα*. These, according to *Suidas's Account*, were τὰ μὴτ' ἀμπέλυνα, μὴτε σίκινα, μὴτε μύρρινα, all beside the Vine, Fig, and Myrrh, which, being offer'd with Wine only, were term'd *οἰόσποδα*. Hither also may be referr'd the *ἐλοχυσται, ἐλαι*, or *mola falsæ*, which were Cakes of Salt and Barley, ἃς ἐπέχεον τοῖς βωμοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἱεργίας which they pour'd down upon the Altar, before the Victim was sacrificed. At first the Barley was offer'd whole and unbroken, till the Invention of Mills and Grinding, whence they were call'd *ἐλαι q. ἐλαι*, saith *Eustathius* (f). To offer these was term'd *ἐλοθυεῖν*, and of this Custom there is frequent Mention in *Homer*. Of this Kind also were the *πόπανα*, being round, broad, and thin Cakes; and another Sort call'd *πέλανοι*, of which there were several Kinds, and those three reckon'd by *Phavorinus*; which he calls *Θίσιοι, ἀνάστατοι, and ἀμφιφῶντες*. Another Sort of Cakes was call'd *Σελήνας* from the Figure, being broad, and horn'd in Imitation of the New Moon. There was another Sort of Cakes with Horns, call'd also from their Figure *Βόες*, and usually offer'd to *Apollo, Diana, Hecate*, and the Moon. In Sacrifices to the Moon they used, after six of the *Σελήνας*, to offer one of these, which, for that Reason, was term'd *Βῆς ἑξόμοσ*. The same was sometimes offer'd after a Sacrifice of six Animals, saith *Suidas*; and hence *Βῆς ἑξόμοσ*, as being a Lump without Life, is proverbially used for a stupid and senseless Person. There were also other Offerings, of this Sort, peculiar to certain Gods, as the *Obeliophori* to *Bacchus*, the *Μεμνίστα* to *Trephonius*, with others, which, for Brevity's Sake, I omit. It may here be observed that no Oblation was thought acceptable to the Gods without a Mixture of Salt. *Nulla (sacra) conficiuntur sine mola falsa*. No Sacrifice is made without Meal mixed with Salt, saith *Pliny* (g). There is continual Mention hereof in the Poets. Thus in *Virgil* (h):

————— *Mibi sacra parari*
Et fruges falsæ —————

And in *Ovid* describing the primitive Oblations (i):

Ante Deos homini quod conciliare valebat,
Far erat, & puri lucida mica salis.

This Custom was certainly very ancient and universal. To forbear the Mention of other Testimonies, we find this Precept given to *Moses* (k); Every Oblation of thy Meat-offering shalt thou season with Salt; neither shalt thou suffer the Salt of the Covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy

(e) Nat. Hist. lib. XIII. cap. 1. (f) In Il. 4. p. 99. Edit. Basil. (g) Nat. Hist. lib. XXXI. cap. 7. (h) *Æneid*. lib. II. ver. 131. (i) *Pastor*. lib. III. ver. 337. (l) *Levit*. II. 13.

Meat-offerings; with all thy Offerings thou shalt offer Salt. The Ground of this Custom is by some affirm'd to be, that *Salt* was a Token of Friendship and Hospitality. It being also constantly used in all the Victuals of Men, was thought necessary to the Entertainments and Sacrifices of the Gods, as was before observed. For the same Reason there was scarce any Sacrifice without Bread-Corn or Bread. Particularly Barley was offer'd more than any other Grain, that being the first Sort of Corn, which the *Greeks* used after their primitive Diet of Acorns; whence *κριθή* is by some derived from *κρίνω*, to discern, Men being first, by that Sort of Food, distinguish'd from other Animals, with whom they had before lived upon Acorns (*k*). On the same Account the *Athenians* offer'd only such Barley as grew in the Field *Rharium*; in Memory of its having first been sown there (*l*). And instead of the Greek *κριθή*, the *Romans* used another Sort call'd *Zuā*, which was the Sort of Corn first used by them. This Practice remain'd in the Time of *Dionysius the Halicarnassian* (*m*).

The third and chief Part of the Sacrifice was *ἱερίων*, the *Victim*; concerning which it may be observ'd, in the first Place, that it was requir'd to be whole, perfect, and sound in all its Members, without Spot or Blemish; otherwise it was unacceptable to the Gods, who must be served with the very best of all the Flocks and Herds; to which End *Solon*, in his Laws, commanded the *Athenians* to offer *Ευκρίτα ἱερίων*, chosen and select Sacrifices; and it was an ancient Custom to cull out of the Flocks the goodliest of all the Cattle, and put certain Marks upon them, whereby they might be distinguished from the rest. *Virgil* (*n*) tells us, their Herds were divided into three Parts, one of which they design'd for Propagation, another for Sacrifice, and the third for Labour; his Words are these;

*Pest partum cura in vitulos traducitur omnis,
Continuque notas, & nomina gentis inurunt:
Et quos aut pecori malint submittere habendo,
Aut aris servare sacros, aut scindere terram.*

As soon as e'er brought forth, great Care's enjoin'd
To brand each one for what he is design'd:
Whether for Breeding this be set apart,
For th' Altar that, a third for Plough or Cart.

H. H.

The same is affirm'd by *Apollonius Rhodius*, in the second Book of his *Argonauticks* (*o*).

Notwithstanding all this Care in the Choice of Victims, yet it was thought unlawful to offer them, till the Priests had, by divers Experiments, made Trial of them, of which I shall speak hereafter. The Sacrifice, if it was approved by the Priest, was call'd *Τελέια θυσία*, whence comes the frequent Mention of *ταῦροι αἰγες, βοες τέλειοι* (*p*). If not,

(*k*) *Eustatius* loco citato conf. *Archæologiæ hujus* lib. VI. ubi de convivii materia agitur. (*l*) *Pausanias Atticæ* pag. 71. Edit. Han. (*m*) Lib. II. pag. 95. Edit. *Leips.* (*n*) *Geor.* III. v. 157. (*o*) V. 355. (*p*) Conf. *Homeri* II. 4. ibique vetus Scholiastes.

another was brought to the Trial, till one every Way perfect was found. The *Spartans*, whose Custom was to serve the Gods, with as little Expence as was possible, did very often *ἀνάνητα δίδω*, sacrifice maim'd and defective Animals (q); out of an Opinion, that so long as their Minds were pure and well pleasing to their Gods, their external Worship, in whatever Manner perform'd, could not fail of being accepted.

As to the Kinds of Animals offer'd in Sacrifice, they differ'd according to the Variety of the Gods to whom, and the Persons by whom they were offer'd. A Shepherd would sacrifice a Sheep, a Neatherd an Ox, a Goatherd a Goat, and a Fisher, after a plentiful Draught, would offer a Tunny, saith *Athenaus*, to *Neptune*; and so the rest according to every Man's Employment. They differ'd also according to the Diversity of the Gods, for to the infernal and evil Gods they offer'd black Victims; to the Good, white; to the Barren, barren ones; to the Fruitful, pregnant ones; lastly, to the masculine Gods, Males; to the Feminine, Females were commonly thought acceptable. Almost every God had some of the Animals consecrated to him, and out of these, Sacrifices were often chosen; for Instance, to *Hecate* they sacrificed a Dog; to *Venus*, a Dove or Pigeon. Choice was also made of Animals, according to the Dispositions of the Gods, to whom they were to be offer'd. *Mars* was thought to be pleas'd with such Creatures as were furious and warlike, as the *Bull*. The Sow was sacrificed to *Ceres*, as being apt to root up the Seed-Corn, and, on that Account, an Enemy to her. Many Authors affirm, that this Animal was, for that Reason, first kill'd, when before it was held unlawful to put living Creatures to Death; and that it was first of all others eaten by Men, and sacrificed to the Gods. Hence its Greek Name *σῦς*, term'd in *Latin* also *Sus*, is thought to have been so call'd by changing *θ* into *σ*, from *Σεύω*, to kill or sacrifice (r). The same Animal is also allow'd, by *Porphyry* (s), to have been offer'd in Sacrifice before any other, tho' upon a different Account; for he derives it from a Command of *Apollo*, who, to excuse *Clymene's* killing a Sow, order'd, that in Times to come that Animal should be offer'd in Sacrifice. Next to the Sow, the Goat came to be sacrificed, which happen'd by Reason of its browsing upon the Vines, and thence becoming an Enemy to *Bacchus*. Thus we find in *Ovid* (t):

——— *Et prima putatur*
Hofia Sus meruisse necem, quia semina pando
Eruerat rostro, spemque interceperat anni.
Vite caper morsa Bacchi mactatus ad aras
Ducitur ultoris: nocuit sua culpa duobus.

The Animals most commonly sacrificed were, beside the two fore-mention'd, the Bull, Ox, Cow, Sheep, Lamb, &c. and amongst the Birds, the Cock, Hen, &c. Some were more acceptable at one Age than another. For Example, an Heifer a Year old, which had never

(q) *Plato Alcib.* II. pag. 458. Edit. *Francfurt.* (r) *Atben.* lib. II. *Clement Alex- andrin.* Stromat. II. p. 401. *Varro de Re Rust.* lib. II. cap. 4. (s) *Lib. II. de Abstin.* (t) *Metam.* lib. XV.

been put to the Yoke, was most grateful to the Gods. Such an one is promised to *Minerva* by *Diomedes* in *Homer* (u):

Σοὶ δ' ἰγὼ αὖ εἴλω βῆν ἥνι εὐρυμέτωπον,
Ἀδμήτην, ἣ ἔπει ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἡγάγει ἀνὴρ.

Another is elsewhere promised by *Nestor* (w). The same may also be observed in other Poets. And the *Jews* were commanded to sacrifice an *Heifer*, without Spot, wherein is no Blemish, and upon which never came Yoke (x); such as had been employ'd in the Service of Men, being unworthy to be made Victims to God.

Athenæus (y) tells us out of *Agatharchides*, that the *Bæotians* were wont to sacrifice certain *Eels* of an unusual Bigness, taken in *Copais*, a Lake of that Country, and about these they perform'd all the Ceremonies usual at other Sacrifices. It will be difficult to guess the Reason of this Custom, for my (z) Author tells us, that when a Stranger once happen'd to be present at these Sacrifices, and enquir'd what might be the Cause of them, the *Bæotians* made him no other Answer, than that they were oblig'd to observe the Customs of their Ancestors, but thought themselves not bound to give Foreigners any Reason for them. The only Animal, almost unlawful to be sacrificed, was the ploughing and labouring Ox, and from him the *Athenians* abstained, because he assisted them in tilling the Ground, and was, as it were, Man's Fellow-labourer, saith *Ælian* (a). Nor did the *Athenians* only, but almost all other Nations, think it a very great Crime to kill this Creature, insomuch that the Offender was thought to deserve Death, saith *Varro* (b): *Ælian* (c), in particular, witnesseth as much of the *Phrygians*; and *Pliny* (d), in his Natural History, mentions a Person banished *Rome* on that Account. But in latter Times, as *Plutarch* (e) tells us, they were used at Feasts, and then 'twas no Wonder if they were also sacrificed to the Gods; and that they were so, *Lucian* (f) assures us. Nay, to eat and sacrifice Oxen came at length to be so common, that *βουλεῖν* was used as a general Term in the Place of *δύειν*, *maître*. Thus in *Aristophanes* (g):

Καὶ νῦν ὁ δισπότης μὲν ἔδδον βουλεῖ
"Υι, καὶ τράγον, καὶ κριὸν ἐσιφανομένῳ.

The Person, who first adventur'd to kill a labouring Ox, was *Cecrops*, according to *Eusebius*, as was observed in the Beginning of this Chapter: *Aratus* charges it upon the Men of the brazen Age (h);

— πρῶτοι γὰρ βοῶν ἰπάσαντ' ἀποτήρων.

But *Theon*, in his Commentary upon that Passage, affirms the Killing of

(u) *Iliad*. α'. v. 292. (w) *Odyss.* γ'. v. 282. (x) *Numer.* XIX. 2. (y) *Deipn.* lib. VII. (z) *Athenæus* loc. cit. (a) *Var. Hist.* lib. V. cap. 14. (b) *De Re Rustic.* lib. II. (c) *De Animal.* lib. XII. cap. 14. (d) *Lib.* VIII. cap. 45. (e) *De Esu Animal.* lib. II. (f) *Dialog. de Sacrific.* (g) *Pluti Act.* IV. Scen. I. (h) *Pag.* 19. *Ed. Oxon.*
labouring

labouring Oxen, to have been held unlawful in the Time of the *Trojan War*, and that the Company of *Ulysses*, who are reported by *Homer* to have suffer'd very much for their Impiety in killing the sacred Oxen of the *Sun*, were only guilty of killing the ploughing and labouring Oxen, by whose Assistance we are nourish'd, and see the *Sun*. He further adds, that the *Athenians* were the first, who fed upon the Flesh of such Oxen.

Neither was it lawful to sacrifice Oxen only, but also Men. Examples of this Sort of Inhumanity were very common in most of the barbarous Nations. Concerning those who border'd upon the *Jews*, as also concerning the *Jews* themselves, when they began to imitate their Neighbours, we find several Testimonies in the sacred Scriptures. *Cæsar* witnesseth the same of the *Gauls*; *Lucan* in particular of that Part of *Gallia*, where *Massilia* stands; *Tacitus* of the *Germans* and *Britons*. And the first *Christian* Writers do in many Places charge it upon the Heathens in general. Nevertheless, it was not so common in *Greece* and other civiliz'd Nations, as in those which were barbarous. Among the primitive *Grecians*, it was accounted an Act of so uncommon Cruelty and Impiety, that *Lycaon*, King of *Arcadia*, was feign'd by the Poets to have been turn'd into a Wolf, because he offer'd an human Sacrifice to *Jupiter* (i). In latter Ages it was undoubtedly more common and familiar; *Aristomenes* the *Messenian* sacrificed three hundred Men, among whom was *Theopompus*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, to *Jupiter* of *Itbome*. *Themistocles*, in order to procure the Assistance of the Gods against the *Persians*, sacrificed some Captives of that Nation, as we find it related in *Plutarch* (k). *Bacchus* had an Altar in *Arcadia*, upon which young Damsels were beaten to Death with Bundles of Rods; something like to which was practis'd by the *Lacedæmonians*, who scourg'd the Children (sometimes to Death) in Honour of *Diana Orthia*. To the *Manes* and infernal Gods such Sacrifices were very often offer'd: Hence we read of *Polyxena's* being sacrificed to *Achilles*; and *Homer* relates how that *Hero* butcher'd twelve *Trojan* Captives at the Funeral of *Patroclus*. *Æneas*, whom *Virgil* celebrates for his Piety, is an Example of the same Practice (l):

— *Sulmone creatos*

Quatuor hic juvenes, totidem quos educat Ufens,
Viventes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris,
Captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammæ.

Whoever desires to see more Instances of human Sacrifices, may consult *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (m), *Lactantius* (n), *Minutius Felix* (o), *Cyril* of *Alexandria* (p), *Eusebius* (q), and other *Christian* Apologists.

It may here be observ'd that Sacrifices were to be answerable to the Condition and Quality of the Person, by whom they were offer'd. As it was thought a Contempt of the Gods for a rich Man to bring a poor sordid Offering; so on the other Hand, from a poor Man the smallest

(i) *Pausanias Arcadicis*. p. 457. Edit. Hanov. (k) *Plutarch*. in *Themist.* (l) *Æneid*. lib. X. ver. 517. (m) *Protrept.* p. 27. (n) *De falsa Relig.* cap. 21. & de *Justitia*. lib. V. cap. 10. (o) *Pag.* 99. Edit. Oxon. MDCXXXVI. (p) *Adv. Julianum*. lib. IV. p. 128. Edit. *Parif.* (q) *Præparat. Evangel.* lib. IV. cap. 16.

Oblations were acceptable. If his Estate was not able to reach the Price of a living Ox, instead thereof, it was lawful for him to sacrifice one made of Bread-corn, saith *Suidas* *. And on other Accounts when they were not able to provide the accustom'd Sacrifices, they had Liberty to offer what the Place, or Time would afford. Hence the *Cicæni*, being closely besieged, and unable to procure a black Ox, which they were oblig'd to offer upon a certain anniversary Festival, made one of Corn, and so perform'd the usual Ceremonies. *Ulysses's* Companions in *Homer*, for Want of Barley, made use of Oak-leaves; and instead of Wine, offer'd a Libation of Water. But from those that were able to procure them, more costly Offerings were requir'd. Men of Wealth, especially when they had receiv'd, or desir'd any great Favour of the Gods, offer'd great Numbers of Animals at once. Whence there is frequent Mention of *Hecatombs*, which consisted of an hundred living Creatures, and of *Chiliombs*, in which were sacrificed a thousand. An *Hecatomb*, saith *Eustathius* (a), properly signifies a Sacrifice of a hundred Oxen, and such a one was offer'd by *Cliffbenes* in *Herodotus*; but it is generally taken for such Sacrifices, as consist of an hundred Animals of any Sort; only the Ox being the principal and most valuable of all the living Creatures us'd at Sacrifices, it has its Name from containing *ἑκατὸν βοῦς*, an hundred Oxen. Others derive it, saith my Author, from *ἑκατὸν βῆμας*, ἢ τοὺς πόδας, i. e. an hundred Feet, and then it must have consisted only of twenty-five Animals. Others think a finite Number is here put for an indefinite, by a Figure very usual among the Poets; and then an *Hecatomb* amounts to no more than a Sacrifice consisting of many Animals. Others will have this Name deriv'd not from the Number of Creatures offer'd, but of the Persons present at the Sacrifice. Lastly, it may be observ'd from *Julius Capitolinus* (b), that an *Hecatomb* was sometimes offer'd after this Manner: They erected an hundred Altars of Turf, and then kill'd an hundred Sows, or Sheep, &c. *Suidas* (c) mentions another Sacrifice, which consisted of seven Offerings, viz. a Sheep, Sow, Goat, Ox, Hen, Goose, and, after all, an Ox of Meal, whence some derive the Proverb *βῆμα ἑκατόμβης*, of which before. Another Sacrifice, in which were offer'd only three Animals, was call'd *Τριῦς*, or *Τριῦμα*. This consisted, saith *Eustathius* (d), of two Sheep, and an Ox, according to *Epicharmus*; sometimes of an Ox, Goat, and Sheep; sometimes of a Boar, Ram, and Bull; and at other Times of a Sow, He-goat, and Ram, for such an one is mention'd by *Aristophanes*. Sometimes the Sacrifice consisted of twelve Animals, and then, saith my (e) Author, it was call'd *δωδεκάθωρον*, and the rest in like Manner. Thus much concerning the Matter of Sacrifices.

The next Things to be consider'd are the preparatory Rites required before, and the Ornaments used in the Time of Sacrifice. No Man was admitted to some of the solemn Sacrifices, who had not purified himself certain Days before, in which he was to abstain from all carnal Pleasures. To this Purpose *Tibullus* (f):

* In voce *βῆμας*. (a) *Iliad*. 4. p. 36. Edit. *Bas.* (b) In *Maximo & Balbino*. (c) In voce *βῆμας*. (d) *Odys.* λ'. p. 423. Edit. *Basil.* (e) *Ibidem*. (f) *Lib. II. Eleg. I.*

—Discedite ab aris,
Quis tulit besterna gaudia nocte Venus.

You, who to *Venus* paid Devoir last Night,
 Pleasing with lustful Heats your Appetite,
 From the chaste Altars of the Gods absent.

J. A.

They were so rigid in observing this Custom at some of their Solemnities, that the Priest and Priestesses were forced to take an Oath that they were duly purified. Such an one was imposed upon the Priestesses of *Bacchus* at *Athens* in this Form (g): Ἀγνίστω, καὶ ἐμὲ καθαρά, καὶ ἄγνη ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκαθαρινόων, καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς συνουσίας καὶ τὰ Θεσμία καὶ Ἰσοκρατεῖα γεράσω τῷ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ ἐν ταῖς καθήκεσι χρόνις, *I am pure, undefiled, and free from all Sorts of Pollution, and particularly that, which is contracted by lying with a Man; and to celebrate the Festival of Bacchus at the usual Time, and according to the received Custom of my Country.* This seems to be meant not only of Adultery and Fornication, but also of the lawful Pleasures of the Marriage-bed; for at the Celebration of divine Solemnities, they thought more than ordinary Purity and Sanctity was required of them, and therefore abstained from Delights, which at other Times they might lawfully enjoy. Yet by some of them this Sort of Purification was thought unnecessary, for *Theano*, an *Athenian* Priestess, being ask'd, when it might be lawful for a Woman to go from the Company of a Man to the divine Mysteries, answered, *From her own at any Time, from a Stranger never.*

At least every Person, who came to the solemn Sacrifices, were purified by Water, to which End, at the Entrance of the Temples, there was commonly placed a Vessel full of holy Water. This Water was consecrated by putting into it a burning Torch taken from the Altar. The same Torch was sometimes made use of to besprinkle those who enter'd into the Temple (h). Thus we find in *Euripides* (i):

Μέλλων δὲ δαλὸν χερὶ δεξιᾷ φέρειν
 εἰς χερνύβ' ὡς βάψαι, Ἀλκμήτης τέκος.

Also in *Aristophanes* (k);

Φέρε δὲ τὸ δαδόν, τόδ' ἐμβάψω λατῶν.

Where the *Scholiast* observes, that this Torch was us'd, because of the Quality of Fire, which is thought to purify all Things. Instead of the Torches, they sometimes us'd a Branch of Laurel, as we find in *Pliny* (l). Thus *Sozomen* (m), where he speaks of *Valentian* following *Jupiter* into a Pagan Temple, relates, that, when they were about to enter, a Priest *δαλλὺς τινος διαβρόχης κατέχων, νόμῳ Ἑλληνικῷ περιεβρέχαινε, holding certain*

(g) *Demost.* Orat. in *Neer.* (h) *Athenæus* lib. IX. p. 409. Edit. *Lugd.* (i) *Hercul.* *Furent.* ver. 228. (k) *Pace* pag. 696. Edit. *Aurel. Allobrog.* (l) *Nat. Hist.* lib. V. cap. 30. (m) *Histor. Eccles.* lib. VI. cap. 6. p. 644. Edit. *Paris.*

green Boughs dropping Water, besprinkled them after the Grecian Manner. Instead of Laurel, Olive was sometimes us'd. Thus we find in *Virgil* (n):

*Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rore levi & ramo felicitis olive.*

This Custom of surrounding, here express'd, was so constant in purifying, that most of the Terms, which relate to any Sort of Purification, are compounded with *περι*, around. Thus *περιβαλεν*, *περιμάτῃσθαι*, *περιβαλὼν*, *περιβαλίζων*, &c. The Vessel which contain'd the Water of Purification, was term'd *περιεργαστήριον*. And the Latin Word *lustrare*, which signifies to purify, or expiate, came hence to be a general Word for any Sort of surrounding, or encompassing. Thus it is us'd by *Virgil* (o):

*—dum montibus umbrae
Lustrabunt convexa—*

Spondanus tells us, that before the Sacrifices of the celestial Gods, the Worshipers had their whole Bodies wash'd, or, if that could not be, at least, their Hands; but for those that perform'd the sacred Rites to the infernal Gods, a small Sprinkling was sufficient. Sometimes the Feet were wash'd, as well as Hands; whence come the Proverbs, *ἀνάντων χερσίν*, and *ἀνάντων ποσίν*, in Latin, *illotis manibus*, & *illotis pedibus*, which are usually applied to Men, who undertake any Thing without due Care and Preparation. *Porphyrus* (p) tells us, there was a *Programma* fix'd up, that no Man should go beyond the *Περίεργαστήριον*, till he had wash'd his Hands; and so great a Crime was it accounted to omit this Ceremony, that *Timarchides* (q) hath related a Story of one *Asterius*, who was struck dead with Thunder, because he had approached the Altar of *Jupiter* with unwash'd Hands. Nor was this Custom only us'd at solemn Sacrifices, but also at the smallest Parts of their Worship. *Hector* tells us, he was afraid to make so much as a Libation to *Jupiter* before he had wash'd;

*Χερσὶ δ' ἀνίπτοισιν Διὶ λείψαι αἶθερα οἶνον
Ἄζομαι ——— (r).*

I dread with unwash'd Hands to bring
My incens'd Wine to *Jove* an Offering.

J. A.

And *Telamachus* is said, in *Homer's Odyssey*, to have wash'd his Hands, before he adventur'd to pray to the Gods. This they did, out of a Conceit, that thereby they were purified from their Sins; and withal signifying, that nothing impure ought to approach the Deities. On the same Account they sometimes wash'd their Cloaths, as *Homer* relates of *Penelope*, before she offer'd Prayers to the Gods. The Water us'd in Purifications was required to be clear, and without Mud, and all other Impurities. It was commonly fetch'd from Fountains and Rivers. The Water of Lakes, or standing Ponds, was unfit for this Pur-

(n) *Æneid*, lib. VI. ver. 229. (o) *Æneid*, lib. I, ver. 611. (p) *De Victim.*
(q) *Libro de Coronis*, (r) *Iliad*, ζ'. ver. 206.

pose. So was also the purest Stream, if it had been a considerable Time separated from its Source. Hence *recens aqua*, fresh Water, is apply'd to this Use in *Virgil* (c) :

*Occupat Æneas aditum, corpusque recenti
Spargit aqua——*

The same Custom prevail'd in other Countries. The Jewish *Essenes* made use of καθαριτέρων τῶν πρὸς ἀγνείαν ὑδάτων the purer Sort of Waters for cleansing, as we are inform'd by *Porphry* (d). The Apostle seems to allude to the same Practice in the following Words : *Let us draw near—having our Hearts sprinkled from an evil Conscience, and our Bodies wash'd with pure Water* (e). The Prophet *Ezekiel*, in like Manner : *Then I will sprinkle clean Water upon you, and ye shall be clean from all your Filthiness, and from all your Idols will I cleanse you* (f). But if the Sea-waters could be procur'd, they were preferred before all others, because by Reason of their Saltness, φύσει τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης καθαρτικόν is, the marine Waters are naturally cathartick, as we are inform'd by the *Scholiast* upon *Homer* (g). Hence *Aristeas* reports concerning some of the Jews, who liv'd near the Sea, that every Day before Mattins they us'd ἀποτίψασθαι θαλάσση τὰς χεῖρας, to wash their Hands in the Sea. The *Argonauts* in *Apollonius* are said to find *Circe* washing her Head in the Sea (h) :

————Κίρκην
Εὖρον ἄλδος νοτίδεσσι κάρη ἐπιφαιδρύνουσιν,
Τοῖον γὰρ νυχίοισιν ὀνείρασιν ἐπτοίητο.

And that Saying of *Euripides* ;

Θάλασσα κλέζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακὰ.

All human Ills are wash'd away by th' Sea ;

is apply'd to superstitious Men, Οἱ θαλάσση περικαθαίρονται, who purified themselves in the Sea, according to *Stobæus*. When the Sea-water could not easily be procur'd, they sometimes mixed the Water with Salt, and to that they frequently added *Brimstone*, which was also thought to be endu'd with a purifying Quality, whence περιθύνει signifies to purify. In *Theocritus* an House is thus purify'd (i),

————καθαρῶ δὲ πυρώσατε δῶμα θεῖον
Πρῶτον, ἐπεὶ δ' ἄλισσι μεμιγμένον, ὥς νομόμισαι,
Θαλλῶ ἐπιρρίπτειν ἐς εὐμένον ἀβλαβὲς ὕδωρ.

The same Custom is also mention'd by *Juvenal* (k),

————Cuperent lustrari, siqua darentur
Sulphura cum tædis, Et si foret humida laurus.

(c) *Æneid*, lib. VI. ver. 635. Conf. *Æneid*, lib. IV. ver. 635. & lib. II. ver. 71.
(d) *De Abstin.* lib. IV. cap. 12. (e) *Heb.* X. 22. (f) *Ezek.* XXXVI. 25.
(g) *Iliad*, α. ver. 3, 4. (h) *Argonaut*, lib. IV. ver. 662. (i) *Myft.* XXIV. ver. 94.
(k) *Sat.* II. ver. 157.

It may be farther observ'd, that the purify'd Person was thrice besprinkled, the Number *three* being commonly observ'd in the Performance of religious Ceremonies. Thus in *Ovid* (l),

Terque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat.

There are two Ways of *purifying* mention'd in the *Moral Characters* of *Theophrastus*, which differ from those already describ'd. The first, by drawing round the Person purified a Squill, or Sea-onion; of which Rite *Lucian* hath also taken Notice (m). The second, call'd *πισκυλακισμός*, from *σκύλαξ*, a *Whelp*, which was drawn about the purify'd Person. This Method was us'd by almost the whole *Greek Nations*, as we are inform'd by *Plutarch* (n). *Grangæus*, in his Commentary on the foremention'd Passage of *Juvenal*, mentions another Way of purifying, by *fanning* in the Air.

Whoever had committed any notorious Crime, as Murder, Incest, or Adultery, was forbidden to be present at the holy Rites, till he had been duly purified. *Pausanias* (o) mentions a Temple dedicated by *Orestes* to the *Eumenides*, into which, if any such Person enter'd, tho' with a Design only to take a View of it, he was immediately seiz'd by the *Furies*, and lost the Use of his Reason. Nay, even one, who had returned from a Victory over his lawful Enemies, was not permitted to sacrifice, or pray to the Gods, before Purification; whence *HeÆor*, in the Place before cited, adds,

— ὁδὲ πῇ ἐστὶ κελευεφεῖ Κρονίωνι
Αἵματι κ' λύθω πεπαλασμένοι εὐχετάσθαι.

'Tis impious, while I'm thus besmear'd with Gore,
To pay my Vows, and mighty *Jove* adore.

J. A.

The Persons allow'd to be present, were call'd *Ἀεὶθεοὶ*, *ῥοιοί*, &c. the rest *βίβηλοι*, *ἀδικοί*, *ἀκαθαροί*, *ἐταγεῖς*, *δυταγεῖς*, *μαροί*, *παμμοιροί*, *ἀνοστοί*, *ἐμυρόμενοι*, &c. Such were Servants at some Places, Captives, unmarried Women, and at *Athens* all Bastards (p), except in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cynosarges*, where they were permitted to be present, because *Hercules* himself was under some Illegitimacy, being not one of the great immortal Gods, but having a mortal Woman for his Mother.

It was also unlawful for the *Δευτερόπολοι*, or *Υπερόπολοι*, to enter into the Temple of the *Eumenides*, saith *Hesychius* (q), and after him *Phavorinus*; that is, such, who had been thought dead, and, after the Celebration of their Funeral Rites, unexpectedly recovered; or, those, who, after a long Absence in foreign Countries, where it was believed they were dead, returned safe Home. Such Persons at *Athens* were purified by being let thro' the Lap of a Woman's Gown, that so they might seem to be new-born, and then admitted to the holy Rites. In like Manner, at *Rome*,

(l) *Metam.* lib. VII. cap. 2. (m) *Ἐπισκοπήντις*. (n) *Quæst. Roman.* (o) *Ἀβαίσις*. (p) *Ἰσάως*. (q) *Ἦθος Δευτερόπολων*, item *Plutarch. Quæst. Rom.*

such

such as had been thought dead in Battle, and afterwards unexpectedly escaped from their Enemies, and returned Home, were not permitted to enter at the Door of their own House, but were receiv'd at a Passage open'd in the Roof. It would be needless to mention all those who were accounted profane at particular Sacrifices, or Places; I shall only therefore in general add, that, before the Ceremonies were begun, the Κῆρυξ, or sometimes the Priest, with a loud Voice commanded them all to be gone, as in *Callimachus* (a);

Ἐκὰς, ἐκὰς, ὅστις ἀλιτρός.

Which Saying *Virgil* (b) hath thus imitated;

— *procul, ô procul este, profani,*
Conclamat Vates, totoque abfistite luo.

Distance, away, cries out the Priest aloud,
Ye profane Miscreants, and unhallow'd Crowd,
Set not one Foot within this sacred Grove.

J. A.

In Allusion to this Custom, *Orpheus* commands the Doors to be shut, before he explains the mysterious Parts of Philosophy;

Φθέγγομαι οἷς δέμις ἐστὶ, δέρας δ' ἐπιθεσθὲ βεβήλοις
Πᾶσιν ὁμῶς. —

I'll sacred Oracles to them proclaim,
Whom Virtue doth with quick'ning Heat inflame,
But the *Profane*, let them be all shut out.

J. A.

Sometimes the interior Part of the Temple was divided from the other by a Cord, beyond which the βεβήλοι were not permitted to pass. This Cord is call'd in *Greek* Σχοινίον, whence Men excluded from the holy Rites, are call'd by *Demosthenes* (c) Ἀπισχοινοσμένοι, separated by a Cord.

The Ornaments, used in the Time of Sacrifice were such as follow; the Priests were richly attir'd, their Garments being usually the same, at least not much different from, Royal Robes. At *Athens* they sometimes used the costly and magnificent Garment invented by *Æschylus* for the Tragedians, as we learn from *Athenaus* (d). At *Sparta* their Garments were suitable to the other Parts of their Worship, being neither costly nor splendid, and they always pray'd and sacrificed with their Feet bare.

In all holy Worship, their Cloaths were to be without Spots, or Stains, loose, and unbound. If they had been touch'd by a dead Body, or struck by Thunder, or any other Way polluted, it was unlawful for the Priest to officiate in them. The Purity of the sacerdotal Robes is frequently insisted on in the Poets. Thus;

(a) Hymn. in *Apollin.* (b) *Æn.* VI. v. 358. (c) Orat. in *Aristogit.* (d) *Athen.* lib. I. cap. 18.

— *Pura cum veste Sacerdos.*

And again,

Casta placent superis, pura cum veste venito.

Various Habits also were used, according to the Diversity of the Gods, in whose Honour the Solemnities were celebrated. They who sacrificed to the celestial Gods, were cloathed with Purple; to the infernal Gods they sacrificed in Black, to *Ceres* in white Garments. They had also Crowns upon their Heads, which were generally composed of the Leaves of the Tree, which was accounted sacred to the God to whom they paid their Devotions. Thus, in the Sacrifices of *Apollo* (a) they were crown'd with Laurel; in those of *Hercules* with Poplar; and after the same Manner in the rest. Crowns and Garlands were thought so necessary to recommend Men to the Gods, and were so anciently used, that some have derived the Custom of putting them on at Feasts, from the primitive Entertainments, at which the Gods were thought to be present (b). But of this there will be Occasion to speak more fully, when the *Grecian* Entertainments come to be described.

Beside this Crown, the Priest sometimes wore upon his Head a sacred *Infula*, or *Mitre*, from which, on each Side, hung a Ribband, as we learn from *Virgil* (c). *Infulae* were commonly made of Wool, and were not only worn by the Priest, but were put upon the Horns of the Victim, and upon the Temple and Altar; in like Manner also were the Crowns used by them all. But the Covering their Head with a *Mitre* was rather a *Roman* than a *Grecian* Custom, and first introduced into *Italy* by *Aeneas*, who cover'd his Head and Face, lest any ill-boding Omen, appearing to him, should disturb the religious Rites, as we are inform'd by *Virgil* (d). Nevertheless, some of the *Roman* Sacrifices were offer'd after the *Grecian* Fashion, ἀπαρχαλύνειν κεφαλῇ, with their Heads uncovered, as particularly those of *Saturn* mention'd by *Plutarch* (e), the Rites whereof were first brought from *Greece*, according to *Macrobius* (f). The same is affirm'd by *Dionysius the Halicarnassian* (g) concerning the Sacrifices offer'd on the great Altar of *Hercules*, which were first instituted by *Evander the Arcadian*. The Victims had the *Infula*, and the Ribbands tied to their Horns, the Crowns and Garlands upon their Necks. Whether this Order was perpetual, is not certain. However, that Victims were adorn'd with Garlands, is attested by innumerable Examples, whereof I shall only at present mention that of *Polyxena*, who, being to be sacrificed, is call'd, by *Lycophron*, εὐφρόσβης, because εὐφράνεται καὶ ἀνθίσσιν ἐκάρτοι τὰς θυμῆνας, they adorn'd with Garlands, and bestrew'd with Flowers them who were to be sacrificed; as the Scholiast there observes. Upon solemn Occasions, as the Reception and Petition of any signal Benefit, they overlaid the Victims Horns with Gold. Thus *Diomedes*, in *Homer* (h), promises *Minerva*,

(a) *Apoll. Rhod. Arg. β' 159.* (b) *Athenæus*, lib. XV. cap. 5. p. 674. (c) *Æn. X.* v. 638. (d) *Æneid.* lib. III. (e) *Quæst. Roman.* (f) *Saturn.* lib. I. cap. 10. conf. ejusdem libri cap. 8. *Aurelius Victor.* *Servius* in *Æneid.* III. (g) *Lib. I.* *Antiq. Rom.* (h) *Cassandra* v. 327.

Τὴν τοι ἐγὼ ξίῳ χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχέυας (i).

This Cow, whose Horns, o'er-tipt with Gold, look bright,
You shall have offer'd, *Pallas*, as your Right.

J. A.

Alluding to this Custom, *Porphyry* calls the Oxen, design'd for Sacrifice, *Χρυσοκέρως*. *Pliny* (k) hath observed, that the larger Sacrifices only, such as Oxen, were thus adorn'd; but the contrary appears out of a Decree of the *Roman Senate*, cited by *Macrobius* (l), in which the *Decemviri* are commanded to sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the *Grecian* Manner, an Ox and two She-goats with gilded Horns; unless, as some think, Goats were also numbered amongst the *hostia majores*, or greater Victims; as the Sheep were counted *maximæ*, or the greatest, not for their Bigness; but their Value and Acceptableness to the Gods.

The Altars were deck'd with sacred Herbs, called by the *Romans* *Verbenæ*; which is a general Name for all the Herbs used at Sacrifices; and here, as at other Times, every God had his peculiar Herb in which he was thought to delight.

The solemn Times of Sacrificing were varied according to the Temper of the Gods. To the celestial Gods they sacrificed ἐπὶ τῇ εἰς ἀνατέλλοντι τῇ ἡλίῳ, in the Morning about the Time of the Sun's Rising, or at least in open Day. To the *Mænes* and subterraneous Gods, who were thought to hate the Light, and to frequent the Earth by Night only, they offer'd their Devotions περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς, about Sun-set (m), and very often at Midnight; at which Time the magical Rites, whereof *Hecate* was President, were celebrated.

All Things being prepared, the *Mola salsa*, with the Knife, or other Instrument to kill the Victims, and the Crowns, were brought in a Basket called *Kavēn*; whence the *Athenian* Virgins, whose Office it was to carry this Basket at the *Panāthenæa*, and some other Solemnities, were call'd *Kavēφόροι*.

The Victim, if it was a Sheep; or any of the smaller Animals, was driven loose to the Altar; but the larger Sacrifices often were brought by the Horns, as appears from the Words of *Homer*, where he describes the Sacrifices of *Nestor*,

Ἄγῃτην κέρασιν Στράτιον· ἔ' δ' ἔ' Εὐφρών.

Stratius and *Èchephron* dragg'd by the Horns

An Ox——

Sometimes, as *Juvenal* (n) witnesses, the Victims were led by a Rope; but then it was a long one, and not too close or strait, lest the Victim should seem to be brought by Force to the Altar: Thus that Poet's Words intimate:

*Sed procul extensum petulans quatit hostia funem
Tarpejo servata Jovi, frontemque coruscant.*

(i) Il. x'. (k) Lib. XXXIII. cap. 3. (l) *Saturnal.* lib. I. (m) *Apollonii Scbolias*tes in lib. I. *Argon.* (n) *Sat.* XII.

And lest the Victim should seem to be sacrificed unwillingly, and by Constraint, the Cords were commonly loosed. This we find done in *Virgil* (a);

*Tres Eryci vitulos, & Tempestatibus agnam
Cedere deinde jubet, solvique ex ordine funes.*

In one of *Aristotle's* Epigrams, an old Woman leads a Bull to the Altar by his Ear, to shew his Compliance;

*Tēton γεαυς σείχουσα μόνη μόρον θαλσ' ἔλκει
Τὸνδ' ἐπὶ βωμῶν, ὃ δ', ὡς ματρί παῖς, ἑπεται.*

Sometimes there were certain Persons appointed to fetch the Sacrifice with musical Instruments, and other Solemnities; but this was seldom practised, except at the larger Sacrifices, such as *Hecatombs*.

After this, they stood about the Altar, and (b) the Priest, turning towards the right Hand, went round it, and sprinkled it with Meal and holy Water; he besprinkled also those who were present, taking a Torch from the Altar, or a Branch of Laurel. This Water was call'd *Χρίσμα*, being the same they washed their Hands with at Purification. On both which Accounts the Poets use *χρίσασθαι*, instead of *ιεραὶ ἐξέχειν* to offer Sacrifice. The Vessels also they purified with Onions, Water, Brimstone, Eggs, and the like.

This done, the Crier proclaim'd with a loud Voice; *Τίς τῆδε?* Who is here? To which the People replied, *Πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί*, Many and Good. After this they pray'd, the Priest having first exhorted them to join with him, saying, *Εὐχόμεσθα*, Let us pray. An Example of this we find in *Aristophanes* (c);

—— TP. Ἄλλ' εὐχόμεσθα.

Τίς τῆδε πᾶς ποτ' ἐστὶ; ΘΕ. Πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί.

Their Requests were generally that the Gods would vouchsafe to accept their Oblations, and send them Health and Happiness; they added at their *αἰτητικὰ*, petitionary Sacrifice, a Request for whatever particular Favour they then desired. They seem to have had a general Form of Prayer used on all such Occasions, tho' sometimes varied as to the Words. One of these remains in *Aristophanes* (d), another in *Athenians* (e) out of *Menander's* *Flatterer*. At this Time also the Crier commanded Silence in these or the like Words, *Εὐφημεῖτε σίγα, σίγα πᾶς ἔγω λέω*. The same Custom was observed by the Romans in their Sacrifices, where they proclaim'd, *Favete Linguis*, which Words answer to the Greek *εὐφημεῖτε*, by which the People seem not to have been commanded to remain in a deep and uninterrupted Silence, but rather to abstain from all Speeches and ominous Words. Thus *Horace* has interpreted it,

—— *male ominatis*

Parcite verbis.

Let no ill-boding Words your Lips profane.

(a) *Æneid*. lib. V. ver. 772. (b) *Aristoph.* ejusque Schol. in Pace. (c) *Pæg.* 652. Edit. *Amstelod.* (d) *Loco citato.* (e) *Deipn.* lib. XIV.

Prayer being ended, the Priest having before examin'd all the Members of the Victim, to see if it had any Blemish, or other Defect, proceeded now to examine (unless this also had been done before) whether it was found within. To this End Meat was set before it, as Barley-meal before Bulls, and Vetches before Goats; which, if they refused to eat, they were judged unsound. They sometimes besprinkled it with cold Water, which, if it endured, without shrinking, it was thought to be some Way indisposed; thus (f) *Plutarch*. This being done, they made Trial whether the Victim was willing to be sacrificed to the Gods, by drawing a Knife from its Forehead to the Tail, as *Servius* hath observed (g), at which, if the Victim struggled, it was rejected, as not acceptable to the Gods; but if it stood quiet at the Altar, then they thought the Gods were pleased with it; yet a bare Non-Resistance was not thought sufficient, except it also gave its Consent, as it were, by a gracious Nod, which was the ancient Manner of granting or approving (whence the Word *ἰνύειν* among the Greeks, and *annuere* among the Romans, signifies to give Assent to any Thing) and to this End they pour'd Water into its Ear, and sometimes Barley, which they call'd *Προχέτας*, according to the *Scholiast* upon *Apollonius Rhodius* (h).

After this they pray'd again; which being done, the Priest took a Cup of Wine, and, having tasted it himself, caused the Company to do the like, and then pour'd forth the Remainder between the Horns of the Victim, as we learn from *Ovid* (i),

—dum vota sacerdos

Concipit, & fundit purum inter cornua vinum.

While the muttering Priest prays at the hallow'd Shrine,
And pours between the Horns the unmix'd Wine. H. H.

The same Custom is every where mention'd in Authors; but it will be sufficient to observe this one Example in that remarkable Epigram of *Furius Euenus*, wherein the *Vine* thus bespeaks the Goat:

Κῆν με φάγης ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅπως ἐτι καρποφορήσω
Ὅσσοι ἐπίσπῃσαι σοι, τράγε, θυμένω.

Tho', leach'rous Goat, you on my Cyons browse,
And tear the swelling Clusters off my Boughs,
Luxuriant Sprouts shoot out with fresh Supplies,
To pour betwixt your Horns at your own Sacrifice. H. H.

After this, Frankincense, or other Incense was strew'd upon the Altar, and as some say, upon the Forehead of the Victim, being taken out of the Censer, call'd in Greek *Θυμαματήριον*, with three Fingers, as *Ovid* (k) hath inform'd us,

(f) Libro de Defect. Orac. (g) In *Æneid*. XII. v. 173.
425. (i) *Metam.* lib. VIII. v. 593. (k) *Fast.* lib. II.

Argon. lib. V.

Et digitis tria thura tribus sub limine ponit.

Thrice Frankincense beneath the Threshold laid,
Which thither, with three Fingers, she convey'd. *H. H.*

Whence it is, that the *Pythia* in *Porphyry* saith, that the whole *Hecatombs* of the *Theffalians* were not more acceptable to the Gods than the *Jaupa*, which a certain *Hermionian* offer'd with his three Fingers. Then they pour'd forth Part of the *Oulai* on the Back of the Victim, which was, upon that Account, bedew'd with a small Sprinkling of Water. This being done, they pray'd again, and then offer'd the Remainder of the *Oulai* upon the Altar; all these they call'd *Προθύματα*, as being offer'd before the Victim.

Then the Priest, or the *Kēryx*, or sometimes the most honourable Person in the Company, where no Priest was present, kill'd the Beast, by striking him down, or cutting his Throat. Sometimes the Person who kill'd and prepar'd the Victim, which was accounted a more ignoble Office, was different from him who offer'd it upon the Altar. If the Sacrifice was in Honour of the celestial Gods, the Throat was bended up towards Heaven; and this *Homer* calls *αὐ' ἰπύου*, or in one Word *αὐ-ερέου*: But if the Sacrifice was made to the Heroes or infernal Gods, it was kill'd with its Throat towards the Ground, saith *Eusebius* (a). If, by any Chance, the Beast escap'd the Stroke, leap'd up after it, bellow'd, did not fall prone upon the Ground, after the Fall kick'd and stamp'd, was restless as tho' it expired with Pain and Difficulty, did not bleed freely, and was a long Time a dying, it was thought unacceptable to the Gods; all these being unlucky Omens, as their Contraries were Tokens of Divine Favour and good Will. The *Kērykes* did then help to slay the Beast, light the Wood, and do other inferior Offices, while the Priest or Soothsayer, with a long Knife, turn'd over the Bowels to observe, and make Predictions from them (it being unlawful to touch them with his Hands.) The Blood was reserved in a Vessel call'd *Σφαγιών*, *Ἀμνών*, or, according to *Lycophron*, *Ποιμανδρία*, and offer'd on the Altar to the celestial Gods: If the Sacrifice belong'd to the Gods of the Sea, it was pour'd into Salt Water; but if they were by the Sea-side, they flew not the Victim over the *Σφαγιών*, but over the Water, into which they sometimes threw the Victim, whereof this Instance occurs in *Apollonius Rhodius* (b).

Ἡ δ', ἅμα δ' εὐχολῆσιν ἐς ὕδατα λαιμοτομήσας,
Ἦκε κατὰ πρύμνης—————

Then, praying to the blue-ey'd Deity,
O'er the curl'd Surface stabb'd the Sacrifice,
And cast it over Deck. —————

H. H.

In the Sacrifices of the infernal Gods, the Beast was either slain over a Ditch, or the Blood pour'd out of the *Σφαγιών* into it. This done,

(a) Il. α.

(b) *Argon.* IV. v. 1601.

they pour'd Wine, together with Frankincense into the Fire, to increase the Flame; then they laid the Sacrifice upon the Altars which, in the primitive Times, was burn'd whole to the Gods, and thence call'd *Ὀλόκαυστον*, or *ὀλοκαύτωμα*. Prometheus, as the Poets feign, was the first that laid aside this Custom; for considering that the poorer Sort had not wherewith to defray the Expences of a whole Burnt-Offering, he obtain'd Leave from Jupiter, that one Part only might be offer'd to the Gods, and the Remainder reserv'd for themselves. The Parts belonging to the Gods were the *Μηροί*, these they cover'd with Fat, call'd in Greek *κνίσσον*, to the End they might consume all together in a Flame; for except all was burn'd, they thought they did not *καλλιερεῖν*, or *litare*, i. e. that their Sacrifice was not accepted by the Gods: Upon the *Μηροί* were cast small Pieces of Flesh cut from every Part of the Beast, as the *Ἀπαρχαί*, First-fruits of the Whole; the doing this they call'd *ῥυμβετεῖν*, either because they first cut the Shoulder, which is in Greek call'd *ῥυμός*, or because they did *ῥυμά τιθεσθαι*, put these *ῥαυ* Pieces of Flesh upon the other Parts. Thus we find done in Homer (c).

— καὶ ἰσφαζαν, καὶ ἔδιδραν,
Μηρὸς ἐξετάμοι, κατὰ τε κνίσσῃ ἐνάλυζαν,
Διήλυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ῥυμβέτησαν.

The *Μηροί*, *Thighs*, were appropriated to the Gods, because of the Honour due to these Parts, διὰ τὸ λυσσεῖν τοῖς ζώοις εἰς βάδισιν τε καὶ γένεσιν, because of their Service to Animals in walking and generating (d). And hereby they commended, in the mystical Sense of this Rite, both themselves and all their Actions and Enterprizes to the Divine Protection (e). Thus Eustathius (f); but Casaubon (g) tells us, they sometimes offer'd the Entrails, herein contradicting Eustathius, who informs us, that these were divided among the Persons present at the Sacrifice; and Homer in the Descriptions of his Sacrifices, usually tells us, that they feasted upon them, σπλάγχν' ἐπάσαντο. By the Word *σπλάγχνα*, tho' it properly signifies the Bowels, are to be understood, saith my Author (h), the Spleen, Liver, and Heart; and that it is sometimes taken for the Heart, will appear by the Signification of its Compounds: For by *ἄσπλαγχνός* ἀνὴρ, is meant a pusillanimous Man; as, on the contrary, *ἑσπλαγχνός* denotes a Man of Courage, saith the Scholiast (i) upon Sophocles. Yet, in some Places, the Entrails were burn'd upon the Altar. Thus Aeneas does in Virgil (k):

Tum Stygio Regi nocturnas inchoat aras,
Et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis.

And another Person in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*;

Viscera jam tauri flammis adolenda dedisset.

But Dionysius the Halicarnassian, comparing the Grecian and Roman Rites of Sacrifice, affirms, that only the *ἀπαρχαί* of the Entrails, as hath been

(c) Iliad. ἄ. ver. 459. (d) Eustathius in Iliad. ἄ. (e) Tzetzes in Hesiodi Oper. & Dier. lib. 335. (f) Il. ἄ. (g) In Theophrasti. (h) In Il. ἄ. (i) In Ajax. (k) Aeneid. lib. VI. ver. 252.

observed concerning the other Members, were sacrificed. " Having wash'd their Hands (saith he) and purify'd the Victims with clear Water, and bestrew'd their Heads with the Fruits of *Ceres*, they pray to the Gods, and then command the Officers to kill the Victims: Some of these do thereupon knock down the Victim, others cut its Throat when fallen to the Ground, others flay off its Hide, divide the Body into its several Members, and cut off the First-fruits (*ἀπαρχάς*) from every Entrail, and other Members; which, being sprinkled with Barley-meal, are presented upon Canisters to the Persons who offer the Sacrifice, by whom they are laid upon the Altar to be burnt, and, whilst they are consuming in the Fire, Wine is pour'd upon them. All which is perform'd according to the Grecian Rites of Sacrifice, as will easily appear from the Poems of *Homer* (1)." He then proceeds to confirm this Description of the Sacrifices by several Testimonies out of *Homer*, which, being to the same Purpose with others already cited out of that Poet, shall be omitted.

Whilst the Sacrifice was burning, the Priest, and the Person who gave the Victim, jointly made their Prayers to the God, with their Hands upon the Altar, which was the usual Posture in praying, as will be shewn hereafter. Sometimes they play'd upon musical Instruments in the Time of Sacrifice, thinking hereby to charm the God into a propitious Humour, as appears by a Story related in *Plutarch* (m), of *Ismenias*, who, playing upon a Pipe at a Sacrifice, when no lucky Omens appear'd, the Man, by whom he was hired, snatch'd the Pipe, and play'd very ridiculously himself; and when all the Company found Fault with him, he said, *To play satisfactorily is the Gift of Heaven. Ismenias*, with a Smile, reply'd, *Whilst I play'd, the Gods were so ravish'd with the Musick, that they were careless of the Sacrifice, but to be rid of thy Noise, they presently accepted it.* This Custom was most in Use at the Sacrifices of Aerial Deities, who were thought to delight in musical Instruments, and harmonious Song.

It was also customary, on some Occasions, to dance round the Altars, whilst they sung the sacred Hymns, which consisted of three *Stanzas*, or Parts; the first of which, call'd *Strophe*, was sung in turning from East to West; the other, named *Antistrophe*, in returning from West to East; then they stood before the Altar, and sung the *Epode*, which was the last Part of the Song. These Hymns were generally compos'd in Honour of the Gods, containing an Account of their famous Actions, their Clemency, and Liberality, and the Benefits conferr'd by them upon Mankind; and concluded with a Petition for the Continuation of their Favours. They were call'd by a general Name *Παιᾶνες*, but there was also a particular Name belonging to the Hymns of almost every God, saith *Pollux*. For Instance, the Hymn of *Venus* was call'd Ὕμνος, that of *Apollo* was peculiarly nam'd Παιᾶν, and both of them were stil'd Προσῳδια; the Hymns of *Bacchus* were call'd Διθύραμβοι, &c. Of all musical Instruments, the Flute seems to have been most used in Sacrifices,

(1) *Dionysius Halicarnass. Antiquit. Roman. pag. 478, 479. Edit. Lips. (m) Symposiac. lib. II*

whence comes the Proverb *Αὐλητῶν βίον ζῆν*, apply'd to those that live upon other Men's Charges, because *Αὐληταί*, Flute-players used to attend on Sacrifices, and to partake of them, and so lived on free Cost, as *Suidas* (a) informs us. At some of the Jewish Sacrifices, the Priests sounded Trumpets whilst the Victims were burning upon the Altar (b). And most of the Heathen Nations were possess'd with a Belief, that the Gods were affected with the Charms of Musick in the same Manner as Men. On which Account they were ridicul'd by the Christian Apologists (c). But, as hath been several Times observed, the Feasts or Sacrifices of the Gods being managed in the same Manner with the Entertainments of Men, it is no Wonder that musical Instruments, so much used by all Nations at their Feasts and merry Meetings, should be admitted at the Festivals and Sacrifices of the Gods.

The Sacrifice being ended, the Priest had his Share, of which an Account is given in the preceding Chapter. A tenth Part was also due to the Magistrates call'd *Πρόλαιοι*, at *Athens*. At *Sparta* the Kings had the first Share in all publick Sacrifices, and the Skin of the Victim. It was usual also to carry Home some Part of the Offering, for good Luck's Sake. This was term'd *ῥύμινα*, as conducing to their Health and Welfare (d). The *Athenians* were commanded, by a Law, to observe this Custom; and covetous Men sometimes sold what remain'd, and made a Gain of their Devotion. Sometimes the remaining Parts of the Sacrifice were sent to absent Friends; to which Custom (e) *Theocritus* thus alludes;

— καὶ τὴν δὲ θύσας

ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μόρσωνι καλὸν κρίας αὐτίκα πέμψον.

Go, Swain, go offer to the tuneful Nine,
And send a Part to *Morfan*.

H. H.

For the most Part, especially if they had received any particular Mark of Divine Favour, the Sacrifice being ended, they made a Feast; for which Purpose there were Tables provided in all the Temples. *Athenæus* (f) tells us, that, amongst the Ancients, they never indulged themselves with any Dainties, nor drank any Quantity of Wine, but at such Times; and thence an Entertainment is call'd *Θολή*, because they thought they were obliged *δὲ θεῶν οἰνοῦσθαι*, to be drunk in Honour of the Gods; and to be drunk was term'd *μεθύειν*, because they did it *μετὰ τὸ θύειν*, after Sacrificing. Hence *epulari*, *comedere*, and the like Words, which express Eating or Feasting, are sometimes put for Sacrificing. Thus we find in *Virgil* (g);

Jupiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia piñtis
Gens epulata toris Lenæum libat honorem.

Hence also the Gods were said to feast with Men. Thus *Alcinous* speaks in *Homer* (h):

(a) Voce *Αὐλητῶν*. (b) Numer. X. 10. (c) Conf. *Arnobius* contra Gen. lib. VII. (d) *Athenæus* lib. III. *Hesychius* v. *ῥύμινα*. (e) *Idyl.* V. v. 130. (f) *Deipn.* lib. III. c. 3. conf. quæ postea in IV. hujus *Archæol.* lib. dicentur de Conviv. (g) *Æneid.* lib. IV. ver. 206. (h) *Odyss.* 4. ver. 202.

Αἰεὶ γὰρ τοπάρῃσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἱεργαῖς
 Ἡμῖν, εὖ θ' ἰδωμένοι ἀγαλματαῖς ἐπατόμβας·
 Δαίνονται τε παρ' ἅμμι, καθήμενοι ἔνθα περ ἡμεῖς.

On the same Account, *Jupiter*, and the rest of the Gods, are said to go to a Feast in *Æthiopia*, which is only a poetical Description of a Festival-time in that Country;

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐπ' Ὀκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας
 Χθίζος ἔβη μετὰ δαῖτα· θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἐπόηον.

From these and the like Instances in other Authors, it appears to have been a Custom very ancient in *Greece*. The same was also generally observ'd in other Countries. Hence the *just Man* in *Ezekiel* (a) is said to be one, who *bath not eaten upon the Mountains, neither hath lift up his Eyes to the Idols*. And in *Exodus*, when God had commanded *Moses* to require Leave of *Pharaoh* for the *Jews*, to go into the *Wilderness* to sacrifice to the Lord (b); he thus bespeaks *Pharaoh* in a different Form of Words, but importing the same Sense (c): *Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Let my People go that they may hold a Feast to me in the Wilderness*. Hence *Balaam* and the Princes with him are entertain'd by *Balak*, King of *Moab*, with the Flesh of sacrificed Victims (d): And the *Moabites* enticed the *Israelites* to be present at the Feasts of their Gods (e). Hence also, to mention no more Examples, the *Israelites* are commanded to destroy the Idolatry of the Nations, who liv'd about them, *lest thou do sacrifice to their Gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his Sacrifice* (f). All the Time the Feast lasted, they continued singing the Praises of the God. Thus we find, after the Sacrifice offer'd by *Chryses* and the *Grecians* to *Apollo* in *Homer*,

Οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἰλάσκειντο,
 Καλὸν αἰδούντες παῖθονα κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,
 Μέλποντες Ἑκάεργον. ——— (g).

All Day in moving Sounds the *Grecians* sing,
 And echoing Woods with *Io Pæans* ring,
 To win the Gods t'accept their Offering.

H. H. }

When they sacrificed to *Vesta*, it was usual to eat up whatsoever was left, and to send any Part of it Abroad was thought a Crime; whence the Proverb *Ἐρίξ δύναι*, and among the *Romans*, *Lari sacrificare*, is applied to Gluttons, who eat up all that is set before them. To this Goddess also they offer'd the first Part of their Libations, at least of all those which were paid to the Household Gods, whence comes the Proverb ἀφ' Ἑρίας ἀρχεσθαι, *to begin at Home*. This Custom the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (h) tells us, was founded upon a Grant of *Jupiter* to *Vesta*. After he had

(a) XVIII. 6. (b) Exod. III. 18. (c) Exod. V. 1. (d) Num. XVII. (e) Num. XXV. (f) Exod. XXIV. 15. (g) Iliad. 2. v. 473. (h) In *Σφηξί*. p. 491. Edit. Aursl. *Allobrogum*.

supposed the Sons of *Titan*, he promised *Vesta* to grant whatever she would request; whereupon she first desired that she might enjoy a perpetual Virginity; and, in the next Place, that she might have the first Part in all Sacrifices. The last Part also, as well as the first, was offer'd to *Vesta*, she being the same with the *Earth*, to which the first and last Parts belong; all Things are produced out of that Element, and again resolv'd into it. Or because *Vesta*, who presides over *areæ & foci*, the Altars and Hearths of Houses, is *custos rerum intimarum*, Keeper of the most secret Things, and on that Account to be honour'd above all other Deities. Which Reason is assign'd by *Cicero* (i). To return, the Feast in some Places was to be ended before Sun-set, as *Athenæus* (k) informs us, and was not to exceed an appointed Time in any Place. After the Feast, they sometimes play'd at Dice, as *Saubertus* hath observ'd out of *Plato*. And whence was this Custom deriv'd? No doubt, from the common Practice of recreating themselves with all Sorts of Plays and Diversions after Meals. Neither were Dice only, but any other Sort of Game used after the Feasts upon Sacrifices. Hence of the *Jews*, who had sacrificed to the Golden Calf, it is said, that *they sat down to eat, and rose up to play*. But of this Custom, a more particular Account will be given, when the *Grecian Entertainments* shall be described. The Entertainment and Recreation being ended, they returned to the Altar, and offered a Libation to *Jupiter* *τέλειον*, the *perfect*. The primitive *Greeks* were wont to offer the Tongues, together with a Libation of Wine to *Mercury*, as *Athenæus* (l) reports. The same Custom is also mentioned by *Apollonius* (m):

Οὐδ' ἐπιδὴν μελέπαιλα κραισσάμενοι δὴ λοιθὰς
Ἦϊ δέμης ἐστὶ, τέως ἐπὶ τε γλώσσησι χέουσιν
Αἰθόμεναι; ὕπνῳ δὲ διὰ κνέφας ἐμνάουσι.

Then, as the Custom of their Country was,
On th' burning Tongues the mix'd Libation flows;
This done, they haste unto their soft Repose. *H. H.*

The Tongues they offer'd this Time, either with a Design to make an Expiation for any indecent Language which had been spoken; or in Token that they committed to the Gods, as Witnesses, what Discourse had passed at the Table; or to signify, that what had been spoken there ought not to be remember'd afterwards, or divulged. They were offered to *Mercury*, the God of Eloquence, as taking a particular Care of that Member (n).

After all they returned Thanks to the God for the Honour and Advantage of sharing with him in the Victim, and then were dismissed by the *Kῆρυξ* in this or the like Form, *καὶ οὕτως ἀφίενται* (o).

Thus much concerning the *Grecian Sacrifices*. There were also other Sorts of *Presents* offer'd to the Gods, even from the earliest Times, either

(i) *De Nat. Deor.* lib. II. (k) *Deipn.* I. IV. Exod. XXXII. 10. (l) *Deipn.* lib. I. cap. 14. (m) *Argon.* lib. I. v. c17. (n) *Conf. Archæolog.* hujus lib. VI. ubi de Conviviis agitur. (o) *Apuleius Metamorph.* lib. ult. & ibi *Eroclidus*.

to pacify them when angry, or to obtain some future Benefit, or as a grateful Acknowledgment of some past Favour. They consisted of Crowns and Garlands, Garments, Cups of Gold, or other valuable Metals, and any other Thing, which conduced to the Ornament, or the Enriching of the Temples; They were commonly termed *ἀναθήματα*, and sometimes *ἱεράματα*, from their being *reposed* in the Temples, where they sometimes were laid on the Floor, sometimes hung upon the Walls, Doors, Pillars, or the Roof, or any other conspicuous Place. Thus we find in *Horace*,

— *Me tabula sacer*
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse po.enti
Vestimenta maris Deo (p).

And in *Virgil* (q), to mention only this Example more,

— *Si qua ipse meis venatibus auxi,*
Suspendive ibolo; aut sacra ad fastigia fixi.

Sometimes the Occasion of the Dedication was inscribed either upon the Thing itself, or, when the Matter of that could not bear an Inscription, upon a Tablet hung up with it. This appears from the foremention'd Passage of *Horace*, and (to mention this one Instance more) from the following Distich of *Tibullus* (r).

Nunc, Dea, nunc succurre mihi: nam posse mederi
Picta docet Templis multa tabella tuis.

I shall only add this one Observation, that when any Person left his Employment, or Way of Life, it was customary to dedicate the Instruments belonging to it, as a grateful Commemoration of the divine Favour and Protection. Thus in the following Epigram (s), a Fisherman makes a Present of his Nets to the Nymphs of the Sea;

Ταῖς νύμφαις Κύνες τόδε δίχτυον· ἃ γὰρ αἶψα
Γῆρας ἀκοιτίσῃν μόχθον ἐκβολῆς.

Shepherds hung up their Pipes to *Pan*, or some of the Country Deities. This we find done by one in *Tibullus* (t):

Pendebatque vagi pastoris in arbore votum,
Rustica silvestri fistula sacra Deo.

Hence *Lais*, decay'd with Age, dedicates her Mirror to *Venus* (u);

Ἡ σοφῶν γλάσασα καθ' Ἑλλάδος ἡ γὰρ ἰσχυρῶν,
Ἑμὸν ἐν προθύρῳ Λαῖς ἔχουσα νέων,

(p) *Carm. lib. 1. Od. v.* (q) *Æneid. l. IX. v. 407.* (r) *Lib. I. Eleg. iii.* (s) *Antolog. lib. VI. cap. 3. Epigr. VI.* (t) *Lib. II. Eleg. V.* (u) *Antolog. lib. VI. cap. 8. Epigr. I.*

Σοὶ, Πάφῃ, τὸ πάσιπρον· ἐπι τοῖν μὲν ὁρᾶσθαι
Οὐκ ἰθὺλω· οἷν δ' ἦν πάρεσθαι, ἔ δυνάμει.

Whoever is willing to be farther inform'd concerning the Nature and Kinds of these *Presents*, may consult *Pausanias* (w), who has left us a very particular Description of those in the *Delphian* Temple, which was the richest of any in *Greece*.

Before the Conclusion of this Chapter, it will be necessary to observe farther, that, by a very ancient and universal Prescription, the *Tenths* of many Things were claim'd by the Gods. Hence the *Grecians*, having driven the *Persians* out of *Greece*, presented a Golden Tripod to *Delphian Apollo* out of the *Tenths* of the Spoils taken in the War, as we are informed by *Diodorus the Sicilian* (x). Another Example is the Golden Buckler dedicated to *Jupiter*, after the taking of *Tanagra*, with this Inscription, as we find it in *Pausanias* (y) :

Ναὸς μὲν Φιάλαν χρυσίαν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας
Τῆς Λακεδαιμονίης συμμαχίδος γε τεθὲν,
Δῶρον ἅπ' Ἀργείων, καὶ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Ἴωνων,
Τὰν δεκάταν εἰκας εἵνεκα τῷ πολέμῳ.

Lucian mentions the *Tenths* of the Spoils dedicated to *Mars* (z). *Herodotus* (a) speaks of a Golden Chariot and Horses consecrated to *Pallas* by the *Athenians*, with this Inscription :

Ἔθνη Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
Παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔρμασιν ἐν πολέμῳ,
Δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυνόντι σιδήρεον ἔσχεσαν ὕβριν·
Τῶν ἵππων δεκάτην Παλλάδι τὰς δ' ἔθεσαν.

We find in *Xenophon* (b), that the *tenth* Part of the Product of a certain Field, consecrated to *Diana*, was sacrificed every Year. And in *Pausanias* (c), that the *Siphnians* constantly presented a *tenth* Part of their Gold Mines to *Apollo*. It was also customary for Kings to receive a *tenth* Portion of the several Revenues of their Subjects. This was paid by the *Athenians* to *Pisistratus*, the receiving whereof that Tyrant excuses in his Epistle to *Solon* (d), as being not expended in his own private Service, but laid out upon Sacrifices, and for other publick Uses. The same Custom prevailed in other Countries; whence *Samuel* describes some of the Inconveniencies, which the *Jews* were bringing upon themselves by desiring a King, in the following Words (e) ; *He will take the Tenth of your Seed, and of your Vineyards, and give them to his Officers and to his Servants. He will take the Tenth of your Sheep, and ye shall be his Servants.* So constant and universal was the Custom of paying *Tenths* to the Gods and Kings, that *δικατενταί*, and *δικαταλόγοι*, *Collectors of Tenths*, are general Names

(w) *Phocicis*, p. 624. Edit. Hanov. (x) *Bibliothec. Hist. lib. XI.* (y) *Eliac. &*
(z) *Dialog. de Saltatione.* (a) *Lib. V. cap. 77.* (b) *De Expedit. Cyri lib. V.*
(c) *Phocicis*, p. 628. (d) *Apud Diogenem Laertium,* (e) *1 Sam. VIII. 15, 17.*

for τελῶναι, *Publicans*, or Collectors of Taxes; and δακνύειν is equivalent to καθιερωσαι, λαφυραγωγειν, or τελωειν which Words signify to consecrate, or to gather Tributes, and pay Taxes (f). And that the same was derived from the most early Times, appears from the well-known Example of *Abraham*, who gave Tithes of all to *Melchisedeck*, King of *Salem*, and Priest of the most high God (g).

C H A P. V.

Of the Grecian Prayers, Supplications, and Imprecations.

THE Piety of the ancient *Grecians*, and the honourable Opinion they had conceived of their Deities, doth in nothing more manifestly appear, than in the continual Prayers and Supplications they made to them; for no Man amongst them, that was endued with the smallest Prudence, saith *Plato* (b), would undertake any Thing of greater or lesser Moment, without having first asked the Advice and Assistance of the Gods; for this they thought the surest Means to have all their Enterprizes crown'd with Success. And that this was practised by the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, as well as by their Philosophers, and that in the most primitive Times, is fully witnessed by their Poets, and other ancient Writers. Thus in *Homer's* ninth *Iliad*, *Nestor* is introduced, praying for Success to the Ambassadors, whom the *Grecian* Chiefs were sending to *Achilles*. In the tenth *Iliad*, *Ulysses* enters upon his Expedition into the *Trojan* Camp in the same Manner. In the last *Iliad*, *Priamus* entreats the Assistance of the Gods, before he durst adventure himself into the Tent of *Achilles* to redeem *Hector's* Body. And to forbear other Instances, the Heroes seldom engage with their Enemies, till they have first implored the divine Protection and Favour.

It seems to have been the universal Practice of all Nations, whether civil or barbarous, to recommend themselves to their several Deities every Morning and Evening. Whence we are informed by *Plato* (i), "That at the Rising both of the Sun and Moon, one might every where behold the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, those in Prosperity, as well as those under Calamities and Afflictions, prostrating themselves, and hear their Supplications." And to this Custom *Horace* seems to allude in the following Words (k).

Longas ô utinam, dux bone, ferias
Præstes, dicimus integro
Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi
Cum Sol Oceano subest.

(f) Etymologici Auctor. *Harpocration*, *Hesychius*, *Suid.* (g) *Gen.* XIV. 18, 20.
 (b) *Timæo.* (i) *De Legibus*, lib. 10. (k) *Lib. IV. Od. V. v. 37.*

That is, *We pray, for the Prosperity of Italy, both in the Morning, and in the Evening.*

The *Lacedæmonians* had a peculiar Form of Prayer, for they never used, either in their publick or private Devotions, to make any other Request, than that the Gods would grant what was honourable and good for them, as *Plato* (l) witnesseth; but *Plutarch* (m) tells us, they added one Petition more, *viz.* That they might be able to suffer Injuries. The *Athenians* (n) used, in their publick Prayers, to desire Prosperity for themselves and the *Chians*; and at the *Panathenæa*, a Solemnity which was celebrated once in five Years, the publick Crier used to implore the Blessing of the Gods upon the *Athenians* and *Platæans*.

But passing by the Subject-Matter of their Prayers, it is my principal Design in this Place, to describe their Manner of supplicating the Gods; and because they made their Supplication to Men, for the most Part, with the same Ceremonies, I shall treat of them both together. Petitioners both to the Gods and Men us'd to supplicate with green Boughs in their Hands, and Crowns upon their Heads, or Garlands upon their Necks, which they did with a Design to beget Respect in those to whom they made their Supplications, as *Triclinius* (o), in his Commentary upon *Sophocles*, teacheth us. These Boughs are call'd by several Names, as *ῥαλλοί*, or *κλάδοι ἱερῆροι*, *φυλλᾶδες ἱερῆς*, and *ἱερῆλαι*. They were commonly of Laurel, or Olive; whence *Statius* (p),

Mite nemus circa,—

Vittatæ Laurus, & supplicis arbor Olive.

About this Grove the peaceful Olive grows
And sprightly Laurel, on whose verdant Boughs
Wreath'd Garlands hung——

H. H.

Which Trees were chiefly made use of, either because they were *ἀειθαλῆς*, always green and flourishing, whence *Euripides* (q) gives the latter the Epithet of *ἀνθάλλου*, never fading: Or, because the Laurel was a Sign of Victory, Success, and Joy; the Olive of Peace and Good-will. In these Boughs they put Wool, which was not tied to them, but wrapped about them; for which Reason the Tragedian (r) seems to have call'd it *ἄσπονδον φυλλᾶδου*, the Tie without a Knot. And, from their being wrapped round, some think that they were called by the Romans, *Vittæ*, or *Infule*; whence *Virgil* (s),

———*Ne temne quod uliro*

Præferimus manibus vittas, ac verba precantum.

Let not the King despise us, 'cause we bear
This Wreath, the Badge of Suppliants.——

H. H.

(l) *Alcib.* II. (m) *Institut. Laconic.* (n) *Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier.* lib. V. cap. 27. (o) *Oed. Tyr.* v. 3. (p) *Tbeb. lib. XII.* (q) *In Ione.* v. 1436. (r) *In Imitid.* v. 31. (s) *Æneid.* VII. v. 236.

And by the *Greeks* they were term'd *τίμματα* in which Sense *Homer* is by some thought to have used this Word (1);

Στίμμαι ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκτεόλα Ἀπόλλωνος.

For according to the old *Scholia* upon *Sophocles* (u), *τίμμα* is to be interpreted τὶ προστεταμένον ἔριον τῷ θαλλῷ certain Wool wrapp'd about a green Bough. With these Boughs, and sometimes with their Hands, if they were doubtful whether they should prevail or not, it was usual to touch the Knees of the Statue, or Man, to whom they address'd themselves; if they had Hopes, they touch'd his Right Hand, but never the Left, that being thought unlucky; if they were confident of Success, they rose as high as his Chin, or Cheeks. It was customary to touch the Head, because that is the principal and most honourable Member in a Man's Body, as *Eustathius* (w) thinks; or because they desired the Person should give his Consent to their Petitions, *annuendo*, by a Nod, for this was the Manner of granting Requests; whence *Jupiter*, in *Homer* (x), having granted *Thetis's* Petition, adds,

Εἰ δ', ἄγε τοι κεφαλῇ καλανύσομαι, ὅρρα ποιοῖσθαι.
Τὸτο γὰρ ἐξ ἐμῆθεν γένητ' ἀθανάτοισι μέγιστον
Τέκμωρ, εἰ γὰρ ἐμὸν πάλιν ἀγρεύειν, ὅδ' ἀπατηλόν,
Οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον γ', ὅ ὅτι κεφαλῇ καλανύσω.

But lest you doubt, if you can doubt a God;
I'll clear all Scruples by a solemn Nod:
For that's with me a never-failing Sign,
And does Performance to my Vows enjoin.

H. H.

The Hand they touch'd (y), as being the Instrument of Action. The Knees, because they desired the Soul of the Person should bend, as it were, and incline to their Requests, for that the Joints in that Place are more flexible than in any other Part; or because the Knees are the Instruments of Motion, as if they requested the Person to bestir himself, and walk about to effect their Desires. Whence, to use the Words of *Pliny* (z), *hominis genibus quædam religio inest, observatione gentium: hæc supplices attingunt; hæc, ut aras, adorant; fortasse quia ipsis inest vitalitas*. By all Nations a Sort of religious Veneration is paid to the Knees of Men: These the Suppliants endeavour to touch: These they adore in the same Manner as they do the Altars of the Gods; perhaps because there is a Sort of lively Vigour in them. Sometimes they touched the Knees with one Hand, and the Head, or Hands, with the other. Thus did *Thetis* by *Jupiter*:

Ἀερίη δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν ἄρᾶν, οὐλύμποι τε,
Εὐρεν δ' εὐρύσπασ Κρονίδην ἄτερ ἡμῶν ἄλλων
Ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδείραδ' οὐλύμποιο.

(1) *Iliad*. α. ν. 14. (u) In vers. 3. *Oedip. Tyr.* (w) In *Il.* α. p. 97. Edit. *Basil.*
(z) *Il.* α. 524. (y) *Eustath.* ibidem. (x) *Nat. Hist.* lib. XI. cap. 45.

Καὶ ἔα παρ' αὐτοῦ καθέζετο, καὶ λάβει γένην
 Σκαῦν, δεξιερῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ ἀιθερίων ἐλθεῖσα.

Just had the blushing Goddess heav'd her Head,
 From off the Pillow of her Saffron Bed,
 When azure *Thetis* Heav'n-ward wing'd her Flight
 And on the steep *Olympus* did alight;
 Where she all-seeing *Jove* found seated high,
 Remote from each inferior Deity;
 Straight at his Feet herself she prostrate cast,
 And with her Right Hand seiz'd with eager Haste,
 His bristly Beard; her Left his Knees embrac'd. H. H. }

Sometimes they kiss'd the Hands and Knees. *Priamus*, in *Homer*, is introduced touching the Knees of *Achilles*, and kissing his Hands (a).

Χερσὶν Ἀχλλῆος λάβει γένηα, καὶ κύσει χεῖρας.

And *Ulysses* reports, that himself, when a Suppliant to the King of *Egypt*, touch'd, and kiss'd his Knees (b);

Καὶ κύσα γέναθ' ἐγών, ὃ δ' ἐρύσατο, καὶ μ' ἐλέησεν.

If the Petitioners were very fearful, and the Persons to whom they address'd themselves, of very great Quality, they kiss'd their Feet. This Kiss the *Romans* call'd *Labratum*, and the old *Gloss* renders it φίλημα βασιλικόν, ἢ ἀσπασμὸν βασιλέως, a Kiss of a King. Sometimes they kiss'd their own Hands, and with them touch'd the Person. Another Sort of Salutation there was, whereby they did Homage to the Gods, viz. by putting the Fore-finger over the Thumb (perhaps upon the middle joint, which they us'd in counting the Number Ten) and then giving a Turn on their Right Hand, as it is in *Plautus* (c);

Ph. Quod si non affert, quo me vortam nescio.

Pa. Si Deos salutas, dextro vorsum censeo.

Pb. But if he fail me, I know not which Way to turn.

Pa. Turn!—why you must turn to th' Right Hand, I conceive,
 If you would reverence the Gods. H. H.

Sometimes they prostrated themselves at the Entrance of the Temples, and kiss'd the sacred Threshold. To which Custom *Tibullus* thus alludes (d),

Non ego, si merui, dubitem procumbere Templis,
 Et dare sacratis oscula liminibus.

So generally was this Custom of Kissing practis'd by Supplicants, that *Eusebius* (e) thinks the Word προσκυνῆν, to adore, was deriv'd from κύων, which signifies to kiss.

(a) *Iliad*. ᾠ. v. 478. (b) *Odyss.* ξ'. v. 279. (c) *Curcul*, Act. I. Scen. I. (d) *Lib. Eleg.* V. (e) *Ad Odyss.* 6.

Another Manner they had of Supplicating, by pulling their Hairs off their Head, and offering them to the Person, to whom they pray'd. After this Manner did *Agamemnon* present himself before *Jupiter*, when *Hector* had given the *Grecians* an Overthrow *

Πολλὰς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελόμενος ἔλατο χαίτας
Ἰφύθ' ἐόντι Διὶ——

But the Celestial *Jove* presents with Hairs,
Which from his mangled Head with eager Force he tears.

H. H.

They often clothed themselves with Rags, or put on the Habit of Mourners, to move Pity and Compassion.

The Postures they us'd were different. Sometimes they pray'd *standing*, sometimes *sitting*, but generally *kneeling*, because that seems to bear the greatest Shew of Humility; whence the Words *γναζέσθαι*, *γονυπεῖν*, and such like, signify to *pray*, or make Supplication. *Prostration* was almost as frequent as *Kneeling*. The Poets furnish us with innumerable Examples of *Prostration* before the Images, Altars, and sometimes the Thresholds of the Temples. Thus in *Ovid* †:

*Ut templi tetigere gradus, procumbit uterque
Pronus humi, gelidoque pavens dedit oscula saxo.*

Which Practice is ridicul'd by *Lucretius* (a), who says, that it is no Act of Piety,

——— *procumbere humi prostratum, & pandere palmas
Ante Deum delubra.*———

The *Greek Scholiast* upon *Pindar* tells us, they were wont to turn their Face towards the East, when they pray'd to the Gods; and to the West, when to the Heroes, or Demigods. Others (b) say, they always kept their Faces towards the Sun; that in the Morning they turn'd themselves to the East, and at Noon to the South, and in the Evening to the West.

The safest Place for a Petitioner, either to Gods or Men (next to the Temples and Altars, was the Hearth, or Fire-place, whither it was usual to betake themselves when they came to any strange Place in Travel or Banishment, as being the Altar of *Vesta*, and the Household Gods. Whence *Ulysses*, being a Suppliant in the Court of *Alcinous* King of *Phæacia*, is thus introduced by *Homer* (c):

——— καὶ ἄρ' ἔξῃ ἐπ' ἐσχάτῃ ἐν κοίτῃσι.

When they had once seated themselves there, in the Ashes, in a mournful Posture, and with a dejected Countenance, they needed not to open their Mouths, neither was it the Custom so to do; for those Actions spoke loud enough, and told the Calamity of the Suppliant more movingly than a thousand Orations. This we learn from *Apollonius Rhodius* (d),

* *Iliad*. 4. † *Metamorph.* lib. i. (c) *Lib. v.* (b) *Callinus Rhod.* lib. xii. c. 2.
(d) *Odyss.* 6. v. 153. (d) *Argonaut.* lib. iv.

Τὼ δ' ἄνω, καὶ ἀναυδοὶ ἐφ' ἐσὶν αἵξαντες
Ἰσανοι, ἣ τε δίκη λυγροῖς ἐκίτησι τίτνυται.

As soon as o'er the Threshold they can get,
At *Vesta's* Shrine in humble Sort they sit;
For there they're safe, and of Want nothing know,
Such Privilege our Laws the Poor allow. H. H.

The *Molossians* had a peculiar Manner of Supplicating, different from that of all other Countries; which was practis'd by *Themistocles*, when he was pursued by the *Athenians* and *Lacedamonians*, and forced to cast himself on the Protection of *Admetus*, King of that Country; he held the young Prince (who was then a Child) in his Arms, and in that Posture prostrated himself before the King's Household Gods; this being the most sacred Manner of Supplication among the *Molossians*, and which was not to be rejected, as *Plutarch* reports (e).

They that fled to the Gods for Refuge, or Help, us'd first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then to make known their Desires to the Deity.

Πάντας δὲ βαμὲς οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτη δόμους,
Προσῆλθε, καξέγεψε, καὶ προσήξατο.

And when with Myrtle Garlands he had crown'd
Each Altar in *Admetus's* House, he pray'd, H. H.

saith *Euripides* (f). It was usual also to take hold of the Altars, as *Virgil* witnesseth (g),

Talibus orabat dictis, arasque tenebat.

Laying his Hands on th' Altar, thus he pray'd.

Whence *Varro* is of Opinion that Altars were call'd *aræ*, *q. anse*, which Word is us'd to signify any Thing that may be taken hold of. It was also an usual Gesture in praying, to lift up their Hands towards Heaven. Πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἀνατίεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν ἑρᾶν εὐχὰς ποιεῖμεν. *We do all lift up our Hands to Heaven, when we pray*, saith *Aristotle* (b). The same is affirm'd by *Helena* in her Prayer to *Juno* (i),

——— ἑρθὰς ὠλένας πρὸς ἑρᾶν
ῥιπτῶνθ', ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἀστέρων ποικίλματα.

We our extended Arms, great Goddess, heav'd
Tow'rd thy Pavilion deck'd with *Asterisms*. H. H.

(e) In *Themistocle*. (f) In *Alceſtide*. (g) *Æneid*. IV. v. 219. (b) *Lib. VI. De Mundo*. (i) *Euripid. Hel.* v. 1100.

Whence it appears, that the Reason of lifting up their Hands, was, that they might hold them towards the Gods, whose Habitation is in Heaven. *Homer* every where mentions this Posture, always adding *χεῖρας ἀνασχών*, when he speaks of any one that pray'd to the Gods. And this Custom was so universally receiv'd, that the Holding up of Hands is sometimes us'd to signify *Praying*, as in *Horace*:

Cælo supinas si tuleris manus.

If to the Gods your Hands have been lift up.

On the contrary, because the infernal Gods were suppos'd to have their Habitation beneath the Earth, it was usual to pray to them with Hands pointed downwards. Sometimes the better to excite the Attention of these Gods, they stamp'd the Ground with their Feet. This is said to have been done by the Actors, when they pronounced those Words of *Hecuba*, wherein she invokes the Assistance of the infernal Gods to save her Son *Polydorus* (g):

ὦ χθόνιοι θεοί, σώσατε παῖδ' ἑμὸν.

Whence *Cleantem*, cum pede terram percussisset, versum ex *Epigoni* dixisse ferunt: 'Tis reported of *Cleantes*, that having first stamp'd the Ground with his Foot, he recited the following Verse out of the *Epigoni*:

Audisne hæc, Amphiaræ, sub terram abdite (h).

When they lay prostrate or kneel'd upon the Earth, it was customary to beat it with their Hands. Thus the Mother of *Meleager* is introduced by *Homer* (i):

*Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόβῃν χερσὶν ἀλόϊα
Κικλήσκουσ' Ἀΐδην, καὶ ἱπαιήν Περσιφόρῃαν,
Πρόχῳ καθιζομένη, —*

Lastly, They who pray'd to the Deities of the Sea, expanded their Hands towards the Sea. This we find done by *Achilles* in *Homer* when he invokes *Thetis* (k): As likewise by *Cleanthus* in *Virgil* (l):

*Ni palmas ponto tendens utraque Cleanthus,
Fudissetque preces, Divosque in vota vocasset:
Dii, quibus imperium pelagi, &c.*

These Customs are briefly explain'd by the *Scholiast* on the foremention'd Verses of *Homer's* ninth *Iliad*: *Εὐχονται δὲ οἱ ἥρωες τοῖς μὲν ἑραινίαις θεοῖς, ἄνω ταῖς,*

Χεῖρας ἀνασχόντες μέγα εὐχετόωντο ἑκάστος.

The Heroes pray to the Celestial Gods, lifting up their Hands to Heaven, as in the Verse there cited, *Ταῖς δὲ θαλασσίαις, To the Gods of the Sea,* they prayed thus:

(g) *Euripides Hecuba* v. 79. (h) *Cicero Tusculan. Quæst. lib. II.* (i) *Iliad.* 4. v. 204. (k) *Iliad.* 4. v. 350. (l) *Æneid.* V. 233.

Πολλά δὲ μητρὶ φίλῃ ἤρσατο χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς,

Πρὸς θάλασσαν δηλονότι. *Extending his Hands towards the Sea.* Τοῖς καταχθονίοις δὲ, κόπτοντες τὴν γῆν, ὡς ἐνθάδε φησὶ. *But to the subterraneous Gods, they pray'd beating the Earth, as is here done by Meleager's Mother.* Prayer being ended, they lifted up their Hand to their Mouth, and kiss'd it; which Custom was also practis'd by the Romans, whenever they pass'd by a Temple, and was accounted a Sort of Veneration, as *Alexander ab Alexandro* informs us (a); and *Lilius Gyraldus* (b) tells us he hath observed the same in *Homer*, and others. Whence *Lucian* in his *Encomium of Demosthenes* has these Words: Καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τῷ στόματι παραγγέλλοντος, οὐκ ἄλλο ἢ προσκυνεῖν ἐλάβαν. *His Hand being lift up to his Mouth, I did not suspect that he was doing any Thing but praying.* And again in his Tract concerning Sacrifices: Ὁ δὲ πῶντος ἐλάσαστο τὸν θεόν, φιλήσας μόνον τὴν αὐτῇ δεξιᾷ. *The poor Man obtains the Favour of the Gods, by kissing his right Hand only.* Whence it appears that the right Hand, rather than the left, was kiss'd on this Occasion. Neither was the Palm, or inward Part, but τὸ ὀπισθέναρ, the Back and outward Part of the Hand thus honour'd. For, to use the Words of *Pliny* (c), *Inest & aliis partibus quædam religio: Sicut dextera osculis aversa appetitur.* There is a Sort of Religion in other Members: As we find by the Custom of kissing the Back of the Hand.

It will not be improper to observe in the last Place, that τὰς εἰχὰς ὁμολογεῖσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δυνατωτέρας εἶναι βαρβάρῳ φωνῇ λεγομένας. *It was a common Opinion, that their Prayers were more prevalent and successful, when offer'd in a barbarous and unknown Language:* And the Reason assign'd for it was, that αἱ πρῶται καὶ γενικαὶ διαλέξεις, βάρβαροι μὲν, φύσει δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσιν. *The first and native Language of Mankind, tho' barbarous and uncouth, yet consisted of Words and Names more agreeable to Nature* (d). Whence it was customary for Magicians, and those who pretended to have a more intimate Familiarity with the Gods than other Men, to make their Petitions in barbarous and unknown Sounds.

Sometimes, if they obtain'd their Request, and it was a Matter of Consequence, they presented to the God some rich Gift, or offer'd a Sacrifice in Thankfulness for the Benefit they had receiv'd; sometimes they related it to the Priest of the Temple, that it might be registered, as a Testimony of the Goodness of the Gods, and their Readiness to hear the Petitions of Mortals, and send them Relief; and for an Encouragement to Men to make known their Wants and Desires to the Deities, and to expect Assistance from them: On which Account, as *Eustathius* has observ'd, all Prayers in *Homer*, the Petitions of which are just and reasonable, are rewarded with a full and satisfactory Answer.

From the Grecian Prayers let us pass to their Imprecations. These were extremely terrible, being thought so powerful, when duly pronounced, as to occasion the Destruction not only of single Persons, but of whole Families and Cities. The Miseries which befel *Atræus*, *Agamemnon*, and others of that Family, were thought to proceed from

(a) Gen. Diær. lib. iv. cap. 16. (b) Syntagm. de Diis Gentium. (c) Nat. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 45. (d) *Clemens Alexandrinus Strom.* i. p. 339.

the Imprecations of *Myrtilus* upon *Pelops* their Ancestor, by whom he was thrown into the Sea. Thus *Lycophron* (a):

Φερωνύμης ἔδυψε Νηρείως τάφους,
Πανώλεθροι κηλῖδα θωύξας γένει.

The same Imprecations are likewise mention'd in the *Electra* of *Sophocles*, and the *Orestes* of *Euripides*. Tho' by others the Calamities of that Family are ascrib'd to the Curses of *Thyestes*, *Atreus's* Brother; whence *Thyestea preces* are us'd proverbially for any dreadful Imprecations: As in *Horace* (b),

Miseri Thyestes preces.

But the most dreadful Imprecations were those pronounced by Parents, Priests, Kings, Prophets, or other sacred Persons. Examples whereof may be found in *Homer's* ninth *Iliad*, where *Phænix* relates, that the Gods would not permit him to have Children by Reason of his Father's Imprecations (c): And afterwards that *Meleager* was destroy'd by the Curses of his Mother (d):

Ἐξ ἀρέων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος, ἧ ῥὰ θεοῖσι
Πολλὰ ἄχεος ἑράτο κασινγήτοιο Φόναιο.
Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖῃ πολυφύρῃσι χερσὶν ἁλοῖα,
Κικλήσκουσ' Αἶδην, καὶ ἑπαινή Περσεφόειαν,
Πρόχῳ χαθεζομένη δαίοντο δὲ δάκρυσι νόλποι
Παῖδι δόμεν θάνατον· τῆς δ' ἡεροφύτις Ἑρινός,
Ἐκλυεν ἐξ Ἑρέβουσφιν, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.

Hence it was customary for Men condemn'd for any notorious Crime, to be publickly curs'd by the Priests. This befel *Alcibiades*, against whom, beside Banishment and Confiscation, the *Athenians* ἐτι καταρᾶσθαι προσεψηφίσαντο πάντας ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερέας: decreed, that he should be curs'd by all the Priests and Priestesses. Which Decree was obey'd by all, who then held that Office, except *Theano*, who profess'd herself εἰχῶν καὶ καταρᾶν ἱερίαν γενομένη: to be by her Office of Priesthood appointed to Bless and not to Curse.

There is likewise frequent mention of Imprecations in the *Roman* Affairs and Authors. Thus when *Crassus* undertook that fatal Expedition against the *Parthians*, wherein he perish'd, ὁ Ἀτίνος προσδραμὼν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἔθηκεν ἰσχυρίδα καιομένην, καὶ τῷ Κράσσῳ γενομένῳ κατ' αὐτὸν, ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ κατασπένδων, ἁρὰς ἐπέχετο δυνάς μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ Φρικώδεις: *Atejus* running to the Gate of the City, placed there a Vessel full of burning Coals, upon which he offer'd Odours and Libations, and pronounced most dreadful Curses against *Crassus*, as he pass'd by (e). And we are inform'd by *Pliny* (f), that *diris deprecationibus defigi, nemo non metuit*. All Men are afraid of Imprecations. There being no Way to avoid or expiate their direful Effects, according to *Horace* (g).

(a) *Cassandra* v. 164. (b) *Epod. V.* ver. 86. (c) *Ver.* 455. (d) *Ver.* 562. (e) *Appianus* in *Paribico*. *Conf. Cicero de Divin. lib. i.* (f) *Nat. Hist. lib. xxviii.* cap. 2. (g) *Epod. V.* ver. 89.

*Diris agam vos : dira detestatio
Nullâ expiatur victimâ.*

And that the same Practice was us'd in other Parts of the World, appears from the sacred Writings : Wherein *Jonathan*, after he had gain'd a glorious Victory over the Enemies of his Country, is reported to have been reduced to the last Extremity by the Imprecations of *Saul*, his Father and King (*b*). And *Joshua* is said to have pronounced a solemn Curse upon the Person, who should rebuild *Jericho* (*i*) : Which was fulfill'd upon *Hiel* many Ages after (*k*). *Balaam* the Magician was sent for by *Balak* King of *Moab*, to curse his Enemies the *Israelites* (*l*). The Patriarch *Jacob* is introduced distributing his Blessings to some of his Children (which was a Custom no less ancient than the other) and his Curses to *Reuben*, *Simeon*, and *Levi* (*m*). *Noah*, the Father of the new World pronounced an Imprecation upon his Grand-son *Canaan* (*n*), which had its Effect a long Time after. And the Practice seems to have been deriv'd from the Curses pronounced by God upon *Adam*, and afterwards upon *Cain*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Grecian Oaths.

HAVING describ'd the Manner of offering Sacrifices and Prayers to the Gods, I shall proceed in the next Place to speak of the Honour paid to them, by using their Names in solemn Contracts, Promises, and Asseverations ; and calling them to witness Men's Truth and Honesty, or to punish their Falshood and Treachery. This was reputed a Sort of religious Adoration, being an Acknowledgment of the Omnipotence, and Omnipresence, and by Consequence, of the Divinity of the Person thus invok'd Whence the Poets describe Men's Reception into the Number of the Gods by their being invok'd in Oaths. Thus *Horace* speaks of *Cæsar* (*o*) :

Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras.

And *Lucan* of the Roman Heroes, who sacrificed their Lives in the civil Wars (*p*) :

*Bella pares superis faciunt civilia Divos :
Fulminibus manes, radiisque ornabit, & astris ;
Inque Deum templis jurabit Roma per umbras.*

Adrastus in *Statius* (*q*) compliments the Ghost of *Archemorus* in the same Manner :

——— *captivis etiam jurabere Thebis.*

(*b*) 1 Sam. XIV. 24. (*i*) Josh. IV. 26. (*k*) 1 Reg. XVI. 34. (*l*) Numbers XXII. 5, 6, &c. (*m*) Genes. XLIX. 3, 4. (*n*) Ibid. IX. 25, 26, 27. (*o*) Lib. II. Epist. 5. ver. 19. (*p*) Lib. vii. v. 457. (*q*) Thebaid. vii. 102.

And the inspir'd Writers for the same Reason forbid to swear by the Pagan Deities, and command to swear by the true God. Thus in *Deuteronomy* (a): *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his Name.* And in *Jeremy* (b): *How shall I pardon thee for this? Thy Children have forsaken me, and sworn by them that are no Gods.* And to forbear other Instances, the Worshipers of the true God are by *David* (c) describ'd by swearing by *h.m.*

Opes, the God of Oaths, is by *Hesiod* (d) said to be the Son of *Eris*, or *Contention*; and Fables tell us, that in the golden Age, when Men were strict Observers of the Laws of Truth and Justice, there was no Occasion for Oaths, nor any Use made of them: But when they began to degenerate from their primitive Simplicity, when Truth and Justice were banish'd out of the Earth, when every one began to make Advantage of his Neighbour by Cozenage and Deceit, and there was no Trust to be placed in any Man's Word, it was high Time to think of some Expedient, whereby they might secure themselves from the Fraud and Falshood of one another. Hence had Oaths their Original. We are told indeed by *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (e), that *Chiron* first invented Oaths; but the Meaning of that seems only to be this, that he first reduced some of the barbarous Nations to a Sense of Religion and Virtue: Whence it is added in the same Place that he taught them *δικαιοσύνην, καὶ θυσιὰς ἱεράς* Justice and propitiatory Sacrifices. However that be, it is probable, that at first Oaths were only used upon weighty and momentous Occasions, yet in Process of Time they came to be applied to every trivial Matter, and in common Discourse; which has given Occasion to the Distinction of Oaths into that, which was called *ὀμνίας*, and us'd only on solemn and weighty Accounts; and that which they term'd *ὀμικρός*, which was taken in Things of the *smallest* Moment, and was sometimes used merely as an Expletive to fill up a Sentence, and make a round and emphatical Period. Some there are, that tell us the *μνίας ὅρκος* was that, wherein the Gods, *μικρός*, that wherein Creatures were call'd to witness; but the Frailty of this Distinction doth evidently appear by a great many Instances, whereof I shall only mention one, viz. that of the *Arcadians*, amongst whom the most sacred and inviolable Oath was taken by the Water of a Fountain called *Styx*, near *Nonacris*, a City, as *Herodotus* (f), or, according to others, a Mountain in *Arcadia*; upon which Account it was that *Cleomenes*, the *Lacedæmonian*, to secure the Fidelity of the *Arcadians*, had a Design to carry the principal Men among them to *Nonacris*, and there to make them swear by this Fountain, tho' they had taken another Oath before, as my Author (g) hath related. It will not be wholly impertinent in this Place to mention the great Oath of the Gods by the *Stygian Lake*; for *Jupiter*, as *Hesiod* (h) reports,

Αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἱμμεναὶ ὅρκον.

Ordain'd this Lake a solemn Oath should be
To all the Gods. —————

(a) VI. 15. (b) V. 7. (c) Psalm LXIII. 12. (d) *Theogon.* v. 231. (e) *Strom.* i. pag. 306. (f) *Erato.* (g) *Loc. citato.* (h) *Theogonia.*

Which is the Reason why some derive the Word *ὄρκος*, an Oath, from *Orcus*, *Hell*. This Oath was invented by *Jupiter*, and prescribed by him to the rest of the Gods in Honour of *Styx*; because she, with her Sons, came the first of all the Gods to his Assistance in the War against the *Giants*; or, for that her Daughter *Victoria* was favourable to him, saith *Hesiod*; or, because he had quench'd his Thirst with her Waters in the Fight. If any God swore falsely by these Waters, he was debarr'd the Use of *Nectar*, and depriv'd of his Divinity for an hundred Years; these others reduce to nine, but *Servius*, out of *Orpheus*, enlarged them to nine thousand.

The God that was thought more especially to preside over Oaths was *Jupiter*; tho' all the Gods seem to have been concern'd in them, for it was usual to swear by them all, or any of them; and of any perjur'd Person they spoke in general, that he had offended the Gods, of which there are innumerable Instances: But they were thought chiefly and more peculiarly to belong to *Jupiter's* Care; and tho' perhaps this may not appear (as some think it doth) from the Word *Jus-jurandum*, which they will have to be so call'd *q. Jovis jurandum*, yet it will sufficiently be prov'd by the plain Testimony of the Poet, that saith (a),

——— Ἐγὼ δ', ὃς ὄρκων
ὄντοίς ταμίης ἐνέμεναι.

And *Jove*, that over human Oaths presides.

The Gods, by whom *Solon* commanded the *Athenians* chiefly to swear in publick Causes, were three (b); viz. *Ἰνιόν*, *Καδάρον*, and *Ἐλευθερίον*, or rather one *Jupiter* *Ὀρεν*, by three Names, tho' some make them to be three distinct Gods. *Plato* in his *Euthydemus* mentions *Apollo*, *Minerva*, and *Jupiter*. *Demosthenes* also in his Oration against *Midias*, swears by the same three Deities: But in another against *Timocrates* he takes an Oath by *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Ceres*. And the *Athenians* very often swore by other Gods: Sometimes by all the Gods in general, sometimes by the twelve great Gods, as *μὰ τὰς δωδεκαθεῶν*: The *Spartans* usually, *μὰ τὸ Σιδῶν*, by *Castor* and *Pollux*. The Women's Oaths were commonly by *Juno*, *Diana*, or *Venus*, or *ἡ τὸ Σιδῶν*, i. e. by *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, which were appropriated to the Female Sex, according to *Phavorinus* (c), and never used by Men, except in Imitation of the Women. Nor that these were the only Oaths used by Women, for the contrary doth abundantly appear, but they were the most usual ones, tho' they often swore by other Goddeesses, and sometimes by the Gods, as appears from *Aristophanes*.

Men generally swore by the God to whom the Business they had in Hand, or the Place they were in did belong; in the Market they usually swore by *Ἐρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος*, or *Mercury*; Ploughmen by *Ceres*; those that delighted in Horses, by *Neptune*. The *Athenians* (d) alone of all the *Greeks* us'd to swear by *Isis*, and the *Thebans* commonly by *Osiris*.

(a) *Euripid. Medæa*. v. 170. (b) *Pollux lib. viii. cap. 12.* (c) In voce *Sidæ*.
(d) *Alex. ab Alex. lib. v. cap. 10. Gen. Dier.*

Sometimes either out of Haste, or Assurance of their being in the Right, or some of the like Reasons, they swore indefinitely by any of the Gods, in this Manner, *Ὀρκίῳ μὲν τῶν θεῶν* which Form we find used in *Plato's Phædrus*, and in *Aristenæus's* Epistle of *Euxitheus* to *Pytheas*. Others, thinking it unlawful to use the Name of God upon every slight Occasion, said no more than *Ναὶ μὰ τὸν*, or, *By, &c.* by a religious Ellipsis, omitting the Name; thus *Phavorinus* (a). *Suidas* also mentions the same Custom, which (saith he) *ἐθιμίξεν πρὸς εὐσεβίαν* inures Men to a pious Regard to the Name of God (b). *Isocrates* in *Stobæus* forbids to swear by any of the Gods in any Suit of Law about Money, and only allows it on two Accounts: *ἢ σαυτὸν αἰτίας αἰσχροῦς ἀπολύων, ἢ φίλους ἐν πηγάδων κινδύνων διασώζων* either to vindicate yourself from the Imputation of some Wickedness, or to deliver your Friends from some great Danger. To which *Simplicius* in his Commentary upon *Epicetus* adds a third, *viz. to obtain some considerable Benefit for your Country*. *Pythagoras*, as *Hierocles* (c) informs us, was very cautious in this Matter, for he rarely swore by the Gods himself, or allow'd his Scholars to do so: Instead of the Gods, he advised them to swear by *τὴν τετράδα*, or the Number four, saith *Plutarch* (d), as thinking the Perfection of the Soul consisted in this Number, there being in every Soul a Mind, Science, Opinion, and Sense. And 'tis reported of *Clinias the Pythagorean*, that when he might have clear'd himself from a Fine of three Talents, he rather chose to pay that Sum than to take an Oath. *Socrates* told his Scholars, that *Rhadamanthus*, the justest Man that ever liv'd, had expressly forbidden Men to swear by the Gods, but instead of them allow'd the Use of a Dog, Goose, Ram, or such like Creatures; and in Conformity to this Rule, that Philosopher was wont to swear *ἐν τὸν κίνα, χίνα, or πλάτανον*, by a Dog, Goose, or Plane-tree. *Zeno*, the Father of the *Stoicks*, usually swore *ἐν τὴν κάππερον*, i. e. by a Shrub that bears Capers. In *Ananias*, one swears by *Crambe*, i. e. *Colewort*, saith *Cælius* (e). The same Oath occurs in *Teleclides*, *Epicharmus*, and *Eupolis*; and it seems to have been used more especially amongst the *Ionians*. By which Instances it appears, that tho' the Custom of swearing upon light and frivolous Occasions was very common amongst the *Greeks*, as may be seen in their Comedies and other interlocutory Discourses, yet the more wise and considerate Sort entertain'd a most religious Regard for Oaths. Sometimes they seem entirely to forbid all Sorts of Oaths, whether just or unjust. To which Purpose is that Saying of *Menander*,

Ὀρκον δὲ φεύγε, καὶ δικαίως ὀνύχης.

And another of *Chærilus*,

Ὀρκον τ' ἔτ' ἄρκον χερσὶν ἔμμεναι, ἔτε δικαίον.

And, to mention no more Examples, the *Scholiast* upon *Homer* informs us, that the ancient *Greeks* did not *προσιτῶς κατὰ τοῦ θεῶν ὀρκύναι ἀλλὰ*

(a) Voce Mæ. (b) *Ναὶ μὰ τὸν*. (c) In *Pythag.* Aur. Carm. v. 2. (d) Libro de Placit. Philosoph. (e) Antiq. Lect. lib. xxvii. cap. 28.

κατὰ τῶν προσευχαόντων rashly, and in common Discourse, swear by the Gods, but made Use of other Things. The same Words occur also in Suidas (f).

Sometimes they swore by the Ground they stood upon, as Hippolytus in Euripides (g):

— καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χθονὸς ὅμνυμι.

And by the solid Ground I swear.

Sometimes by Rivers, Fountains, Floods, the Elements, Sun, Moon, and Stars, all which they accounted very sacred Oaths (h). Sometimes they swore by any Thing they made Use of; as a Fisher by his Nets, a Soldier by his Spear; and this last was a very great Oath, if that be true which (i) Justin hath reported, viz. That the Ancients paid Divine Worship to this Weapon; in Memory of which in later Ages it was usual for the Statues of the Gods to hold a Spear: And Eusebius (k) writes, that Cæneus erected a Spear, and commanded that it should be worshipp'd as a God. Kings and Princes usually swore by their Scepters, as we find every where in Homer; and this also was thought a solemn Oath, because the Scepter is a Badge and Ensign of regal and judicial Power.

They swore also by Men; sometimes by the Dead, of which Demosthenes is a famous Instance, who in an Oration to the People of Athens swore by τοῖς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, those that valiantly lost their Lives in the Battle at Marathon; sometimes by the Living, and this was done either by their Σωτηρία, Health and Safety; or Ἀλγία, their Misfortunes; or their Names; or some of their Members, as their Eyes, right Hand, especially their Head, which was accounted a very solemn Oath:

— πατρός κεφαλὴν μέγαν ὅρκον ὁμῶμαι.

By my good Father's Head, to me most dear,
This binding Oath I solemnly do swear.

Mr. Edw. Dechair of Linc. Coll.

faith one in Homer; and Helena swearing to Menelaus, calls it ἄγρον ὅρκον, a sacred Oath:

Ἄλλ' ἄγρον ὅρκον σὸν κάρα κατωμῶσα.

Let your vow'd Head this sacred Oath confirm.

The Reason of this was, because the Head was accounted the principal and most noble Part of Man; or, as Hansenius (l) thinks, because it was the Hieroglyphick of Health.

Sometimes they swore by those who were dearest to them, as Parents, Children, or those they had an high Esteem for; so the Pythagoreans used to swear by their Master Pythagoras; nor did they this, as thinking him a God, or Hero, but because he was a Person whose Memory they thought deserv'd a great Veneration, and whose Merits had exalted him to a near Affinity with the Divine Nature.

(f) Voce Ναὶ μὰ τὸ. (g) Verf. 1025. (h) Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. v. cap. 10. (i) Lib. xiii. (k) In ll. 4. (l) Libro de Jurament. Veterum.

The Manner of taking Oaths was sometimes by lifting up their Hands to Heaven; whence *Apollo*, in the Poet, bids *Lachesis* χερᾶς ἀνατείνειν. Tho' *Hansenius* is of Opinion that this Custom was of a later Original. Sometimes in the μεγάλῳ ὅρκῳ, or great and solemn Oath, they laid their Hands upon the Altar, as appears from that Saying of *Pericles*, who, being desir'd by a Friend to take a false Oath upon his Account, replied, *That he was his Friend to the Altars, and no farther*; as likewise from the Story reported by *Diogenes Laertius* of *Xenocrates*, who, being a Man eminent for a strict and virtuous Life, was summoned as a Witness in a certain Cause, where having spoken what he knew of the Matter, he went to the Altar to confirm his Evidence by Oath; but the Judges, well knowing the Integrity of the Man, with unanimous Consent bid him forbear, and gave Credit to him upon his bare Word. Lastly, to pass by other Examples, the same Rite is observ'd in *Virgil* at the celebrated League between *Latinus* and *Aeneas* * :

Tango aras, mediosque ignes & numina testor :
Nulla dies pacem hanc Italii & fœdera rumpet.

Instead of the Altar, saith *Pfeifer* (b), sometimes they made use of a Stone; for this he is beholden to *Suidas*, who hath taken it out of *Aristotle*, and *Philochorus*, and for a further Confirmation of it hath cited these Words out of the Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Conon*, τῶν τε παρόντων καθ' ἕνα ἡμῶν ἕτωςι πρὸς τὸν λίθον ἀγοίης καὶ ἐξορκῆτες, i. e. *And bringing all us who were present, one by one to the Stone, and there administering the Oath to us*. What is meant by this Stone, which *Pfeifer* seems not to have understood, the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (c) hath inform'd us in his Comment upon this Verse :

Τοιοῦτοι δὲ γήρα τῷ λίθῳ προσέταμεν.

——— we, tho' depress'd with Age,

With Mutt'rings near Tribunals still approach. E. D.

Where he tells us, that by λίθος is meant the βῆμα, or Tribunal, in *Pnyx*, a publick Place where the *Athenian* Assemblies used to meet. And the Reason why it is so called, he gives in another Place, where the *Comedian* calls it Πέτρα, a Stone, because it stood upon a Rock; whence λιθωμόνας are those that took or imposed an Oath, in *Pnyx*. Instead of the Altar, in private Contracts the Person swearing, according to the *Roman* Fashion, laid his Hand upon the Hand of the Party to whom he swore: This Ceremony *Menelaus* in *Euripides* demands of *Helena* (d) :

Ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς νῦν δεξιᾶς ἡμῶν δίγῃ.

T' unite our Hearts, our Hands let's friendly join.

In all Compacts or Agreements it was usual to take each other by the Hand, that being the Manner of plighting Faith; and this was done,

* *Aeneid*. xii. v. 201. (b) *Antiq. Græc. lib. ii. cap. 27.* (c) In *Acharnensibus*. (d) *Helen*, 843.

either out of the Respect they had to the Number ten, as some say, there being ten Fingers on the two Hands : Or because such a Conjunction was a Token of Amity and Concord ; whence at all friendly Meetings they join'd Hands, as a Design of the Union of their Souls. And the right Hand seems to have been used rather than the left, because it was more honourable, as being the Instrument by which Superiors give Commands to those below them ; whence *Crinagras* in an Epigram saith, 'Twas impossible that all the Enemies in the World, should ever prevail against *Rome* :

——— ἄχρι κε μείνη
Δεξιὰ σημαίνειν Καίσαρι Δαρσαλή.

While God-like *Cæsar* shall a right Hand have
Fit for Command——

E. D.

Besides this, in all solemn Leagues and Covenants they sacrificed to the Gods by whom they swore, offering for the most Part either a Boar, Ram, or Goat ; sometimes all three, sometimes Bulls or Lambs instead of any of them. Sometimes they cut out the Stones of the Victim, and took the Oath standing upon them. A Ram or Boar they used is properly called *Τομίας*. The Ceremonies were thus, they first cut some of the Hair off the Victim's Head, and gave Part of it to all present, that all might share in the Oath (c) :

Ἀρνίῳ ἐκ κεφαλῶν τέμνε τρίχας, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Κήρυκες Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νέμειν ἀρίστοις.

Next from the Victim's Head he cut some Hair,
Which to the ruling Chiefs the Criers bear.

E. D.

The Reason of this Custom *Eusebius* explains from the following Verses of *Sophocles* :

Κακῶς κακῶς ἄθραπτος ἐκπέσει χθονός,
Γένος ἅπαντος ῥίξαν ἐξημνημένος
Αὐτῶς ὅπως περ τὸν δ' ἐγὼ τέμνω πολέον.

Curse attend you, if e'er false you prove,
Your Days in Sorrows may you live,
And when Fate calls (but may that ling'ring come)
May your dead Corpse no fit Interment find :
Yet now I Favours wish : May your whole Race
Plagues heap'd on Plagues vex, and at last cut off,
As I these Locks cut from the sacred Head.

E. D.

After this they invoc'd the Gods to be Witnesses of their Agreement, and to punish the Person that should first violate his Oath. This done, they killed the Victims by cutting their Throats ;

— ἀπὸ γομάχης ἀρνῶν τάμεν καὶ χάλκῳ.

Then with his piercing Sword their Throats he stabb'd.

For γομάχης originally signify'd a Throat, as *Eustatbius* observes upon that Place. Hence comes the Phrase ὅρκια τέμνω, in *Latin*, *ferire fœdus*, i. e. to make a Covenant. This done, they repeated the Form of Words, which both Persons were to confirm with mutual Oaths, as appears from *Homer's* Description of the Truce made between the *Grecians* and *Trojans*. After this, they made a Libation of Wine, which was at this Time mixed, to signify the Conjunction and Concord between the Parties; then praying again to the Gods, they pour'd it forth, requesting that whoever should first break his Oath, might have his Blood or Brains pour'd out in the same Manner; as *Homer* (a) reports.

Ὅλον δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφυσσάμενοι δαπάσσοι,
Ἐκχεον, ἢ δ' ἔχοντο θεῶν αἰνευέμεναι.
Ὡδὲ δὲ τις εἰπεσκὶν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε.
Ζεῦ κύδιε, μέγιστε, καὶ Ἀθάνατος θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
Ὅπότεροι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια σημῆναι,
Ὡδὲ σφι ἐγκέφαλος χάματις ῥέει, ὡς ὅδε αἶνος,
Αὐτῶν, καὶ τέκνων, ἀλοχοὶ δ' ἄλλοισι μυγέειν.

Others to Heav'n send up their fervent Prayers,
And to th' immortal Beings, who th' Affairs
Of Mankind rule, an awful Worship pay,
While Streams of pour'd out Wine die all the Way.
Thus they address the Gods:
Great, mighty *Jove*, and all ye Pow'rs divine,
Whose Justice suffers no unpunish'd Sin,
Bear Witness to the solemn Vows we make,
And grant, the Party which shall first them break,
Whoe'er it be, as now the Ground Wine stains,
May so o'erspread it with their dash'd out Brains.
This light on them, and their Posterity,
And may their Wives to all Men common be. *E. D.*

It was very usual, to add a solemn Imprecation to their Oaths; which was done, either for the Satisfaction of the Person, by whom the Oath was impos'd; as in that of *Demosthenes*; Εἰ μὲν εὖ οἰκῶ, πολλὰ μοι ἀγαθὰ γένοιντο· εἰ ἐπιορκῶ, ἐξολῆς ἀπολοίμην. If what I swear be true, may I enjoy much Happiness; if not, may I perish utterly. Or, to lay a more inviolable Obligation upon themselves, lest they should at any Time repent of their Purpose, and take contrary Measures to what they then resolv'd upon. Upon which Account it was, that the *Phocensians* (b), who afterwards built the City *Massilia* in *Gallia Narbonensis*, oblig'd

(a) *Iliad*, citat. (b) *Herodot.* lib. i. & *Strabo* lib. iv.

themselves

themselves by an Oath, backed with terrible Imprecations, never to think of returning Home; whence came the Proverb *Φωνίων ἀπα*, applied to Men under the Obligation of a strict Oath.

To return, the Flesh on which they feasted at other Sacrifices, was in this thought unlawful to be eaten; and therefore, saith *Eusebius* (c), if the Person concern'd was at Home, it was buried; for so *Priam* seems to have done with his Victims in his Sacrifice before-mentioned; but if the Party was a Stranger, they drew it into the Sea, as *Talthybius* did by the Sow, which was sacrificed at one of *Agamemnon's* Oaths, or disposed of it some other Way. Here it may be observ'd, that if any unlucky or ominous Accident happen'd at the Time of Sacrifice, they usually deferr'd, or wholly refus'd to take the Oath, of which we have an Instance in *Plutarch* (d), who reports that when *Pyrrhus*, *Lyfimachus*, and *Cassander* had concluded a Peace, and met to confirm it by solemn Oath and Sacrifice; a Goat, Bull, and Ram, being brought out, the Ram on a sudden fell down dead; which some only laughed at, but *Theodorus* the Priest forbade *Pyrrhus* to swear, declaring, that Heaven by that Omen, portending the Death of one of the three Kings, whereupon he refused to ratify the Peace.

Alexander ab Alexandro (e) hath given us another Manner of Swearing, which was thus: They took hold of their Garments, and, pointing a Sword towards their Throats, invoc'd the Heavens, Earth, Sun, and *Furies* to bear witness to what they were about to do; then they sacrificed a Boar-pig, which they cast into the Sea, and, this being done, took the Oath.

The solemn Way of taking an Oath amongst the *Molossians* was, by cutting an Ox into small Pieces, and then swearing; whence any Thing divided into small Parcels, was proverbially call'd *Bῆς ὁ Μολοτῶν*, as *Suidas* (f), and *Zenodotus* (g), report. *Erasmus* (h), instead of *Bos Molottorum*, writes *Bos Homolottorum*, reading in the foremention'd Authors *βῆς ὁ Μολοτῶν* instead of *βῆς ὁ Μολοτῶν*.

Another Manner of Swearing was that describ'd by *Plutarch* (i), who reports that when the *Grecians* had overthrown, and utterly routed all the Forces of *Xerxes*, being flush'd with Victory, they enter'd upon a Design of making a common Invasion upon *Persia*; whereupon, to keep them firm to their Resolutions, *Aristides* made them all swear to keep the League, and himself took the Oath in the Name of the *Athenians*, and after Curses pronounced against him, that should break the Vow, threw Wedges of red hot Iron into the Sea; by which was signified, that the Oath should remain inviolable, as long as the Irons should abide in the Sea without swimming; which Custom is also mention'd by *Callimachus*, who, as he is cited by the *Scholias*t upon *Sophocles* (k), speaks thus of the *Phocensians*:

Φωκῶν μέγας κε μὲν μέγας εἰς ἅδ' ἔμεινεν.

While these plung'd Irons the Sea's sure Bottom keep.

There is also another Manner of swearing mention'd by *Plutarch* in

(c) Il. γ'. (d) Vita *Pyrrhi*. (e) Lib. v. cap. 10. (f) Voce *Bῆς*. (g) In Proverb, in *Bῆς*. (h) In *Adagiis*. (i) Vita *Aristidis*. (k) *Antigon*. v. 270.

the Life of *Dion*, which *Dion's* Wife and Sister impos'd upon *Calippus* the *Atbenian*, being mov'd thereto by a Suspicion that he was privy to a Conspiracy against *Dion's* Life. It was thus; the Juror went into the Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, or, as some say, of *Ceres Thesmophorus*, the *Laewgiwer*, where, after the Performance of certain Ceremonies, he was clothed in the purple Vestment of the Goddesses, and holding a lighted Torch in his Hand, as being in the Presence of the Deity, took the Oath by all the Gods in the World; this the *Syracusians* accounted the most solemn and sacred Oath that could be.

Another Test the *Sicilians* generally made use of at *Palice*, a City of *Sicily*, where was a Fountain named *Acadinus*, to which the Jurors came, and, having written the Oath in a Tablet, threw it into the Water, wherein, if it could swim, the Person accus'd was believ'd honest; but if it sunk, he was to be cast into the Flames immediately, which issu'd from the Fountain: Thus *Aristotle* (l) and *Stephanus* the *Byzantian* (m).

Other Ways also they had of clearing themselves from the Imputation of Crimes. As when the Person accus'd crept upon his Hands thro' the Fire; or held in his Hands a red hot Iron, call'd in *Greek* *Μίδρον*, as the *Scholias*t upon *Sophocles* reports; which was done by the Innocent without any Sense of Pain. Thus one in *Sophocles* (n) tells *Creon*, that all the Guards were ready to take upon Oath, that they neither buried *Polynices* themselves, nor knew who had done it;

Ἦμεν δ' ἑτοίμοι μύδρος αἶψαν χερσὶν
Καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεῶς ὀρκωμοτεῖν
Τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι, μήτε τῷ συνιδέναι
Τὸ πρᾶγμα βελεύσαντι μήτ' ἐργασμένῳ.

There, Sir, we stood ready for all Commands,
Either hot Bars to take up with our Hands,
Or pass thro' Fires, or by the Gods to swear,
That neither we the Body did interr,
Nor privy to the wicked Action were.

E. D. }

A Custom not much differing from these, was practised in this Island by our *Saxon* Ancestors upon the same Account, and was therefore call'd the *Fire-Ordeal*, for *Ordeal* in *Saxon* signifies *Purgation*. The Manner of undergoing this Test was thus: The Person accused passed blindfold, with bare Feet, over certain Plough-shares made red hot, and placed at an unequal Distance from one another; this *Ordealium* *Edward* the *Confessor* forced his Mother *Emma* to undergo, to vindicate her Honour from the Scandal of Incontinency with *Alwyn*, Bishop of *Winchester*; and by this Trial she gave a sufficient Demonstration of her Innocence; for having passed over the Irons before she was aware of it, she cried out, *When shall I come to the Place of my Purgation?* And *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperor *Henry* the Second, upon the like Imputation, held a red hot Iron in her Hand, and receiv'd no Harm thereby.

(l) Lib. de Mirabilibus. (m) In Παλίαν. (n) *Antigone*, v. 270.

I shall desire the Reader's Leave to mention but one Sort more of these Purgation-Oaths, which is described by *Achilles Tatius* in his eighth Book, Of the Loves of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*. It is this: When any Woman was accused of Incontinency, she was to clear herself of this Charge by Oath, which was written in a Tablet, and hung about her Neck; then she went into the Water up to the Mid-leg; where, if she was innocent, all Things remained in the same Manner as they were before; but if guilty, the very Water, saith he, swell'd as it were with Rage, mounted up as high as her Neck, and cover'd the Tablet, left so horrid and detestable a Sight, as a false Oath, should be exposed to the View of the Sun, and the World. Some other Sorts of Oaths there were, of which a larger Account might be given, had I not already trespassed too far upon the Reader's Patience: I shall therefore only add something concerning their religious Observance of Oaths, and so conclude this Chapter.

What a religious Regard they had for Oaths doth appear from this, that εὐορκος, or one that keeps his Oaths, is commonly used for εὐσεβής, a pious Person, as in *Hesiod*:

Οὐδὲ τις εὐορκὲς χάρις ἔσσιται, ἔτε δίκαιη.

Nor just, nor pious Souls shall Favour have.

Aristophanes (o) also has taken it in the same Sense:

————— εἴ τι χάρις εὐορκῶν τρόπος.

If you're with Justice pleas'd.

On the contrary, when they would express a wicked forlorn Wretch, they call'd him ἐπιόρκος, perjurious, which was the worst and most infamous Title they could fix upon him; whence *Aristophanes* (p) speaking of *Jupiter's* Lightning and Thunderbolts, which, as some thought, were chiefly levelled against the Wicked, saith, Εἴπερ βάλλει τὸς ἐπιόρκους, If perjured Villains are indeed so liable to the Stroke, how comes it to pass that *Cleonymus* and *Theodorus* escape so well; or that the poor Oak is so often shatter'd to Pieces, ἔ γὰρ δρῦς ἐπιόρκαι, since it can never be perjured? Such as were common and customary Swearers, the Athenians branded with the Name of *Ardetti*, from Ἀρδῆτις, (saith *Hesychius*, and out of him *Phavorinus*) the Name of the Place wherein Oaths were required of them before their Admission to publick Offices, as hath been observed in another Place.

False Swearers were in some Places punish'd with Death; in others, suffer'd the same Punishment that was due to the Crime with which they charged any innocent Person, in others only a pecuniary Mult. But though they sometimes escaped human Punishment, yet it was thought the divine Vengeance would not fail to overtake them, and the Demons always pretended an utter Abhorrence of such enormous Crimes, of which there is a remarkable Instance related by *Herodotus* (q): There was at *Sparta* a Man named *Glaucus*, famed over all Greece for his Justice and Integrity; into his Hands a certain *Milefian*, fearing some

(o) *Pluto*.

(p) *Nubibus*.

(q) *Erato*.

Danger at Home, and being encouraged by the Character of the Man, deposited a large Sum of Money; after some Time, the Sons of this *Milesian* came to *Sparta*, and shewing *Glaucus* the Bill, demanded the Money; *Glaucus* pretended he was wholly ignorant of the Matter, yet promis'd to recollect with himself, and if he found any Thing due to them, to pay it: To do this, he took four Months Time, and having gain'd this Delay, immediately took a Journey to *Delphi*, on Purpose to ask *Apello's* Opinion, whether it was lawful to perjure himself, thereby to save the Money? The God, mov'd with Indignation at the Impudence of the Man, return'd him this Answer:

Γλαῦκ' Ἐπιουδείδῃ, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον ἔτω
 Ὀρκῷ νικῆσαι καὶ χρέματα λήσασθαι,
 Ὅμιλ', ἐπεὶ θανάτος γε καὶ εὖορκον μένει ἄνδρα.
 Ἀλλ' Ὀρκῷ παῖς ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμος, ἔδ' ἐπὶ χεῖρες,
 Οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰσὶναι πᾶσαν
 Συμμάχφας ὀλέση γενεήν, καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.

No, *Glaucus*, no, I think you need not fear
 To bilk your easy Creditor, and swear
 He lent you no such Sum; you'll gain thereby,
 And this consider'd, you may Death defy,
 Death of the Just alike an Enemy.

But know, that *Orcus* has a Monster Son
 Ghastly of Shape, who ever hastens on
 To o'ertake Perjuries; he'll ne'er forget
 Your heinous Crime, but with revengeful Hate
 Send Losses, racking Pangs, destructive Woe,
 Till he yourself with your whole Race undo.

}

E. D.

This Prediction was fully accomplish'd in *Glaucus*, notwithstanding he afterwards restor'd the Money; for his whole Family was in a few Generations utterly extinct, and so became a memorable Example of Divine Vengeance. But tho' all the other Gods took upon them sometimes to punish this Crime, yet it was thought in a more peculiar Manner to be the Care of *Jupiter*, firnam'd Ὀρκιστῆς: *Pausanias* reports, that in the *Βουλευτήριον* or Council-Hall, at *Olympia*, there was a Statue of *Jupiter* with a Thunder-bolt in each Hand, and a Plate of Brass at his Feet, on which were engraven certain *Elegiacal* Verses, compos'd on Purpose to terrify Men from invoking that God to witness any Untruth. Beside this, the perjur'd Persons were thought to be haunted and distracted by the Furies, who every fifth Day in the Month made a Visitation, and walk'd their Rounds for that Purpose, according to *Hesiod*,

Ἐν πέμπτῃ γὰρ φασὶν Ἑρινίας ἀμφιπολεῖν
 Ὀρκῷ τιτιομένας, τὸν Ἐρὶς τέκε τῷμ' ἐπιόρκους (a).

All other Days the *Furies* quiet rest,
Only on Fifts the Perjur'd they molest,
Revengeing *Orcus*, *Orcus* the sure Bane
Of all that dare his Deity profane.

E. D.

Whence *Agamemnon* swearing that he had never known *Briseis* call'd
the *Furies* to bear Witnesses.

Ἐγώ, αἱ δ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, ὅ, τις κ' ἐπ' ὅρκον ὁμόσση·

Th' Infernal *Furies* I to witness call,
By whose Distractions perjur'd Villains fall.

E. D.

Tho' the Punishment here meant by *Homer* seems to have been inflicted after Death, because he saith ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἄνθρωποι· &c. or, *the Men under the Earth*; and that this is the Meaning of that Place doth appear from another Oath in *Homer*, where the Infernal Gods are invoc'd after this Manner,

καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρθε καμόντας
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθε ὅ, τις κ' ἐπ' ὅρκον ὁμόσση·

—witness, ye Infernal Powers
Who Souls below torment for Breach of Oaths.

E. D.

Yet some in that Place read καμόντας, and then the Meaning of it will be, *That the Souls of deceas'd Persons are employ'd in torturing perjur'd Villains.*

In some Places, even insensible Creatures were thought to take Revenge for this Crime; for it was generally believ'd in *Arcadia*, that no Man could forswear himself by the Waters of *Styx*, without undergoing some severe and remarkable Punishment: And it is reported of the subterranean Cavern, sacred to *Palæmon* at *Corinth*, that no perjur'd Person could so much as enter into it, without being made a memorable Example of Divine Justice. In *Sicily*, at the Temple of the *Palici*, in the City *Palicé*, there were certain *Crateres*, *Fonts*, or *Lakes*, (for so sometimes they are call'd) named *Delli*, out of which there continually issued Flames, and Balls of Fire, with boiling and stinking Water; and thither People us'd to resort from all Quarters for the deciding of Controversies: If any one swore falsely near these Fonts, he was presently struck either blind, lame, or dead in the Place; or was swallow'd up, and drowned in the Lakes. But of these, mention has been made before (b).

Notwithstanding these, and other Instances of the Divine Displeasure at this Crime, and the Scandal and Infamy of it, yet was it so much practis'd by the *Grecians*, that they could never avoid the Im-

(b) Conf. præter *Aristotelem* & *Stephanum* supra laudatos, *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. xi. *Macrobius Saturnal.* lib. v. cap. xix.

putation of Treachery and Perfidiousness; insomuch that *Græca Fides* came to be proverbially applied to Men, that were wavering, inconstant, and unfit to be trusted, or relied upon; *Plautus* in his Play call'd *Asmaria*, by *Græca fide mercari*, means to buy with ready Money, as tho' without that a *Grecian* was not to be meddled with; his Words are these,

*Diem, aquam, Solem, Lunam, noctem, hæc argento non emo,
Cætera, quæ volumus uti, Græca mercamur fide.*

I buy not Day, nor Water, nor the Night,
Nor will my Gold the Sun or Moon procure;
All other Things, yet first I pay it down,
Right *Grecian* like, for Money I can have.

E. D.

Tully likewise, in his Oration for *Flaccus*, speaks after the same Manner, "That Nation (says he) never made any Conscience of observing their Oaths." And their own Countryman *Euripides* affirms no less:

Πιστὸν Ἑλλὰς οἶδεν εἶναι

No Sparks of Honesty *Greece* ever had.

And *Polybius* yet more fully in the sixth Book of his History, "Amongst the *Greeks*, (says he) if you lend only one Talent, and for Security have ten Bonds, with as many Seals, and double the Number of Witnesses, yet all these Obligations can scarce force them to be honest." Yet *Ausonius* had a better Opinion of them, unless his Words were Irony and Ridicule, when he said to *Paulus*,

*Nobiscum invenies κατιόντλια, si libet uti.
Non Pœna, sed Græca fide.*——

At my House too, promise you'll honest be,
A wanton *Muse's* Trifles you may see.

E. D.

The *Thessalians* in particular were infamous for this Vice; whence, as *Zenodotus* hath inform'd us, by *Θεσσαλῶν νόμισμα*, is meant Fraud and Deceit; and the other Proverb, *viz. Θετταλῶν σόφισμα*, seems to have had its Rise from the treacherous and double Dealing of the *Thessalians* with their Confederates; a memorable Instance of which we have in the *Peloponnesian* War, where in the Midst of a Battle they turn'd Sides, and deserting the *Athenians*, went over to the *Lacedæmonians*: Which Reason seems more probable than that mention'd by *Zenodotus*, *viz.* Their solemn Vow of an *Hecatomb* of Men, made every Year to *Apollo*, without any Design of ever paying it; which they did in Imitation of their Forefather *Thessalus*, who made such a Vow to *Apollo*, but, considering how impious and unpleasing to the God it was like to be, neglected the Performance of it. The *Locrians* were no less infamous on the same Account, whence those proverbial Sayings, *Λοκροὶ τὰς συνθήκας*, and *Λοκρῶν σίνθημα*, do usually denote fraudulent Persons and Practices, as we learn from *Zenodotus*. And the *Lacedæmonians*, as they were the most renown'd of all the *Grecians* for their Valour, Tempe-

rance,

rance, and other Virtues, so were they most scandalous for their Treachery, and Contempt of Oaths; whence they are by *Lycophron* (c) call'd *Αἰμύλοι*, which the *Scholiast* upon that Place expounds, *Ψεύσται καὶ δόλιοι*, i. e. *Liars and deceitful*; and by *Euripides* (d),

Σπάρτης ἑνὶκοι δόλια βελεύματα

Spartans, fam'd ever for base Treacheries.

Aristophanes speaks yet more fully, when he tells us, they neither accounted Altars, Promises, nor Oaths sacred. His Words are these,

Οἷσιν ἔτε βωμοὶ, ἔτε πύγαι, ἔθ' ὅρκος μένεται

Who neither Altars, Oaths, nor Trust revere.

And that this was no Calumny may farther appear from the *Aphorism* of *Lyfander*, one of their most eminent Generals, *Ἐξαπατᾶν χρη παῖδας μὲν ἀσράγαλοις, πολεμῶν δὲ ὅρκους*, *Boys, said he, are to be deceiv'd with Dice, but Enemies with Oaths.* Tho' others will have this to be the Saying of *Dionysus* the Tyrant (e). However that be, 'tis certain the *Lacedæmonians*, tho' perhaps more just and punctual in private Affairs, had very small Regard for Oaths in publick Business. Their great *Agesslaus* seems to have thought it but a weak Obligation, whenever it stood in Competition with the Publick Good, that great Mark, to which they thought all their Actions were to be directed, insomuch that, as *Plutarch* (f) affirms, to serve their Country was the Principle and Spring of all their Actions; nor did they account any Thing just or unjust, by any Measures but that.

The *Athenians* seem to have had a greater Regard for Honesty, as may appear from the Story of *Themistocles* in *Plutarch*; for telling the People he had form'd a Design, which, if accomplish'd, would be very advantageous to the Commonwealth, but might not, at this Time, be communicated to the whole Assembly; they order'd him to impart it to *Aristides* in private; who, having heard the Matter, came and reported to the People, that it was indeed a very beneficial Contrivance, but withal the most unjust in the World; whereupon they immediately commanded *Themistocles* to desist from his Intention. *Diogenian*, in his Book of *Collections*, tells us, that *Ἀττικὸς μάρτυς* was taken for a sincere and uncorrupt Witness; as also that *Ἀττικὴ πίστις* for a true, honest, and untainted Faith: And, tho' some would have this Proverb taken from the Goddess *Fides*, who had a Temple at *Athens*, mention'd by *Plautus* (g); and others, not from the Manners of the People, but the Nature of their Soil, which was so unfruitful that it brought forth just as much as was sown, and no more; whence *Attica fides* is applied to any Man that restores all that he was entrusted with; yet *Velleius Paterculus* (h) assures us, it was taken from their Faithfulness, and unshaken Loyalty to the *Romans*; whence *Attica fides* is by *Flaccus* (i) call'd *certa*; by *Horace* (k) *impolluta*; and by *Silius* (l) *Pura*. Notwithstanding this, their Honesty was not so firm,

(c) *Cassandr. v. 1114.* (d) *Andromach. v. 445.* (e) *Alex. ab Alex. lib. v. cap. x.* (f) *Vita Agessilai.* (g) *In Aulol.* (h) *Histor. lib. i.* (i) *Argon. lib. iv.* (k) *Lib. iii. Od. xv.* (l) *Bell. Punic. lib. xiii.*

but that it might sometimes be shaken by the alluring and specious Temptation of the Publick Good. I will conclude this Chapter with an Instance of this, taken out of *Plutarch* (m), which is the more remarkable, and more clearly evidences the Disposition and Temper of that State, because it was approv'd by the Consent of the People, and put in Execution by *Aristides*, a Man of greater Renown for Justice and upright Dealing, than any that City ever brought forth. He, when the *Grecians* (after they had utterly routed all the Remainers of *Xerxes's* numerous Army) design'd a common Invasion upon *Persia*, took a solemn Oath in the Name of the *Athenians*, to observe the League; but afterwards, when Things were brought to such a pass, as constrain'd them to govern with a stronger Hand than was consistent with it, advis'd them to throw the Perjury upon him, and manage Affairs, as their Convenience required. Upon the whole Matter, *Theophrastus* tells us (saith *Plutarch*) that this Person was in his own private Affairs, and those of his Fellow-Citizens, nicely just, but in publick Matters did many Things according to the State and Condition of his Country, for whose Sake he frequently committed Acts of Injustice. Then he adds, that it was reported of him, that to one who was in Debate, Whether he should convey a certain Treasure from *Delos* to *Athens*, contrary to the League, at the Persuasion of the *Samians*, he should say, *That the Thing was not just, but expedient.*

C H A P. VII.

Of the Grecian Divination, and Oracles in general.

IT was a received Opinion in all Ages, that the Gods were wont to converse familiarly with some Men, whom they endow'd with extraordinary Powers, and admitted to the Knowledge of their Counsels and Designs. These are by the *Greeks* call'd *μάντις*, and *μαντική* is a general Name for all Sorts of *Divination*, and signifies the Knowledge of Things obscure, or future, which cannot be attain'd by any ordinary or natural Means. It is divided by *Plato* (n), (who is follow'd herein by *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*) into two Species, one of which is call'd *ἄνεργος*, *ἰδιόματις*, and *naturalis*, i. e. unartificial, or natural Divination, as not being attain'd by any Rules, Precepts, or Observations, but inspir'd into the Diviner, without his taking any farther Care about it, than to purify and prepare himself to receive the Divine *Afflatus*. With this Sort were all those endued, who deliver'd Oracles, and foretold future Events by Inspiration, without observing external Signs or Accidents: Such were the *Sibyls*, and other Enthusiasts. Some there are that reduce Divination by Dreams under this Species, because in them Revelations were made without any Pains or Art of the Dreamers; but herein lies the Mistake of this Argument, that not the Dreamers, but the Interpreters of Dreams

(m) Vid. *Aristidis*.(n) *Phædo*.

were the Diviners; and that their Skill was the Effect of Art and Observation, is evident from the many Books written upon that Subject, and the various Signs deliver'd in them to make Conjectures by; in like Manner, it was not so much the Business of an *Augur* to see the Birds of Divination, which might casually happen to any rude and unskilful Person; but after he had seen them, to interpret what was portended by them.

These, therefore, with others of the like Nature, are to be referr'd to the second Species of Divination, call'd Τεχνη, or Artificial, because it was not obtain'd by immediate Inspiration, but was the Effect of Experience and Observation; as Sooth-saying: Or depended chiefly upon human Art, Invention, or Imposition; which nevertheless was not suppos'd to be altogether destitute of Divine Direction and Concurrence; such was Divination by Lots.

I shall begin with the first Sort of Divination, as having a more immediate Dependance on the Gods; and first, with the noblest Part of it, I mean Oracles, which are call'd in Greek χρησμοί, χρησμοδίαί, χρησμοδμήατα, μάντευμαία, δεσπρότια, δέσπισμαία, δέσφαία, &c. The Interpreters, or Revealers of Oracles, χρησμολόγοι, &c. The Consulters, δεσπρόποι, &c. The Places, in which they were delivered, χρηστήρια μαντεία, &c. Some of which Names were also applied to other Sorts of Divination.

Of all the Sorts of Divination Oracles had always the greatest Repute, as being thought to proceed in a more immediate Manner from the Gods; whereas others were deliver'd by Men, and had a greater Dependance on them, who might either out of Ignorance, Mistake, or out of Fear, Hopes, or other unlawful and base Ends, conceal, or betray the Truth; whereas they thought the Gods, who were neither obnoxious to the Anger, nor stood in Need of the Rewards, nor car'd for the Promises of Mortals, could not be prevail'd upon to do either of them. Upon this Account, Oracles obtain'd so great Credit and Esteem, that in all Doubts and Disputes their Determinations were held sacred and inviolable: Whence *Strabo* (e) reports, vast Numbers flock'd to them, to be resolv'd in all Manner of Doubts, and ask Counsel about the Management of their Affairs; insomuch, that no Business of great Consequence and Moment was undertaken, scarce any Peace concluded, any War waged, any new Form of Government instituted, or new Laws enacted, without the Advice and Approbation of an Oracle: *Craesus* (p) before he durst venture to declare War against the *Persians*, consulted not only all the most famous Oracles in *Greece*, but sent Ambassadors as far as *Libya* to ask Advice of *Jupiter Hammon*. *Mino*s (q) the *Greecian* Lawgiver, convers'd with *Jupiter*, and receiv'd Instructions from him, how he might new model his Government. *Lycurgus* also made frequent Visits to the *Delphian Apollo*, and receiv'd from him that Platform, which afterwards he communicated to the *Lacedæmonians*. Nor does it matter whether these Things were really true or not, since 'tis certain they were be-

(e) Lib. xvi. (p) *Herodot.* Lib. i. (q) *Strabo* loc. cit.

lieved to be so; for hence appears what great Esteem Oracles were in, at least among the vulgar Sort, when Lawgivers, and Men of the greatest Authority were forced to make use of these Methods to win them into Compliance. My Author goes yet higher, and tells us, that inspired Persons were thought worthy of the greatest Honour and Trusts; insomuch that sometimes we find them advanced to the Throne, and invested with Regal Power; for that being admitted to the Counsels of the Gods, they were best able to provide for the Safety and Welfare of Mankind.

This Reputation stood the Priests (who had their Dependance on the Oracles) in no small stead; for finding their Credit thus thoroughly establish'd, they allow'd no Man to consult their Gods, before he had offer'd costly Sacrifices, and made rich Presents to them: Whereby it came to pass, that few beside great and wealthy Men were admitted to ask their Advice, the rest being unable to defray the Charges required on that Account; which contributed very much to raise the Esteem of Oracles among the common People; Men generally being apt to admire the Things they are kept at some Distance from; and, on the other Hand, to condemn what they are familiarly acquainted with. Wherefore to keep up their Esteem with the better Sort, even they were only admitted upon a few stated Days; at other Times neither the greatest Prince could purchase, nor Persons of the greatest Quality any ways obtain an Answer. *Alexander* himself was peremptorily denied by the *Pythia*, till she was by downright Force compell'd to ascend the *Tripus*, when finding herself unable to resist any longer, she cry'd out Ἀνίκητός ε�μι, *Thou art invincible*; which Words were thought a very lucky Omen, and accepted instead of a farther Oracle.

As to the Causes of Oracles, it has been disputed whether they were the Revelations of *Dæmons*, or only the Delusions of crafty Priests. *Van Dale* has wrote a large Treatise in Defence of the latter Opinion; but his Arguments are not of such Force but that they might without Difficulty be refuted, if either my Design requir'd, or Time permitted me to answer them. However that be, it was the common Opinion, that *Jupiter* was the first Cause of this and all other Sorts of Divination; 'twas he that had the Books of Fate, and out of them reveal'd either more or less, as he pleas'd, to inferior *Dæmons*; for which Reason he was firnam'd Πανμορφάτης, as *Eustathius* tells us in his Comment upon this Verse of *Homer* (r),

Ἐνθα πανμορφάτῳ Ζηνὶ ῥέζουσιν Ἀχαιῶν.

—then at the holy Fane

To mighty *Jove* was the glad Victim slain,

To *Jove* from whom all Divination comes,

And inspir'd Oracles unriddle future Dooms.

H. H.

Of the other Gods *Apollo* was reputed to have the greatest Skill in making Predictions, and therefore it was one of his Offices to preside over, and inspire all Sorts of Prophets, and Diviners; but this was only in

(r) *Iliad*. 2^o. 250.

Subordination to *Jupiter*, and by Converse with, and Participation from him, as *Æschylus* (s) gives us to understand, when he saith,

Στείλλειν ὅπως τάχιστα, ταῦτα γὰρ πατὴρ
Ζεὺς ἱγκαιῖ Δοξία. —————

Send, quickly send, for so my *Jove* inspir'd
Phæbus commands. —————

H. H.

On the same Account, in another Place (t), when he brings in *Apollo*, commanding Men to reverence his own Oracles, he adds, They must also pay due Respect to those of *Jupiter*, without mentioning any of the other Prophetick Deities: His Words are these,

Κάγω τε χρησμὸς τὰς ἑμὰς τε, καὶ Διὸς
Ταρφεῖν κελεύω. —————

To mine, and *Jove's* most sacred Oracles
Pay due Obeisance. —————

Others report, that *Apollo* receiv'd the Art of Divination from *Pan* (u), others will have him instructed by *Themis* (x), others by *Glaucus* (y). Lastly, Some were of Opinion, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Οὐρανίαν εἶναι μητέρα ὅλων, πάσης μαντείας καὶ προγνώσεως εὐρέτην. *That the Heavenly Venus was the Mother of the Universe, and the Inventor of Divination and Prognostication.*

The Manner of delivering Oracles was not in all Places, nor at all Times the same: In some Places the Gods reveal'd them by Interpreters, as did *Apollo* at *Delphi*; in others more immediately, giving Answers themselves, which they either pronounced *viva voce*, or return'd by Dreams, or Lots, (the former of which were suppos'd to be inspir'd, and the latter directed by the Gods) or some other Way. The Oracles which the Gods themselves pronounced, were term'd *χρησμοὶ αὐτόφωνοι*, those which were deliver'd by Interpreters, *χρησμοὶ ὑποφθιτικοί*. At some Places, several Ways were us'd; for Instance, they who consulted *Trophonius*, after having propos'd their Questions, first receiv'd an Answer in a Dream; and, if that was obscure, and hard to be understood, had the Meaning of it interpreted by Men kept for that Purpose, and instructed in that Art by the Deity: Several other Ways also this God us'd to give Answers to Enquirers, as *Pausanias* reports in his Description of *Boeotia*; and in another Place (z), the same Author mentions these Heroick Verses, as spoken by *Trophonius*:

Πρὶν δὲ σὺ συμβαλέειν ἰχθροῖς, εἴσασθε τρόπαιον
Ἀσπίδα κοσμησάντες ἑμὴν, τὴν εἶσατο νηῶ
Θῆρος Ἀριστομένης Μεσσήνιος, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι
Ἀνδρῶν θροσμένεων φθίσω στρατὸν Ἀσπιδῶν.

Let not the bloody Ensigns be display'd,
Nor least Attack upon your Foes be made;

(s) Sacerdotibus. (t) Eumenidibus. (u) *Apollonius Argon.* lib. iii. (x) *Orpheus* hymno in *Themidem* ver. 9. (y) *Athenæus* lib. vii. (z) *Messenic.*

Before an ample Trophy you erect,
 And to my hallow'd Shield pay due Respect,
 Which in the Temple to my growing Praise
 The valiant *Aristomenes* did raise:
 Thus when you've done, you may expect that I
 Will crown these Toils of War with joyful Victory. *H. H.*

Which Answer was given to the *Thebans* before the Battle of *Leuctra*, wherein, by the Conduct of *Epaminondas*, they gave the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates a notable Overthrow.

Thus much of Oracles in general. I shall in the next Place endeavour to give a particular Description of them, especially such as were of any Note, together with a short Account of the Ceremonies required of those that consulted them, the Manner of returning Answers, with other Things remarkable in each of them. And because *Jupiter* was reputed to be the first Author of Oracles, I shall begin with those which were thought to be more immediately deliver'd by him.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Oracles of Jupiter.

DODONA (a) is by some thought to have been a City of *Thessaly*; by others it was placed in *Epirus*; and others, to reconcile these two Opinions, will have two *Dodona's*, one in *Thessaly*, and another in *Epirus*. They that place it in *Epirus* (and that is generally believ'd to have been the Seat of the Oracle, whether there was another *Dodona* in *Thessaly*, or not) are no less divided in their Opinions about it; for some of them will have it in *Thesprotia*, others in *Chaonia*, or *Molossia*; but *Eusebius* (b) has undertaken to decide the Controversy, telling us, that it did indeed once belong to the *Thesprotians*, but afterwards fell into the Hands of the *Molossians*; and he is herein confirm'd by *Strabo* (c).

It was first built by *Deucalion*, who in that universal Deluge, wherein the greatest Part of *Greece* perished, retreated to this Place, which by Reason of its Height secured him from the Waters. Hither resorted to him all that had escaped from the Inundation, with whom he peopled his new-built City, calling it *Dodona*, either from a Sea-nymph of that Name, or *Dodon* the Son, or *Dodone* the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Eurepa*; or from the River *Dodon*, or *Don*, for so it is call'd by *Stephanus*; or, as some say, from *Dodonius*, the Son of *Javan*, who was Captain of a Colony sent to inhabit those Parts of *Epirus*. At the same Time, *Deucalion* is said to have founded a Temple, which he consecrated to *Jupiter*, who is thence call'd *Dodonæus*. This was the first Temple in *Greece*, but the Oracle seems to have been a considerable Time before it; for *Herodotus* in the second Book of his History reports, that it

(a) *Euseb. Iliad. β'. p. 254. & Iliad. ω'. p. 1074. Edit. Basil. Stephanus Byzant.* (b) *Odyss. ξ'. p. 534.* (c) *Geogr. lib. X.*

was the most ancient of all Oracles in Greece, which would be false, had it not been before *Deucalion's* Time; for he, as the Poets tell us, having escaped the Deluge, consulted the Oracle of *Themis* on Mount *Parnassus*, what Means he should use to replenish the Country with People; and the same Oracle is said to have been jointly possess'd by the *Earth* and *Neptune*, before it belong'd to *Themis*.

The Original of it, though, like all other Things of such Antiquity, wrapp'd up in Fables, I will repeat to you out of the foremention'd Place of *Hérodotus*, where he hath given us two Accounts of it, the first of which, he tells us, he receiv'd from the Priests of *Jupiter* at *Thebes* in *Aegypt*, which was this: That the *Phœnicians* had carry'd away two Priestesses from that Place, one of which they sold into *Lybia*, the other into *Greece*; that each of these had erected the first Oracle in those Nations, the one of *Jupiter Hammon*, the other of *Jupiter Dodonæus*. The other Account was given him by the Priestesses at *Dodona*, and confirm'd by all those that ministr'd in the Temple, viz. That two black Pigeons taking their Flight from *Thebes* in *Aegypt*, one of them came to *Libya*, where she commanded that an Oracle should be erected to *Hammon*; the other to *Dodona*, where she sat upon an Oak-Tree, and speaking with an human Voice, order'd, that there should be in that Place an Oracle to *Jupiter*. Afterwards *Herodotus* delivers his own Opinion about the Matter, which was this: That if the *Phœnicians* did really carry two Women from *Thebes*, and sell one of them in *Libya*, and the other in *Greece*, it might be probable, that she that was transported into *Greece* was sold to the *Thesprotians* in that Country, which in his Time was call'd *Hellas*, but formerly nam'd *Pelagias*, where she instituted the Oracle to *Jupiter*, and gave Instructions after what Manner he was to be worshipp'd. To confirm this Conjecture, he adds, that those two Oracles have a near Resemblance to each other. Moreover he tells us, the two Women were said to be black, because they came from *Aegypt*; and were call'd *Doves*, because their Language was barbarous, and as unintelligible as that of Birds; afterwards, when they had learn'd the *Greek* Tongue, they were said to speak with an human Voice. *Eustathius* (d) gives two Reasons more for this Appellation: The first is, that they were call'd Πέλειαι, or *Doves*, q. Πελιομάλεις, because they made their Predictions by the Observation of those Birds; as they who made use of Crows in Divination were nam'd Καρκαρομάλεις. The other Reason is, that in the *Molossian* Language old Women were call'd Πέλειαι, and old Men Πέλει; and that those Prophetesses being old Women, either by a Mistake of the Word, or a Poetical Equivocation, were call'd *Doves*: And why aged Persons should be thus term'd, the old *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* (e) informs us; for, saith he, the three old Prophetesses were call'd Πέλειαι q. Πέτολιαι, because of their grey Hairs. *Servius* gives another Reason in his Comment upon *Virgil's* ninth *Eclogue* (f), viz. That in the *Thessalian* Tongue the Word Πέλας is used to signify a Pro-

(d) Odyss. ξ' p. 544, 545. Edit. Basil. (e) Trachin. v. 176. (f) Ver. 81.
phetess,

phetefs, as well as a Dove; and it seems no unusual Thing amongst the ancient *Greeks*, for Prophetesses to have the Name of Doves, whence the Enigmatical Poet calls *Cassandra* by that Name twice in one Sentence (g):

Τῆμος θιαίως φάσσα πρὸς τοργυλέχος
Γαμφοῖσιν ἄρπης οἰνὰς ἐλκισθήσομαι.

As when a rav'nous Vulture first espies
A trembling Pigeon, straitway souling flies
Thro' liquid Air, to bear the wish'd-for Prize
To his ætherial Nest: So I, forlorn,
Shall, as a weak and tim'rous Dove, be borne
B' insulting *Ajax* to a foreign Bed.

}

H. H.

Lastly, others give this Account: That in the Hieroglyphical Way of Writing, according to *Horapollon*, Τυναῖνα χήραν ἐπιμύναςαι ἄχρι θανάτου θέλοντες σημαίνει, πρὶν τελευτᾶν μέλαιναν ζωγράφουσι. They signify a Widow who remains unmarried till Death, by a black Pigeon. Which very well agrees with the foremention'd Relation of *Herodotus*. Others say, that this Oracle was founded by the *Pelasgians*, who were the most ancient of all the Nations that inhabited Greece. Of this Opinion is *Strabo* (b), being led hereunto by the Testimony of *Homer*, who calls the same *Jupiter* by the two Names of *Dodonæus* and *Pelasgicus*, in this Verse (i):

Ζεῦ, ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ—

Pelasgian Jove, that far from Greece resides
In cold *Dodona*.—

Hesiod, whose Testimony also *Strabo* makes use of, is still more express:

Δωδώνην, Φογὸν τε Πελασγῶν ἑδρανὸν ἦκεν.

He to *Dodona* came, and th' hallow'd Oak,
The Seat of the *Pelagi*.—

And this seems somewhat more probable; especially if what is commonly reported of *Deucalion* deserves any Credit, viz. That he sav'd himself from the Deluge, not on the Top of the Mountain at *Dodona*, but on *Parnassus*, where was the Oracle of *Themis*, consulted by him after his Deliverance. *Strabo* relates another fabulous Opinion concerning the Foundation of this Oracle, out of *Suidas's Thessalica*, who (saith my Author) out of a Design to gratify the *Thessalians* with a new-invented Fable, hath reported, that the Oracle of *Dodona* was translated into *Epirus* out of *Pelasgia*, a Country of *Thessaly*, being accompanied by a great Number of Women, from whence the Prophetesses in After-Ages were descended; and that *Jupiter* received from them the Appellation of *Pelasgicus*.

The Persons that deliver'd the Oracles were at the first Men, as *Strabo* (k) and *Euseb. Hist.* (l) have observ'd out of *Homer*, who calls them in the Masculine Gender ὑποφῆτας, and Σελλες (m):

(g) *Cassandra*. v. 357. (b) *Geogr. lib. vii.* (i) *Iliad. æ. v. 235.* (k) *Loc. cit.*
(l) *Loc. citat.* (m) *Loc. citat.*

Ζεὺς ἄνα Δωδωναίῃ, Πελασγικῇ, τηλόθι ναίων,
 Δωδώνης μεδίων δυσχειμέρι· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
 Σοὶ ναῖουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.

Parent of Gods and Men, *Pelasgian Jove*,
 King of *Dodona* and its hallow'd Grove;
 King of *Dodona*, whose intemp'rate Coast
 Bleak Winds infest, and Winter's chilling Frost,
 Round thy Abode thy Priests with unwash'd Feet
 Lie on the naked Earth.——

H. H.

Where some, as we are there inform'd by *Eustathius*, read ἀμφὶ δὲ σ' Ἑλλοί, making those Priests to be call'd *Helli*; but the former Lession, he tells us, is generally receiv'd. The *Selli* are so call'd from *Sellæ*, a Town in *Epirus*; or, according to *Eustathius*, from the River call'd by *Homer* (m) *Selleis*:

*Ἠγάγευ ἱξ' Ἐφύρης, ποταμῷ ἀπὸ Σελλήντος.

Whom he from *Ephyra* and *Selleis* brought.

But herein he contradicts *Strabo*, who affirms, that the River doth not belong to *Ephyra* in *Thesprotia*; for that neither there, nor yet in *Molossia* was ever any River of that Name, but to another *Ephyra*, which is a City of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*. The same were call'd *Ellī*, or *Helli*, from *Ellus* the *Thessalian*, from whom *Ellopia*, a Country about *Dodona*, receiv'd its Name: And *Philochorus* in *Strabo* is of Opinion, that these Priests were named *Ellī* from this Region; but *Pliny* will have the *Selli* and the Inhabitants of *Ellopia* to have been a different People. *Apollodorus* in *Strabo* thinks they were call'd Ἑλλοί, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλῶν, from the *Fens* and *Marshes* near the Temple of *Dodona*. We are inform'd by *Aristotle*, that the Country of the *Selli* was inhabited by the *Græci*, who were οὖν Ἕλληνες, in his Time call'd *Hellenes*. And *Hesychius* reports, that Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Δωδώνῃ, *Jupiter's Temple in Dodona* was call'd Ἑλλά. Whence it is probable, that these Men were first call'd *Helli*, and not *Selli*. The same is farther prov'd by the *Scholiast* upon *Homer* (n) from *Pindar*, who derives the Name from one *Hellus*, τῷ πρώτῳ καταδείξαντι τὸ μαντεῖον, who first discover'd the Oracle. Afterwards, either by a Confusion of the Words σ' Ἑλλοί in *Homer*, which might easily happen, when it was customary to write *continuo ductu*, without Distinction of Words or Sentences; or by changing the Aspiration into the Letter σ, which *Grammarians* have observ'd to be a common Variation, they were call'd *Selli*. However that be, from the two Epithets of ἀνιπτόποδες, and χαμαιεῦναι, given them by *Homer*, *Strabo* concludes they were barbarous and unciviliz'd; *Eustathius* (o) tells us, they were named χαμαιεῦναι, because they slept upon the Ground in Skins, and in that Posture expected prophetic Dreams from *Jupiter*:

(m) *Iliad*. ὁ. v. 531. (n) *Iliad*. ω'. ver. 234. (o) *Iliad*. ω'. p. 1074. Edit. *Basil.*
 Others,

Others, he tells us, would have them call'd χαμαῖναι, because they did not lie in Beds, but upon the bare Ground; and ἀντλόποδες, because they never went out of the Temple, and therefore had no Occasion to wash their Feet; whence *Euripides* in his *Erechtheus* (p) saith of them,

Πηγαῖσι δ' ἔχ' ὑγραίνουσι πόδας———

Nor bath'd their Feet in any purling Stream.

Lastly, others will have these Names to be understood in a symbolical and figurative Sense, thus: χαμαῖναι μὲν, ἀντλόποδες δὲ, τῶτες χαμαὶ μὲν ὑναζόμενοι, ἀντλαμένοι δὲ τῶν κάτω ταῖς διανοίαις, διὰ τῆς ἐν μαντείαις φιλοσοφίας. i. e. *Their Bodies indeed did lie upon the Ground, but their Minds, by the Assistance of prophetic Philosophy, mounting higher, soar'd above these lower Regions.* The same, with other Accounts of these Titles, are also given by the old *Scholiast* upon that Passage of *Homer*.

There is a Report grounded upon the Testimony of *Pherecydes*, that before the Time of the *Selli* the Temple of *Dodona* was inhabited by the seven Daughters of *Atlas*, that were the Nurfes of *Bacchus*, and from this Temple call'd *Dodonides*. Their Names were these; *Ambrusia*, *Eudora*, *Pasitoe*, *Coronis*, *Plexature*, *Pytho*, and *Tyche*, or *Tythe*. However that be, 'tis certain, that in later Ages the Oracles were pronounced by three old Women; and *Strabo* tells us, this Change was made, that *Jupiter* admitted *Dione* to cohabit with him, and receive Divine Honours in this Temple: Nor was it strange or unusual that the same Temple should belong to two Deities; for *Apollo* and *Bacchus* were worshipp'd in the Temple at *Delphi*; *Apollo* and *Branchus*, or, as *Stephanus* (q) affirms, *Jupiter* and *Apollo* at *Miletus*.

Strabo (r) in his Description of *Bæotia* reports, that of the People who consulted this Oracle, all others receiv'd Answers from Women, but the *Bæotians* receiv'd theirs from Men; and the Reason of this Custom we have in the same Place, which was this: In a War between the *Bæotians* and *Pelasgians*, the *Bæotians* coming to *Dodona* to enquire of *Jupiter* the Event of the War, receiv'd Answer, That their Enterprize should have Success, if they would act wickedly. Upon this the *Bæotians* suspecting that the Prophetess spake in Favour of the *Pelasgians*, (they being the first Founders of that Oracle) seiz'd her, and cast her into the Fire, justifying the Lawfulness of the Fact. On the other Hand, they that ministr'd in the Temple thinking it impious to put to Death (especially in so sacred a Place) Persons uncondemn'd, would have had them refer the Matter to the two surviving Prophetesses; but the *Bæotians* alledging, that no Laws in the World permitted Women to do Judgment, it was agreed that two Men should be in joint Commission with them. When the Time to pass Sentence was come, they were condemn'd by the Women, and absolv'd by the Men; whereupon (as was usual when the Number of Voices was equal on both Sides) the *Bæotians* were acquitted and dismiss'd. Ever after it was establish'd, that Men only should give Answers to the *Bæotians*.

(p) Ver. 123. (q) Voce Ἀίδυμα. (r) Geogr. lib. ix.

The Prophets of this Temple were commonly call'd *Tomuri*, the Prophetesses *Tomuræ*, from *Tomurus*, a Mountain in *Thesprotia*, at the Foot of which stood the Temple. So commonly was this Word made use of, that it came at last to be a general Name for any Prophet; for so *Hesychius* expounds it, and *Lycophron* (s) in this Sense applies it to *Prylis* the Son of *Mercury*.

Τόμυρε πρὸς τὰ λῶσα ἡμῶν τῆς γῆς.

The best of Prophets, and the truest too.

Some are of Opinion, that all the Oracles were here delivered by Women; and that the *Selli* were only Inhabitants of the neighbouring Country, who had some Employment in the Temple, and publish'd the Oracles receiv'd from the Prophetesses to other Men. Hence they will have them to be call'd by *Homer*, not *προφῆτας*, but *υποφῆτας*: *υποφῆτας γὰρ λέγουσι τὰς περὶ τὰ χρησθήρια ἀσχολλημένους, καὶ τοὺς μαντείας τὰς γινόμενας ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκφέροντας*, That Name signifying Men *sub liv'd* in the Temple, and publish'd the Answer made by the Priests.

Near the Temple there was a sacred Grove full of Oaks or Beeches, in which the *Dryades*, *Fauni*, and *Satyri* were thought to inhabit, and were frequently seen dancing under the Shades of the Trees. Before Sowing was invented, when Men liv'd upon Acorns, those of this Wood were very much esteemed; insomuch that *Virgil* hath mention'd them by Way of Eminence (t):

*Liber, & alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
Chaonia pingui glandem mutavit arista.*

Bacchus and *Ceres*, taught by you, the Field
Doth Grain for old *Chaonian* Acorns yield,
And Wine for Water.

And again in the same Book (u):

*Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere terram
Instituit; cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacra
Defcerent silvæ, & victum Dodona negaret.*

Acorns and Wildings when the Woods deny'd,
Nor old *Dodona* longer Food supply'd,
Then *Ceres* taught to till the pregnant Earth.

H. H.

These Oaks or Beeches were endued with an human Voice and Prophetical Spirit, for which Reason they were call'd *Προσηγόροι*, and *μαντικάι δένδρα*, i. e. *speaking and prophesying Oaks*. And *Argo*, the Ship of the *Argonauts*, being built with the Trees of this Wood, was endued with the same Power of speaking; whence *Lycophron* (w) calls it *λάλητρον κίσσαν*, a *chattering Magpye*. The Reason of which Fiction some think was this: The Prophets, when they gave Answers, placed themselves

(s) *Callandr.* v. 223, (t) *Georg.* lib. i. v. 27, (u) *Verf.* 146, (w) *Callandr.* v. 1319.

in one of these Trees, (for some will only allow this vocal Faculty to one of them) and so the Oracle was thought to be utter'd by the Oak, which was only pronounced out of its hollow Stock, or from amongst its Branches. And some are of Opinion, that the Oracles were deliver'd from the Branches of the Tree, because the prophetic Pigeon is by *Herodotus* reported ἐπὶ φηγῷ ἕζεσθαι, to have sat upon the Tree: And the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* (x) affirms, that ὑπεράνω τῆ μαντείᾳ δύο ἦσαν πτερυγίαι, above the Oracle there were two Pigeons. But others rather think, that Oracles were pronounced from the hollow Stock, both because the Prophetes could best be conceal'd there, and because it is express'd and affirm'd in the following Fragment of *Hesiod's Eoa*:

Τὴν Ζεὺς Φίλησέν, καὶ τὴν χρυσοῦν εἶναι
 Τίμον ἀνθρώποις, ναίεν δ' ἐν πυθμένι φηγῆ,
 Ἐνθεν ἐπιχθόνιο μαντεύματα πάντα φέρονται.

I must not omit the Brazen Kettles of this Place, which some affirm, and others again deny to have been used in delivering Oracles. However that be, *Demon* in *Suidas* reports, they were so artificially placed about the Temple, that by striking one of them the Sound was communicated to all the rest. But *Aristotle*, cited by the same Author, or *Aristides*, as he is call'd by *Stephanus* the *Byzantian*, describes the Matter thus: That there were two Pillars, on one of which was placed a Kettle, upon the other a Boy holding in his Hand a Whip with Lashes of Brass, which, being by the Violence of the Wind struck against the Kettle, caus'd a continued Sound; whence came the Proverb, Δωδωναῖον χαλκίδον, ἐπὶ τῶν μικρολογούντων, or rather ἐπὶ τῶν μακρολογούντων, for it was applied to talkative Persons. Another Saying we have not much different from the former, viz. Κορυβαίων μάστιξ, which (as some are of Opinion) was taken from this Whip, which, together with the Boy and Kettle, were all dedicated by the *Corcyreans* (y). About what Time, or upon what Account this Oracle came to cease, is uncertain; but *Strabo* (z), who flourish'd under *Augustus Cæsar*, saith, that in his Time the Gods had in a Manner deserted that and most other Oracles.

The same Author (a), in his Description of *Elis*, makes mention of an Oracle of *Olympian Jupiter*, which was once famous, but did not continue long in Repute; yet the Temple in which it stood still preserv'd its ancient Splendor, and was adorn'd with magnificent Structures, and enrich'd with Presents from every Part of Greece. *Pindar* also hath taken Notice of an Altar dedicated to *Jupiter* at *Pisa*, where Answers were given by the Posterity of *Janus* (b).

There was another very ancient Oracle of *Jupiter* in *Crete*, mention'd by *Strabo*, from which *Minos* is said to have receiv'd a Platform of the Laws afterwards enact'd by him; whence *Homer* saith of him;

Ἐνέωρος βασιλεὺς Διὸς μεγάλης δαριτῆς.

(x) *Trachin.* ver. 174. (y) *Epitom. Strab.* lib. vii. (z) *Lib.* vii. (a) *Lib.* viii.
 (b) *Olymp.* initio, *Od.* vi.

Minos, that Counsels dar'd with *Jove* to mix,
Nine Years *Crete's* Scepter sway'd. —————

That is, (as *Plato* in *Strabo* expounds it) he descended into the sacred Cave of *Jupiter* (for this Oracé was under Ground) and receiv'd from him those Precepts, which he afterwards made publick for the common Benefit of Mankind. The Will of the Gods was reveal'd in this Place by Dreams, in which the Gods came and convers'd familiarly with the Enquirers; as we learn from the Story of *Epimenides* (c), who lay asleep in this Place many Years. *Pythagoras* also descended into this Cave to consult the Gods, as *Diogenes Laertius* hath related in the Life of that Philosopher. There was a Temple in the same Place dedicated to *Jupiter*, from which to the City *Gnosus* (d) there was a high Road, very pleasant. It stood upon Mount *Ida*; and tho' *Maximus Tyrius*, in the foremention'd Place, calls it Δικταίῳ Διὸς ἄντρον, yet in his twenty-second Dissertation he saith, it was placed on *Ida*; to which *Diogenes Laertius* and others agree. It was sometimes call'd Ἀρκέσιον, from the Word ἀρκέσαι, which signifies to help or defend; because the Sons of *Titan*, being vanquish'd by *Saturn*, fled into this Cave, and there escaped the Fury of their pursuing Conqueror (e).

C H A P. IX.

Of the Oracles of Apollo.

I Come in the next Place to speak of the Oracles of *Apollo*, who was thought more peculiarly to preside over Prophets, and inspire into them the Knowledge of future Events; whence the Ænigmatical Poet calls him Κερδαῖος, or Gainful, from κέρδος, Gain, because of the Profit which Mankind receiv'd by his Predictions, saith *Tzetzes* (f) upon that Place.

The Oracles of *Apollo* were not only the most numerous, but of the greatest Repute; and amongst them the *Delphian* challeng'd the first Place, as well for its Antiquity, (wherein it contended even with that of *Dodona*) as for the Truth and Perspicuity of its Answers, the Magnificence of its Structures, the Number and Richness of the sacred ἀναθήματα, or Presents, dedicated to the God, and the Multitudes which from all Parts resorted thither for Counsel; in which Respect it surpass'd not only all the Oracles of other Gods, but even those sacred to *Apollo* himself.

The Place in which the Oracles were deliver'd was call'd *Pythium*, the Priestests *Pythia*. The Sports also instituted in Honour of *Apollo* were nam'd *Pythian*, and *Apollo* himself *Pythius*; either from *Python*, a Serpent, or a Man for his Cruelty so call'd, who possess'd this Place, and was overcome by *Apollo*; or, ἀπὸ τοῦ πύθω, i. e. to putrify; because the Carcase of *Pytho* was suffer'd to lie there and putrify; which Reason is given us by *Homer* (g); or, ἀπὸ τοῦ πυθίσθαι, i. e. to enquire; because

(c) *Maximus Tyrius*, Diss. xxvii. (d) *Plato* de Leg. lib. i. (e) *Etymolog. Auctor.*
(f) *Cassandr.* v. 208. (g) *Hymn. in Apollinem*, v. 372.

the Oracle was there consulted and enquir'd of, and this is *Strabo's* (c) Opinion: Or from *Pytho*, another Name of *Delphi*, the Place of this Oracle, given it from *Pythis*, the Son of *Delphus*, the Son of *Apollo*.

The City *Delphi* (as *Strabo* (d) reports) was by some thought to be placed in the Middle of the World; and the Poets feign that *Jupiter*, being desirous to know the middle Part of the Earth, sent forth two Eagles, (or Crows, as *Pindar*, or Swans, as others relate) one from the East, the other from the West, and that they met in this Place. However that be, *Strabo* telleth us, it was placed in the Middle of Greece; whence it is by the Poets commonly call'd *Ὀμφαλός*, which Word signifieth the Navel, because that is the middle Part of Man's Body; and therefore *Sophocles* calls this Oracle *μεσόμφαλον μαντεῖον*: And in Allusion to that Name *Strabo* and *Pausanias* say, there was to be seen in the Temple the Figure of a Navel, made of white Stone, with a Ribband hanging from it, instead of the Navel-string, and upon it were placed two Eagles, in Memory of the Eagles sent forth by *Jupiter*. But *Lactantius* and *Phurnutus* are of Opinion, that this Name was not deriv'd from the Situation of the Place, but from the Divine Answers given there, which are in Greek call'd *Ὀμφαί*, and *Varro* herein agrees with them.

Concerning the Original of this Oracle there are various Reports: *Diodorus* the Sicilian (e) tells us, it first belong'd to *Earth*, by whom *Daphne*, one of the Mountain Nymphs, was constituted Priestess; the same Author afterwards saith, that in a Greek Poem call'd *Eumolpia*, it is reported to have been sacred both to *Earth* and *Neptune*; and that *Earth* gave Answers herself, but *Neptune* had an Interpreter nam'd *Pyrco*, and that afterwards *Neptune* resign'd his Part to *Earth*. This Goddess was succeeded by *Themis*, who gave Oracles about the Time of *Deucalion's* Deluge, and was consulted by him, as it is very well known from *Ovid's Metamorphosis*. Some there are that will have *Themis* to have possess'd this Oracle from the Beginning: Which is the less to be wonder'd at, since *Themis* and the *Earth* were commonly reputed the same Goddess under different Names, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μετῴνις, according to *Æschylus* (f): Whence *Themis* is call'd by *Aristides* (g), ὦν ἀρεστέρα, the eldest of the Gods. Yet *Æschylus* in another Place (h) reports, that this Oracle was first possess'd by the *Earth*, then by *Themis*, Daughter of the *Earth*; who resign'd it to her Sister *Phæbe*, by whom it was at length given to *Apollo*. *Pindar*, and from him the *Scholast* upon *Æschylus* tells us, that, *Apollo* having seiz'd this Oracle by Force, the *Earth* endeavour'd to precipitate that God into the Infernal Regions. And (i) *Euripides* reports, that *Apollo*, having expell'd *Themis*, was himself expell'd by the *Earth*; but recover'd the Oracle by the Assistance of *Jupiter*. Agreeable to which Relation is that of *Apollodorus*, that *Apollo*, having learn'd the Art of Divination from *Pan*, came to *Delphi*, where Oracles were then given by *Themis*, and

(c) Geogr. lib. ix. (d) Lib. ix. (e) Lib. xvi. cap. 16. & *Pausanias Phocicis*.
(f) *Prometh.* v. 208. (g) *Orat. de concordia ad Rhodios*. (h) *Eumenidum initio*.
(i) *Iphigeniæ* v. 1259.

having kill'd *Python* the Serpent, which guarded the Mouth of the sacred Cavern, seiz'd the Oracle. It must not be omitted, that when this Oracle was possess'd by the *Earth*, she return'd Answers by *Dreams*. Thus *Euripides*,

— νύχια
χθών ἐτεκνώσατο Φάσματα (i).

The *Earth* brought forth nocturnal Spectres. And afterwards *Apollo*, being depriv'd of the Oracle, prays *Jupiter* (k),

Πυθίων δόμεν
Χθονίαν ἀφελεῖν
Θεᾶς μῆνιν, νυχίως τ' ἐντοᾶς·

To expel the *Earth* with her nocturnal Oracles, from the *Pythian Temples*. And this Goddess was reputed the Author of Dreams in other Places, as will appear in the Chapter concerning that Sort of Divination. Others will have the *Delphian Oracle* to have belong'd to *Saturn* (l), and that the *Grecians* receiv'd the celebrated Answer, ὅτι τῷ δεκάτῳ ἐνι τὸ Ἴλιον πορθήσουσι, That *Troy* should be taken by them in the tenth Year: From this God we are inform'd by the *Scholiast* upon the following Verse of *Lycophron* (m), which likewise relates to this Purpose:

Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ βωμὸν τῷ προμάντιος Κρόνου·

However that be, at length it came into the Hands of *Apollo*; nor did he long enjoy it alone, for in the War against the Sons of *Titan*, *Bacchus*, being mangled and torn in Pieces by them, was afterwards restor'd to his Brother *Apollo*, who receiv'd him into his Temple, and order'd that Divine Honours should be paid him there. This Fable is related out of *Callimachus* and *Euphorion*, by *Isaac Tzetzes*, in his Comment upon *Lycophron* (n), where *Agamemnon* is brought in sacrificing to *Bacchus* in the Temple of *Delphian Apollo*. Hence some say, the City *Delphi* was so call'd, q. Ἀδελφοί, which Word signifieth Brethren, because *Apollo* and *Bacchus* were both Sons of *Jupiter*.

We find it related by *Diodorus the Sicilian* (o), that this Oracle was first discover'd by Goats, in Memory whereof, the *Delphians*, when they ask'd Counsel of the God, for the most Part offer'd a Goat. The Manner of the Discovery was thus: Upon Mount *Parnassus*, where Goats were wont to feed, there was a deep Cavern, with a small, narrow Mouth, to which when any of the Goats approach'd, they began immediately to leap after an unusual and antick Manner, uttering strange and unheard of Sounds; the Goat-herd (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) observing this, and wondering what should be the Cause of it, went himself to view the Cavern, whereupon he was also seiz'd with a like Fit of Madness, leaping and dancing, and foretelling Things to come. This being nois'd Abroad, vast Multitudes of People flock'd to the Place, where as many as look'd in, were inspir'd after

(i) Loco citato. (k) Ibid. v. 1271. (l) *Cælius Rhodiginus* Lect. Antiq. lib. xvi. (m) *Cassandra*, v. 202. (n) Vers. 209. (o) *Biblioth. Hist.* lib. xvi.

the same Manner. At length, when many were possess'd with such a Degree of Divine Phrenzy, as to throw themselves headlong into the *Vorago*; there was an Edict put out, whereby it was made unlawful for any Man to approach it; and a *Tripus* was placed upon the Mouth of it, upon which a Virgin was appointed to sit, and there deliver the Answers of the God. This is the most common Account of the Original of the Oracle: *Pausanias* hath given some others, which I shall forbear to mention. Thus much however is certain (if any Thing at such a Distance may be call'd so,) *viz.* That this Oracle was very ancient, and flourish'd above an hundred Years before the *Trojan War*.

Concerning the *Tripus* placed upon the Mouth of the Cavern, there are different Opinions: Some say, it was a Pot fill'd with Dust, thro' which the *Afflatus* pass'd into the Virgin's Belly, and thence proceeded out of the Mouth. The *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (p) saith, it was a wide-mouth'd Brass-Pot fill'd with *ψῆφοι*, or *Pebbles*, by the leaping of which the Prophetess made her Conjectures. Others are of Opinion, that it was a large Vessel supported by three Feet, into which the Prophetess plunged herself, when she expected an Inspiration. But, according to the more common Opinion, *Cælius* (q) hath prov'd at large, that it was not a Vessel but a Table, or Seat, on which the *Pythia* lean'd or sat. The Cover of the *Tripus*, or, as some say, the *Tripus* itself, they call'd *ὄλυκος*, which Word properly denotes a *Mortar*, or round Stone, according to *Hesychius*; whence *Apollo* is call'd in *Sophocles*, *Ἐνὸλυκος*; and his Prophetess, *Ἐνὸλυς*. And this, as some are of Opinion, gave Occasion to the Proverb, *Ἐν ὄλυκῳ εὐνέσσω*, which is applied to those that speak prophetically; but others derive it from a certain Diviner, call'd *Holmus*; and others (amongst whom is *Aristophanes* the Grammarian in *Zenodotus*) refer it to the old superstitious Custom of sleeping in these *ὄλυκοι*, when they desired a Prophetical Dream. *Phurnutus* will have the *Tripus* to have been sacred to *Apollo*, either because of the Perfection of the Number Three; or in Allusion to the three Celestial Circles, two of which the Sun toucheth, and passeth over the third in his Annual Circuit. And the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (r) will have the three Legs of the *Tripus* to signify the Knowledge of the God, as distinguish'd by the three Parts of Time, *viz.* Past, Present, and Future,

Ὅς τ' ἤνυστ' ἀνὰ τὰ ἑσπέρια, τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα, πρὸ τ' ἔσθ'.

Who knew Things past, and present, and to come.

The same *Tripus* was not always us'd; the first was placed there by the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Country; afterwards, when *Pelops* marry'd *Hippodamia* the Daughter of *Oenomaus*, King of the *Eleans*, he presented to *Apollo* a *Tripus*, wrought by *Vulcan*, which seems to have been that made of Brass, so famous amongst the Poets. There was also another *Tripus* of Gold, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (s) reports, dedicated to *Apollo* on this Account: Certain Fishermen at *Miletus*, having sold their next Draught to some Persons that stood

(p) *Lyfistrace*. (q) *Lecl. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 15.* (r) *Initio Pluti.* (s) *Loc. citat.*

by, cast their Net into the Water, and drew up a Golden *Tripus*; whereupon there arose a very hot Contention between the Fishermen and their Chapmen; the Fishermen alledging, that they sold nothing but the Fish they were to take, and that therefore the *Tripus* belong'd to them; the Buyers, on the other Hand, replied, that they had bought the whole Draught, and therefore laid a just Claim to whatever came to the Net. At length, when neither Side would yield, they agreed to submit the Matter to *Apollo's* Determination; whereupon they came to *Delphi*, and there receiv'd this Answer,

Ἐγώνε Μιλήτε, τρίποδος πέρι Φοῖβον ἰρωτάς;

Ὃς σοφία πάντων πρῶτος, τετὰ τρίποδα δός.

Art thou, a Native of *Miletus*, come

T' enquire what must be with the *Tripod* done?

Give it to Him, whose Wisdom claims a Right

Above all others. —————

H. H.

This Oracle was given at the Time when the seven Wise Men flourish'd in *Greece*; the *Tripus* therefore was presented to one of them, (which that was, is not agreed on by ancient Writers;) he modestly refusing it, they offer'd it to another, and so on to the rest, till it had been refus'd by them all; whereupon it was determined to consecrate it to *Apollo* himself, as being the Fountain of all Wisdom. The *Tripus* was call'd by the *Latins*, *Cortina*, of which Appellation there are several Reasons assign'd, for which I refer you to the *Grammarians*. Others say *Cortina* was only the Cover of the *Tripus*, and therefore derive it from the Word *corium*, i. e. a *Skin*, because it was made, as they say, of *Python's* Skin. Lastly, Others more probably think it signified the Tent within which was kept the sacred *Tripus*, and that because of its Figure, which was, like that of a Cauldron, round; upon the same Account *Cortina* was us'd to signify the Tiring-room in the Theatre, or the Curtains, or Hangings, out of which the Players us'd to be usher'd on to the Stage; whence also the celestial *Hemisphere* is by *Ennius* call'd *Cæli cortina*; and the *Tholus* or round Compass at the Top of a Theatre, is by another nam'd *cortina Theatri*.

The Person that deliver'd the Oracles of the God was a Woman, whom they call'd *Pythia*, *Pythoniſſa*, and *Phæbas*: The most celebrated of these, saith *Pausanias* (†) *Phæmonoe*, who is remarkable, not only as being the first Priestess of that Oracle, but more especially because she was the first (as most say) that cloth'd the Oracles with Heroick Verse. But *Bæo*, a *Delphian* Lady, in one of her Hymns, reports, that *Olen*, with the *Hyperboreans*, first instituted this Oracle, and return'd Answers in Heroick Verse, of which he was the first Inventor: Her Words we find in *Pausanias* to be thus,

Ἔνθα τοι εὐμνησον χρηστήριον ἐκτελέσαντο

Παῖδες Ἑπεβορέων, Πάγασος, καὶ δῖος Ἀγυιῆς, &c.

(†) *Phocicis*.

Where

Where *Hyperboreans* to thy lasting Praise
Eternal Oracles did consecrate.

Then she proceeds to enumerate some others of the *Hyperboreans*, and in the End of the Hymn adds,

Ἦλθεν δ' ὃς γένετο πρῶτος Φοῖβος προφῆτας,
Πρῶτος δ' ἀρχαίων ἐπέων τεκτὴνατ' αἰδὼν

No *Grecian* yet warm'd with Poetick Fire
Cou'd fit th' unpolish'd Language to the Lyre,
'Till the first Priest of *Phæbus* Olen rose,
And chang'd, for smother Verse, their stunning Prose.

H. H.

But herein she contradicts (saith my Author) the common Opinion, which is grounded on the Testimony of ancient Writers, who unanimously agree in this, that never any but Women were the Interpreters of this God. Yet several *Prophets* are spoken of by *Ælian* (a). There is mention in *Herodotus* (b) of a certain προφήτης, *Prophet*, in this Place, whose Name was *Aceratus*. And *Apollo* is said in *Homer* (c) to chosse the Men of *Crete* to publish his Oracles by :

Κρήτες ἀπὸ Κνωσοῦ Μινώϊα, οἳ ῥα τ' ἀνακτι
Ἱερά τε εἰζῆσι, καὶ ἀγγέλλουσι δέμιας
Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου, ὅττικεν εἴπη
Χρείων ἐκ δάφνης γυάλων ὑπὸ Παρησείῳ

But perhaps these Men are to be accounted Priests, and ὑποφῆται who publish'd to others the Answers first by them receiv'd from the *Pythia*, rather than inspir'd Persons, and *Prophets* strictly so call'd.

Venerius (d) is of Opinion that there were more than one *Pythia* at the same Time; which he proves out of *Herodotus*, who in the sixth Book of his History reports, that *Cleomenes* corrupted with Bribes the Prophetess *Perialla*, who was vaticinantium mulierum antistes, the President of the Prophetesses: But tho' these Words are in the Latin Version, yet no such Thing is said, or can be inferr'd from the Greek, where *Perialla* is only call'd προμαντις, which Word (however it may seem to signify a Prophet superior to the rest) according to its common Acceptation implies no more than μάντις. Thus *Euripides* (e) hath us'd it when he saith, προμαντις κακῶν, i. e. one that foretellet Evils to come: In which Sense *Herodotus* himself in another Place hath us'd the Verb προμαντιεύσασθαι: More Instances would be needless.

These Women were, at the first, Virgins, till one of them was deflower'd by *Echecrates* a *Thessalian*; after which Time, Choice was made of Women above fifty Years of Age; that so they might either be secur'd from the Attempts of Lust, or if they should be at any Time forced to the Violation of their Chastity, having pass'd the Time of

(a) De Animal. lib. x. cap. 26. (b) Lib. viii. cap. 37. (c) Hymn. in Apollin. v. 393. (d) De Divination. & Orac. Antiq. (e) *Helena*.

Child-bearing they might remain undiscovered, and not bring the Oracles, or Religion into Contempt: Nevertheless they wore the Habit of Virgins, thereby to signify their Purity and virginal Modesty (b). They were obliged to observe the strictest Laws of Temperance and Chastity; not being allow'd to wear rich and costly Apparel, or use fantastical Dresses; and *Plutarch* (c) hath told us, they neither anointed themselves, nor wore Purple Garments. The *Pythia*, before she ascended the *Tripus*, us'd to wash her whole Body, especially her Hair, in *Castalis*, a Fountain at the Foot of *Parnassus*, where the Poets, Men inspir'd by the same Deity, us'd to wash and drink. At her first sitting down upon the *Tripus*, she us'd to shake the Laurel-tree that grew by it, and sometimes to eat the Leaves. Herself also, and the *Tripus* were crown'd with Garlands of the same Plant, as we learn from the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (d) at this Verse, where one asketh,

Τὶ δὴδ' ὁ Φοῖβος ἔλαχεν ἐν σπυμάτων;

What from the Oracle with Garlands trimm'd

Has *Phœbus* utter'd? ———

Nor did the *Pythia* only make use of Laurel in this Manner, but other Prophets also, it being thought to conduce to Inspiration; whence it was peculiarly call'd *μαντικὸν φυτὸν*, the prophetic Plant. The *Pythia*, being placed upon the *Tripus*, receiv'd the Divine *Afflatus* in her Belly; whence she is call'd *ἐγαστρίμυθος*, or *σπυρόμαντις*. She was no sooner inspir'd, but she began immediately to swell and foam at the Mouth, tearing her Hair, cutting her Flesh, and in all her other Behaviour appearing like one phrenetick and distracted. But she was not always affected in the same Manner; for if the Spirit was in a kind and gentle Humour, her Rage was not very violent; but, if sullen and malignant, she was thrown into extreme Fury; insomuch that *Plutarch* (e) speaks of one enrag'd to such a Degree, that she affrighted, not only those that consulted the Oracle, but the Priests themselves, who ran away and left her; and so violent was the Paroxysm, that in a little Time after she died. Some say, that under the *Tripus* sometimes appear'd a Dragon that return'd Answers, and that the *Pythia* was once kill'd by him. And *Eusebius* reports, *δράκοντα εἰλιῶσαι περὶ τοὺς τρίποδα*, that a Serpent rolled himself about the Tripod.

The Time of consulting the Oracle, was only one Month in a Year. This Month, *Plutarch* (f) tells us, was call'd *Βύσις*, which, as many are of Opinion, was so nam'd, *q. Φύσις* from *φύω*, i. e. to spring up, because it was in the Beginning of Spring, when all Things flourish and put forth Buds: But this, (saith he) is not the true Reason, for the *Delphians* do not use B for Φ (as the *Macedonians*, who for *Φίλιππος*, *Φαλακρός*, and *Φερνίκια*, say *Βίλιππος*, *Βαλακρός*, and *Βερνίκια*) but instead of Π; for they usually say *Βατῆν*, for *πατῆν*, and *Βιγρὸν*, for *πιγρὸν*: *Βύσις* therefore is put for *Πύσις*, so call'd *διὰ τὴν πύσιν*, because in that Month they were allow'd to enquire of *Apollo's* Oracle, and this is

(b) *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. xvi. (c) *Lib. de Orac.* (d) *In Pluto.* (e) *De Defect. Orac.* (f) *Quæst. Græc. ix.*

their genuine and Country-way of Speaking. The seventh Day of the Month they call'd *Apollo's Birth-day*, naming it Πολύφοβος, (not Πολύφοβος, as some read it) not because they bak'd a Sort of Cakes call'd φῶβος, but because the God did then return a great many Answers; and at the first the *Pythia* gave Answers only on this Day, as *Callisthenes* and *Anaxandridas* report. Thus *Plutarch*. And even in latter Ages, Oracles us'd only to be given once every Month.

Whoever went to consult the Oracle was required to make large Presents to the God, whereby it came to pass, that this Temple in Riches, Splendor, and Magnificence, was superior almost to all others in the World. And *Aphetoria opes* (so call'd from Ἀφῆτος, a Name of *Apollo*, given him, as some say, from sending forth Oracles) have been proverbially us'd for Abundance of Wealth. Another Thing requir'd of those that desir'd Answers was, that they should propound their Questions in as few Words as might be, as we are inform'd by *Philostatus* (g), in the Life of *Apollonius*. It was the Custom also, to offer Sacrifices to *Apollo*, in which, except the Omens were favourable, the Prophetess would not give any Answer. At these Sacrifices there were five Priests, saith *Plutarch* (b), nam'd Ὅσιοι, i. e. *Holy*, that assisted the Prophets, and perform'd many other Offices with them, being suppos'd to be descended from *Deucalion*: There was one also who presided over these call'd Ὀσίωνης, or *Purifier*; tho' *Plutarch* saith, that the Sacrifice slain, when any of the Ὅσιοι were declar'd, was call'd by that Name; unless instead of τὸ θυόμενον ἱερεῖον, or the Sacrifice kill'd, we might be allow'd to read τὸν θυόμενον ἱερεῖον, or the Person kill'd the Sacrifice. There was another Priest also, that assisted the Prophetess in managing the Oracle, whom they call'd Ἀφῆτος, upon the same Account that *Apollo* was so named.

The Answer was always return'd in *Greek*, as appears from *Cicero* (i), who, speaking of the Oracle, reported by *Ennius* to be given to *Pyrrhus* the *Epirote*, by *Apollo*, viz.

Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.

Go, *Pyrrhus*, go, engage with warlike *Rome*,
Fate has decreed th' irrevocable Doom,
And you the valiant *Roman* shall o'ercome.

H. H. }

concludes it was not genuine, because the *Pythia* never us'd to speak in *Latin*; and, in *Pyrrhus's* Time, had left off giving Answers in Verse, which had been the Custom in all former Ages, from the first Foundation of the Oracle, deriving (as hath been said already) its Original from *Phæmonoe* the first *Pythia*. The ancient *Greeks* deliver'd their Laws in Verse, whence it came to pass, as *Aristotle* witnesseth, that νόμος, which properly signifies a Law, is often us'd to signify Verses or Songs. The first Philosophers, as oft as they thought fit to communicate their Mysteries to the World, cloathed them in Verse; and the primitive Ages scarce seem to have written any Thing curious or excellent, nor any Thing of Weight or Moment, but in Verse.

(g) *Lib. vi. cap. 5.*

(b) *Lec. cit.*

(i) *Lib. ii. de Divinatione.*

The Verses of the *Pythia* were, for the most Part, saith *Plutarch* (k), rude and unpolish'd, and not comparable to those of *Homer*, or *Hesiod*, yet, saith he, this is no Reflection upon *Apollo*, the Patron of Poets, because he only communicated the Knowledge to the *Pythia*, which she deliver'd in what Dress she pleas'd; the Sense thereof was his, the Words her own. In the same Book he tells us, that some were of Opinion, that there were Poets maintain'd in the Temple, to catch the Oracles as they were given, and wrap them up in Verse. The Verses were for the most Part Hexameter, insomuch that this Oracle was thought to be none of *Apollo's*, because it was not Heroick;

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης,
Ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος·

To Wisdom *Sophocles* makes just Pretence,
Yet does to sage *Euripides* give Place,
As he and all Men must to *Socrates*.

H. H.

In later Ages, when Oracles began to grow into Disrepute, this Custom of versifying was left off, the Reason whereof hath been copiously disputed by *Plutarch*, in a Treatise on that Subject, to which I refer the Reader. I shall only add one Thing more to be observ'd, That as the Custom of giving Answers in Verse never appear'd so universally, but that sometimes they were deliver'd in *Prose*, as *Plutarch* hath prov'd by a great many Instances; so neither was it ever so wholly left off, but that Oracles were pronounced in Verse; an Instance whereof he giveth in his own Time. The Oracle concerning the Birth of our Saviour *Christ*, which was deliver'd in Heroick Verse to the Emperor *Augustus*, is mention'd by *Eusebius*, *Zonaras*, and others. And another, which was return'd in the same Sort of Verse to *Julian* the *Apostate*, shall be repeated hereafter.

The *Delphian* Oracles, if compar'd with some others, might justly be call'd plain and perspicuous; and as *Hormeas*, the Philosopher, tells us, it was usual for those that had receiv'd an obscure Answer at *Dodona*, to desire *Apollo* at *Delfhi* to explain the Meaning of it: He adds also, that *Apollo* had interpreted a great many of them. Nevertheless, they were generally very obscure, and ambiguous; insomuch that *Apollo*, as some say, was call'd *Δοξίας*, because his Answers were *Δοξὰ καὶ σκοδία*, i. e. *crooked*, and hard to be understood. And *Heracitus* in *Plutarch*, speaking of *Apollo*, saith, ἔτι λέγει, ἔτι κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σιμῶσι, i. e. He doth not speak the Truth plainly, nor yet wholly conceal it, but only gives small Hints of it; so that if the Event happen'd contrary to any Man's Expectation, he might rather find Fault with his own Interpretation of the Oracles, than call in Question either the Knowledge or Veracity of *Apollo*. The Reason of this affected Obscurity, is said to have been this, viz. Οὐ καθαρῶ καθαρὰ ἐφαπτεσθαι τὸ δῖον, &c. That impure Persons ought not to be admitted to sacred Things (l): It being a Profanation of the Mysteries, and other Things relating to Religion, to communicate them to the Vulgar and Ignorant.

(k) Lib. de *Pythiæ* Orac.(l) *Clemens Alexandrinus* Strom. V.

The Veracity of this Oracle was so famous, that τὰ ἐν Τρίποδι, i. e. *The Responses given from the Tripus*, came to be used proverbially for certain and infallible Truths: And, as *Cicero* rightly argues, it is impossible the *Delphian* Oracle should ever have gain'd so much Repute in the World, or have been enrich'd with such vast Presents from almost all Kings and Nations, had not the Truth of its Predictions been attested by the Experience of all Ages. But in later Times the Case was alter'd; and so *Cicero* tells us, it was a long Time before his Days. *Demosthenes*, who flourish'd three hundred Years before him, complain'd the *Pythia* did φιδωπιζου, or speak as *Philip* the *Macedonian* would have her. Before that Time she was said to receive a Bribe of *Clisthenes*, to persuade the *Lacedæmonians* to free the *Athenians* from the Tyrants that were impos'd on them. *Periolla* the *Pythia* was depriv'd of her Office for being corrupted by one of *Cleomenes's* Agents, to say that *Demaratus*, *Cleomenes's* Collegue, was not the true Son of *Aristo*, King of *Sparta*, to the End it might be thought he was not his lawful Successor, and upon that Account be dethron'd.

At what Time, or upon what Account this Oracle came to cease, is uncertain; *Strabo* (i) hath told us, that in his Time it had lost its ancient Reputation. *Dio* will have it to have been extinct from the Time that it was polluted by *Nero*, who kill'd Men εἰς τὸ σόμιον ἐξ ἧς ἔσπον τὸ πνεῦμα ἀγνῆ in the Cavern's Mouth, out of which the sacred Inspiration ascended. In *Juvenal's* (k) Time the Gods had quite forsaken it, if any Credit may be given to the following Words:

—————*Delphis Oracula cessant.*

The *Delphian* Oracles are now no more.

Minutius Felix reports, that *cautum illud & ambiguum defecit oraculum, cum & politiores homines & minus creduli esse cœperunt* (l): This cautious and ambiguous Oracle gave over speaking, when Men began to be more polite and less credulous. *Lucan* (m) telleth us, that it had ceas'd a long Time before the Battle of *Pharsalia*:

—————*Non ullo secula dono*

Nostra carent majore Deum, quam Delphica sedes

Quod siluit. —————

No greater Gift can bounteous Heav'n bestow,

Nor does our Age a greater Blessing want

Than silenc'd *Delphi* —————

H. H.

But this must not be understood of a total Defect, or perpetual Silence; for this Oracle, as *Van Dale* (n) hath abundantly prov'd, did several Times lose its prophetick Faculty, and again recover it. *Lucian* reports (o), That Answers were given in his Time, which was about the Reigns of *Marcus Aurelius* and his Son *Commodus*. But he is at a Loss, whether those Oracles were indeed *Apollo's*, or only supposititious. And farther, 'tis certain that this, and those at *Delos* and

(i) Lib. ix. (k) Sat. vi. v. 554. (l) Octavii p. 242. Edit. Lugd. Bat. (m) Lib. v. (n) Dissert. de Orac. (o) *Alexandro Pseudomant.*

Dedona, with some others, continued till the Reign of *Julian* the *Apostate*, and were consulted, saith *Theodoret*, by him. And he is said to have received from *Apollo Delphicus* the following Answer :

Εἴπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ, χαίρειαι πρὸς δαίδαλος ἀλλὰ,
Οὐκ ἐστὶ Φοῖβος ἔχων καλῆσαν, ἢ μαντιδα δάφνην,
Οὐ πάρος καλίσσαν, ἀπίσχετο καὶ καλὸν ὄδωρ.

By which it appears, this Oracle was then in a very low and declining Condition; but at what Time it was finally extinct is uncertain: Whoever desireth to be more particularly inform'd may consult *Van Dale's* Treatise on that Subject.

When the God forsook *Delphi*, he betook himself to the *Hyperborean Scythians*, as we learn from *Claudian* :

————— *pulcher Apollo*
Lustrat Hyperboreas Delphis cessantibus aras.

Ah! abject *Delphi*, see thy God resides
In distant *Hyperborean* Climates. —————

E. D.

And in former Times he was thought to be a Lover of that Nation, and at certain Seasons to remove thither out of *Greece*. *Abaris*, one of that Country, the Priest of *Apollo*, who travell'd into *Greece* about the Time of *Pythagoras*, is said to have written a Book concerning *Apollo's* Oracles, καὶ ἀφίξω εἰς Ὑπερβορέας, and Removal to the *Hyperboreans* (p). And the *Athenians*, at a Time when the Plague raged over all *Greece*, receiv'd an Oracle from thence, commanding them to make Vows and Prayers in Behalf of the rest; and they continued to send Gifts and Offerings thither, as they had formerly done to *Delphi*.

I might enlarge about the Magnificence and Splendor of the *Delphian* Temple, but I fear I have already trespass'd too far upon the Reader's Patience; if any one therefore have Curiosity and Leisure, he may have a large and exact Description of all the magnificent Structures, rich Presents, curious Pieces of Art, and other Rarities belonging to that Place, in *Pausanias*. There was another of *Apollo's* Oracles at *Cirrha*, a Sea-port belonging to *Delphi*, from which it was distant about LX *Stadia*. This is mention'd in *Statius's Thebais* (q):

Tunc & Apollineæ tacuere oracula Cirrhæ.

Where *Lutatius* observes, that in *Cirrha tantum prospera Deorum dabantur oracula*: nam cui exitium imminebat, taciturnitate templi penitus damnum: At *Cirrha* none but prosperous Oracles were pronounced; and if any Calamity was to befall them who came for Advice, that was declar'd by the God's Silence. Several others have mention'd this Oracle, tho' neither taken Notice of by *Strabo* nor *Pausanias*, the latter of which hath left us a particular Account of the Temple, sacred Field of *Apollo*, and other remarkable Things in *Cirrha*. Some speak of this Oracle in such a Manner as doth make it probable, that

(p) *Suidas* v. Ἀβάρης, *Diodorus Siculus*, aliique. (q) *Lib. vii. v. 412.*

it was the same with the Oracle at *Delphi*: Thus *Seneca* will have it become *Apollo's*, by his Victory over *Python*, whereby he is known to have obtain'd the *Delphian* (r):

*Cirrhaea Pæan templa, & ætheriam domum
Serpente caeso meruit.*

And a Prophetess is reported by the same Author to have deliver'd Oracles at *Cirrha*, as was done in the *Delphian* Temple (s):

*Et ipse nostris vocibus testis veni
Fatidicæ vatis ora Cirrhææ movens.*

Lastly, there was a Cavern at *Cirrha*, as in the other Place. This appears from *Statius* (t):

————— *Non Cirrha promiserit anno
Certius, aut frondes lucis, quas fama Moleffis
Chaonia sonuisse tibi.* —————

Next to this Oracle may justly follow that at *Delos*, the most celebrated of all the *Cyclades*, which were a Knot of Islands in the *Egean* Sea. It is famous among the Poets for having been the Birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, and was therefore accounted so sacred and inviolable, that the *Persians*, when they pillag'd or destroy'd almost all the other *Grecian* Temples, durst not attempt any Thing upon the Temple in this Island; which was seated on the Sea-shore, looking towards *Eubæa*, in the very Place where *Apollo* was feigned to be born. He had an Image erected in this Place, in the Shape of a Dragon; and gave Answers, for their Certainty and Perspicuity, not only not inferior to those at *Delphi*, but, as some report (u), far exceeding them, and all other Oracles of *Apollo*, being deliver'd in clear plain Terms, without any Ambiguity or Obscurity. But these Answers were not to be expected all the Year; *Apollo* only kept his Summer's Residence in this Place, and in Winter retir'd to *Patara*, a City of *Lycia*, as *Servius* hath observ'd in his Comment upon these Words of *Virgil*:

*Qualis ubi hybernæ Lyciam, Xanthique fluentæ
Deserit, ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo* (w).

Such Pomp and Splendor God *Apollo* grace,
When he his Winter *Lycia*, or that Place
Which *Xanthus*' Silver Streams wash kindly, leaves,
And *Delos* visits, whence he Answers gives
In Summer Seasons.

One of the Altars was by some reckon'd amongst the seven Wonders of the World. It was erected by *Apollo* at the Age of four Years, and compos'd of the Horns of Goats kill'd by *Diana* upon Mount *Cynthus*, which were compacted together in a wonderful Manner, without any visible Tie or Cement; whence *Ovid* saith of it (x):

(r) *Hercul. Oet. ver. 92.* (s) *Oedip. ver. 269.* (t) *Thebaid. lib. iii. ver. 474.*
(u) *Alex. ab Alex.* (w) *Æneid. iv. v. 143.* (x) *Epistola Cydippes ad Acont.*
Conf. etiam Phalarib. de Solert. Animalium, Callimachi hymn. in Apollinem, ver. 58.
Politiani Miscellanea, cap. 52.

Miror & innumeris structam de cornibus aram.

———'tis strange to see

How each in other twin'd the Goat-horns lie,
And make an Altar bound with ne'er a Tie.

E. D.

To sacrifice any living Creature upon this Altar was held unlawful, and a Profanation of the Place, which it was the God's Will to have preserv'd pure from Blood, and all Manner of Pollution. *Thucydides* (y) reports, that no Dogs were permitted to enter into this Island; and it was unlawful for any Person to die, or be born in it; and therefore, when the *Athenians* were by the Oracle commanded to purify it, they dug up the dead Bodies out of their Graves, and wadded them over the Sea, to be interred in one of the adjacent Islands; this done, the better to preserve it from Pollution, they put forth an Edict, commanding, that whoever lay sick of any mortal or dangerous Disease, and all Women great with Child, should be carried over to the little Isle call'd *Rhena*.

I must not omit in this Place the annual Procession made by the *Athenians* to this Place. The Author of this Custom was *Theseus*, who, being sent with the rest of the *Athenian* Youths into *Crete*, to be devour'd by the *Minotaur*, made a Vow to *Apollo*, that if he would grant them a safe Return, they would make a solemn Voyage to his Temple at *Delos* every Year. This was call'd *Δωρίας*, the Persons employ'd in it *Θεωροί*, and *Δηλιασταί*, from the Name of the Island; the Chief of them *Ἀρχιθεωρός*, and the Ship in which they went *Θεωρίς* or *Δηλιάς*, which was the very same that carried *Theseus* and his Companions to *Crete*; being (saith *Plutarch*) preserv'd by the *Athenians* till *Demetrius* the *Phalerean's* Time, they restoring always what was decay'd, and changing the old and rotten Planks for those that were new and entire, insomuch that it furnish'd the Philosophers with Matter of Dispute, whether after so many Reparations and Alterations it might still be call'd the same individual Ship; and serv'd as an Instance to illustrate the Opinion of those that held the Body still remain'd the same numerical Substance, notwithstanding the continual Decay of old Parts, and Acquisition of new ones, through the several Ages of Life; for which Reason *Callimachus* (z) calls its Tackle *ever-living* [*αἰζώοντα*]:

——— αἰζώοντα Θεωρίδου, ἱερὰ Φοῖβω,
Κεκοπῖδαι πέμπουσιν τοπήναι νηὸς ἐκείνης.

To great *Apollo's* Temple every Year,
The sturdy *Theoris* th' *Athenians* send;
Yet, spite of envious Time and angry Seas,
The Vessel ever whole will be.

The Beginning of the Voyage was computed from the Time that

(y) Lib. iv.

(z) Hymno in *Belam*.

Apollo's Priest first adorn'd the Stern of the Ship with Garlands, saith *Plato* (a); and from that Time they began to cleanse and lustrate the City; and it was held unlawful to put any Malefactor to Death till its Return, which was the Reason that *Socrates* was repriev'd thirty Days after his Condemnation, as we learn from the same Author, and from *Xenophon* (b). The *Theori* wore Garlands of Laurel upon their Heads, and were accompanied by two of the Family of the *Kérymis*, who were appointed to be *Παράδοι* at *Delos* for that Year. Before them went certain Men with Axes in their Hands, in shew as if they design'd to clear the Ways of Robbers; in Memory that *Theseus*, in his Journey from *Træzen* to *Athens*, freed the Country from all the Robbers that infested those Parts. To this Custom *Æschylus* (c) seems to allude, when he saith,

Πέμπουσιν δ' αὐτὸν, καὶ σείειζον μέγα
Κελυθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, χθόνα
Ἀνέμερον τιθέντες ἡμερομένην.

Mov'd with the Sense of Piety,
To him th' *Athenians* do repair,
Still as they on their Journey go,
Whatever Parts infested be
With Robbers cruel Outrages,
Setting 'em free. —————

E. D.

When they went thither, they were said *ἀναβαίνειν*, to ascend; when they return'd *καταβαίνειν*, to descend. When they arriv'd, they offer'd Sacrifice, and celebrated a Festival in Honour of *Apollo*: This done, they repair'd to their Ship, and sail'd Homewards. At their Return, all the People ran forth to meet them, opening their Doors, and making Obeisance as they pass'd by; the Neglect of which Respect makes *Theseus* complain in *Euripides* (d):

Οὐ γὰρ τις μὲν ὡς Θιαρὸν ἀξιώσεται
Πύλας ἀνοίξας εὐφρόνας προσενέπειν.

My scornful Citizens, I find, neglect
Rushing to croud about the open'd Doors,
And pay me that Respect which is decreed
From one that from the Embassy returns.

E. D.

The next Oracle I shall speak of is that of *Apollo Didymæus*, so named (e) from the double Light imparted by him to Mankind, the one directly and immediately from his own Body, and the other by Reflexion from the Moon. The Place of it was also call'd *Didyma*, and belong'd to the *Milesians*, whence *Apollo* is call'd *Milesias*. It was also call'd the Oracle of the *Branchidae*; and *Apollo* himself was call'd

(a) In *Phædon*. (b) *Memorab. lib. iv.* (c) *Eumenid. initio.* (d) *Hippolyto.*
(e) *Macrob. lib. i. cap. 17.*

Branchides from *Branchus*, who was reputed the Son of *Macareus*, but begotten by *Apollo*; for it was no unusual Thing for the ancient Heroes to be call'd the Sons of two Fathers, the one mortal, who was always their Mother's Husband; the other some lascivious Deity, that had fallen in Love with her: So *Hercules* was reputed the Son of *Jupiter* and *Amphytrion*; *Heſtor* of *Priamus* and *Apollo*, with many others. The Original of this Oracle is thus deſcribed by *Varro*, where ſpeaking of *Branchus's* Mother, he reports, "That, being with Child, ſhe dream'd
 " the Sun enter'd into her Mouth, and paſſ'd thro' her Belly: Whence
 " her Child was named *Branchus* from *ἔρπον*, the *Throat*, thro' which
 " the God had penetrated into the Womb. The Boy afterwards hav-
 " ing kiſs'd *Apollo* in the Woods, and receiv'd from him a Crown and
 " Sceptre, began to prophesy, and preſently after diſappear'd. Where-
 " upon a magnificent Temple was dedicated to him and *Apollo Philo-*
 " *ſus*, ſo call'd from *φιλεῖν*, to kiſs, whence *Statius* ſaith he was

—————*patrioque æqualis honori.*

In Honour equal to his Father *Phæbus*.

Others derive the Name from *Branchus*, a *Theſſalian* Youth, belov'd by *Apollo*, who receiv'd him into his own Temple, and commanded that Divine Honours ſhould be paid him after Death. But *Stephanus* the *Byzantian* (f) telleth us, that this Oracle was ſacred to *Jupiter* and *Apollo*, and perhaps it might belong to all three. However that be, we are aſſur'd by *Herodotus*, that this Oracle was ἐν πολλοῖς ἰδρυμένον, τῷ Ἰωνί τε πάσις καὶ Ἀιολίαις ἐκδοσαν χρεῖσθαι very ancient, and frequented by all the *Ionians* and *Æolians*: And are farther told by *Canon* in *Photius's* *Bibliotheca*, that it was accounted χρεῖσθαι Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα Δελφὸς κρείττεον the beſt of all *Grecian* Oracles, except the *Delphian*.

In the Time of the *Persian* War (g) this Temple was ſpoil'd and burn'd, being betray'd into the Hands of the *Barbarians*, by the *Branchidae*, or *Prieſts*, who had the Care of it; but they, conſcious of their own Wickedneſs, and fearing leſt they ſhould meet with condign Punishment, deſired of *Xerxes*, that, as a Requital of their Service, he would grant them an Habitation in ſome remote Part of *Aſia*, whence they might never return into *Greece*, but live ſecure, being placed beyond the Reach of Juſtice. *Xerxes* granted their Requeſt; whereupon, notwithstanding a great many unlucky Omens appear'd to them, they founded a City, and call'd it, after their ancient Name, *Branchidae*. But for all this, they could not eſcape Divine Vengeance, which was inflicted on their Children by *Alexander* the Great, who, having conquer'd *Darius*, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Aſia*, utterly demolish'd their City, and put all its Inhabitants to the Sword, as deteſting the very Poſterity of ſuch impious Wretches.

The *Persians* being vanquiſh'd, and Peace reſtor'd to *Greece* (h), the Temple was rebuilt by the *Mileſians*, with ſuch Magnificence, that it ſurpaſs'd almoſt all the other *Grecian* Temples in Bigneſs, being rais'd

(f) Voce *Δίδυμα*. (g) *Strabo* lib. xiv. & *Suidas* in Voce *Βραγχίδαι*. (h) *Strabo* loc. cit.

to such a Bulk, that they were forced to let it remain uncover'd; for the Compass of it was no less than that of a Village, and contained at least four or five *Stadia*.

Another of *Apollo's* Oracles we read of in *Abæ*, a City of *Phocis*, mention'd by *Herodotus* (i), and *Stephanus* the *Byzantian* (k); by the latter of whom we are told, it was more ancient than the *Delphian*. *Sophocles* (l) hath taken Notice of it:

Οὐκέτι τὸν ἄδικτον εἴμι
Γὰρ ἐπὶ ὀμφαλὸν σέθεν,
Οὐδ' εἰς Ἀεαῖος ναόν.

Hence all Religion, now I will no more
Trouble that hallow'd Fane, which equally
Parts the divided Earth, no Journies make
To *Abæ* for the Answers of a God;
In vain 'tis to be good.

E. D.

The *Scholiasts* on this Place are of Opinion, that *Abæ* was a City in *Lycia*, but are sufficiently refuted by the Testimonies already cited. We are told by *Pausanias* (m), that the Temple of this Oracle was burn'd by *Xerxes*.

At *Claros*, a City of *Ionis*, not far from *Colophon*, there was another Oracle sacred to *Apollo*, first instituted by *Manto*, the Daughter of *Tiresias*, who fled thither in the second *Theban* War, when the *Epigoni*, i. e. the Sons of those that were slain in the former War, invaded *Thebes*, under the Conduct of *Alcæon*, in Revenge of their Fathers Deaths. The Persons that deliver'd Answers was a Man generally chosen out of some certain Families, and for the most Part out of *Miletus* (n): He was usually unlearned, and very ignorant, yet return'd the Oracles in Verses wonderfully satisfactory, and adapted to the Intention of the Enquirers; and this by Virtue of a little Well, feign'd to have sprung out of the Tears of *Manto* when she bewail'd the Desolation of her Country: Into this he descended when any Man came to consult him; but paid dear for his Knowledge, Water being very prejudicial to his Health; and, as *Pliny* (o) hath told us, a Means to shorten his Life. By this Oracle the untimely Death of *Germanicus* was foretold, as we are inform'd by *Tacitus* (p), by whom also the foremention'd Account of *Pliny* is confirm'd.

At *Larissa*, a Fort of the *Argives*, there was an Oracle of *Apollo*, firnamed *Δεραιώτης*, from *Diras*, a Region belonging to *Argos*. The Answers in this Place were return'd by a Woman, who was forbidden the Company of Men: Every Month she sacrificed a Lamb in the Night, and then, having tasted the Blood of the Victim, was immediately seiz'd with a Divine Fury (q).

(i) Lib. i. cap. 46. (k) Voce Ἀεαῖα, item *Hesychius* & *Phavorinus*. (l) *Oedip. Tyr.* v. 908. (m) *Phocicis*. (n) *Cæl. Rhod. Ant. Lect.* lib. xxvii. cap. 5. (o) *Nat. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 103. (p) *Annal.* lib. ii. cap. 54. (q) *Pausanias Corinthiacis*.

Apollo had another famous Oracle at *Eutresis*, a Village in *Bœotia* (r), seated in the Way between the *Theſpians* and the *Platæans*.

Oropæan Apollo deliver'd Oracles at *Orope*, a City of *Eubœa*, as we are inform'd by *Stephanus*.

At *Orobæ* in *Eubœa* there was ἀψευδιστικὸν μαντεῖον, a most infallible Oracle of *Apollo Sellinuntius*; as we find in the Beginning of *Strabo's* tenth Book.

Another Oracle of *Corypæan Apollo*, at *Corype* in *Theſſaly*, is mentioned in *Nicander's Theriaca*:

Μαντεῖας Κορυπαῖοι ἐθνήματο καὶ δέμν ἀνδρῶν.

'Tis reported by *Athenæus* (s), that the *Carians* on a certain Time consulted *Apollo's* Oracle at *Hybla*; which *Casaubon* would have to be read *Abæ*, but for no better Reason, than that he finds no Mention of the *Hyblæan* Oracle in any other Author.

There was an Oracle of *Apollo Ichneus* at *Ichne* in *Macedonia* (t).

At *Tegyra*, a City in *Bœotia*, there was an Oracle sacred to *Tegyraean Apollo*, which was frequented till the *Persian War*, but after that remain'd for ever silent (u).

Not less famous was *Ptoos*, a Mountain in *Bœotia*, for the Oracles given by *Apollo*, firnam'd *Ptoos* from that Place, where was a Temple dedicated to him. This Oracles ceas'd when *Thebes* was demolish'd by *Alexander* (w).

Apollo, firnam'd Δαφναῖος from *Daphne* his beloved Mistress, or the Laurel, into which she was transform'd, had an Oracle near the *Castalian Fountain*, the Waters of which were also endued with a prophetic Virtue (x).

Apollo was called *Ismenius*, from *Ismenus*, a River and Mountain in *Bœotia*, in which he had a Temple, and gave Answers to those that came to enquire of him.

Pausanias (y) hath told us of another Place in *Bœotia* where *Apollo* return'd Answers, viz. a Stone call'd Σωφρονιστὴρ, upon which he had an Altar, erected out of the Ashes of Victims offer'd to him; whence he was call'd *Spodius* from Σποδός, i. e. *Ashes*; whence for Σπόδιος in *Pausanias* must be read Σπόδιος. He did not here, as in other Places, signify his Will by inspir'd Prophets, but by κληδόνες, ominous Sounds, in the Observation of which he instructed Persons appointed for that Purpose; for this Way of Divination was in Use among the *Grecians*, especially at *Smyrna*, saith my Author, where was a Temple built on the Out-side of the City-Wall for that Purpose. Thus much of the Oracles of *Apollo*.

(r) *Stephanus* in voce Εὐτρεσις. (s) *Lib. xv. cap. 4.* (t) *Hesychius*, v. ἰχναῖον. (u) *Plut. Pelopida.* (w) *Pausan. Bœoticis.* (x) *Clemens Protrept.* (y) *Pausan. ibidem.*

C H A P. X.

Of the Oracle of Trophonius.

Trophonius, the Son of Eresnus, and Brother of Agamedes (a), being possess'd with an immoderate Thirst of Glory, built himself a Mansion under Ground, at *Lebadea* a City of *Bæotia*, into which when he enter'd, he pretended to be inspired with an extraordinary Knowledge of future Events; but at length, either out of Design to raise in Men an Opinion, that he was translated to the Gods, or being some Way necessitated thereto, perish'd in his Hole (b). *Cicero* (c) giveth us a very different Account of his Death, when he tells us, that *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, having built *Apollo's* Temple at *Delphi*, requested of the God, that, as a Recompence for their Labour, he would give them the best Thing that could happen to Man; *Apollo* granted their Petition, and promis'd them, that it should be effected the third Day after; accordingly, on that Day in the Morning they were found dead. Several other Fables concerning him, and the Manner of his Death, are related in the *Scholias*t upon the *Clouds* of *Aristophanes*.

However that be, *Trophonius* had Divine Honours paid him after Death, and was worshipp'd by the Name of *Jupiter Trophonius* (d). Nor was it a Thing unusual for Men deified to be honour'd with the Name of a God, several Instances whereof might be produced, but one shall suffice for all, viz. that of *Agamemnon*, who was worshipp'd at *Sparta* by the Name of *Jupiter Agamemnon*, as *Lycophron* witnesseth (e).

Ἐμὸς δ' ἀκοίτης, δμῳίδος νύμφης ἀναξ,
Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἰχμύλοις κληθήσεται,
Τιμὰς μεγίστας παρ' Οἰβάλου τέκνοις λαχὼν.

Then shall my Husband, whom a Captive Bride
I now obey as my superior Lord,
By subtle crafty *Spartans* *Jove* be call'd,
And worship so, from their Posterity
Receiving greatest Honours——

E. D.

Which Words *Cassandra* speaks of *Agamemnon*, whose Captive and Concubine she was after the Destruction of *Troy*.

This Oracle came first into Repute on this Account: On a Time, when for the Space of two Years there had been no Rain in *Bæotia*, all the Cities of that Country, with a joint Consent, appointed chosen Persons to go to *Delphi*, there to pay their Devotion to *Apollo*, in the Name of their Country, and desire his Advice and Assistance: The God accepted their Piety, but return'd them no other Answer, than that they should go Home, and consult *Trophonius* at *Lebadea*. The Ambassadors immediately obey'd, and repair'd to *Lebadea*, still remaining as much in the Dark, as at first; there being not the least Sign or Foot-step of any Oracle in that Place: At length, when they

(a) *Suidas* voce Τροφώνιος. (b) *Phavorin*. (c) *Tusc. Quæst. lib. I.* (d) *Strabo lib. ix.* (e) *Cassandr. v. 1123.*

had search'd a long Time to no Purpose, and began to despair of Success, one *Saon*, an *Acrephian*, the Senior of all the Ambassadors, espy'd a Swarm of Bees, and immediately took up a Resolution to follow them; by this Means he came to a Cave, in which he had no sooner enter'd, but by some evident Tokens perceiv'd, that in that Place was the Oracle, *Apollo* had commanded them to enquire of. Upon this he pay'd his Devotion to *Trophonius*, and receiv'd from him a welcome and satisfactory Answer, together with Instructions, in what Manner, and with what Rites and Ceremonies he would have those that should come for Advice, to approach him. (f).

The Place of this Oracle was under the Surface of the Earth, and therefore it was commonly call'd *κατακόρυον*, and Persons that consulted it *κατακόρυτοι*, because the Way to it was a Descent. Concerning it there are innumerable Fables, which it would not be worth the while to mention in this Place; I shall therefore pass them by, only giving you the Accounts *Pausanias* and *Plutarch* have left of it; the former of which consulted it in Person, and thereby had Opportunity of being an Eye-witness of what he reports. His Words are thus translated by Mr. *Abel*:

“ Whosoever's Exigencies oblige him to go into the Cave, must in the first Place make his Abode for some set Time in the Chapel of Good Genius and Good Fortune; during his Stay here he abstains from hot Baths, and employs himself in performing other Sorts of Atonement for past Offences; he is not wholly debarr'd Bathing, but then it must be only in the River *Hercynna*, having a sufficient Sustenance from the Leavings of the Sacrifices. At his going down, he sacrificeth to *Trophonius* and his Sons, to *Apollo*, *Saturn*, and *Jupiter*, (who hath the Title of King) to *Juno Heniocha*, and *Ceres*, call'd *Europa*, reported to be *Trophonius*'s Nurse. There's a Priest stands consulting the Bowels of every Sacrifice, who, according to the Victim's Aspects, prophesies whether the Deity will give an auspicious and satisfactory Answer. The Entrails of all the Sacrifices confer but little towards the revealing of *Trophonius*'s Answer, unless a Ram, which they offer in a Ditch, to *Agamedes*, with Supplication for Success, that Night on which they descend, presents the same Omens with the former; on this depends the Ratification of all the rest, and without it their former Oblations are of none Effect: If so be this Ram doth agree with the former, every one forthwith descends, back'd with the Eagerness of good Hopes; and thus is the Manner: Immediately they go that Night along with the Priests to the River *Hercynna*, where they are anointed with Oil, and wash'd by two Citizen's Boys, aged about thirteen Years, whom they call *Ἐκβάς*, i. e. *Mercuries*: These are they that are employ'd in washing whoever hath a Mind to consult; neither are they remiss in their Duty, but, as much as can be expected from Boys, carefully perform all Things necessary. Having been wash'd, they are not straightway conducted by the Priests to the Oracle, but are brought to the River's Rises, which are adjacent to one another: Here they must drink a Dose

“ of the Water of it, call'd *Lethe*, or *Oblivion*, to deluge with Oblivion all those Things, which so lately were the greatest Part of their Concerns. After that, they take the Water of *Mnemosyne*, viz. *Remembrance*, to retain the Remembrance of those Things, that shall be exhibited to them in their Descent; amongst which is expos'd a Statue, adorn'd with that admirable Carving, that it's set up by the People for *Dædalus*'s Workmanship; whereupon they never exhibit it, unless to Descendants; to this therefore, after some venerable Obeisance, having mutter'd over a Prayer or two, in a Linen Habit, set off with Ribbands, and wearing Pantofles, agreeable with the Fashion of the Country, they approach the Oracle, which is situated within a Mountain near a Grove, the Foundation of which is built spherical-wise, of white Stone, about the Size, in Circumference, of a very small Threshing-floor, but in Height scarce two Cubits, supporting brazen Obelisks, encompass'd round with Ligaments of Brass, between which there are Doors that guide their Passage into the Midst of the Floor, where there's a Sort of a Cave, not the Product of rude Nature, but built with the nicest Accuracy of Mechanism and Proportion; the Figure of this Workmanship is like an Oven, its Breadth diametrically (as nigh as can be guess'd) about nine Cubits, its Depth eight, or thereabouts; for the Guidance to which there are no Stairs, wherefore 'tis requir'd that all Comers bring a narrow and light Ladder with them, by which when they are come down to the Bottom, there's a Cave between the Roof and the Pavement, being in Breadth about two *σπυθαμας*, and in Height not above one; at the Mouth of this, the Descendant, having brought with him Cakes dipt in Honey, lies along on the Ground and shoves himself Feet foremost into the Cave; then he thrusts in his Knees, after which the rest of his Body is roll'd along, by a Force not unlike that of a great and rapid River, which over-powering a Man with its Vortex, tumbles him over Head and Ears. All that come within the Approach of the Oracle, have not their Answers reveal'd the same Way: Some gather their Resolves from outward Appearances, others by Word of Mouth; they all return the same Way back, with their Feet foremost. Among all that have descended, 'twas never known that any was lost, except one of the Life-guard of *Demetrius*; and besides, 'tis credible the Reason proceeded from the Neglect of the Rituals in his Descent, and his ill Design, for he went not out of Necessity to consult, but out of an avaricious Humour, for the sacrilegious Conveyance back of the Gold and Silver, which was there religiously bestow'd; wherefore 'tis said, that his Carcase was thrown out some other Way, and not at the Entrance of the sacred Shrine. Among the various Reports that fly Abroad concerning this Man, I've deliver'd to Posterity the most remarkable. The Priests, as soon as the Consultant is return'd, place him on *Mnemosyne*'s Throne, which is not very far from the Shrine; here they enquire of him, what he had seen or heard; which when he hath related, they deliver him to others, who (as appointed for that Office) carry him stupefy'd with Amazement,

“ and forgetful of himself, and those about him, to the Chapel
 “ of *Good Genius* and *Good Fortune*, where he had made his former
 “ stay at his going down; here, after some Time, he’s restor’d to his
 “ former Senses, and the Chearfulness of his Visage returns again.
 “ What I here relate, was not receiv’d at second-hand, but either as
 “ by ocular Demonstration I have perceiv’d in others; or what I’ve
 “ prov’d true by my own Experience; for all Consultants are oblig’d
 “ to hang up, engraven on a Tablet, what they have seen or heard.”

Thus far *Pausanias*. *Plutarch*’s Relation concerns the Appearances exhibited to Consultants; which tho’ they were various, and seldom the same, being it is a remarkable Story, I will give it you, as it is translated by the same Hand:

“ *Timarchus*, being a Youth of liberal Education, and just initiated in the Rudiments of Philosophy, was greatly desirous of knowing the Nature and Efficacy of *Socrates*’s *Dæmon*; wherefore communicating his Project to no mortal Body but me and *Cebes*, after the Performance of all the Rituals requisite for Consultation, he descended *Trophonius*’s Cave; where having stay’d two Nights and one Day, his Return was wholly despair’d of, insomuch that his Friends bewail’d him as dead: In the Morning he came up very brisk, and in the first Place paid some venerable Acknowledgments to the God; after that having escap’d the staring Rout, he laid open to us a prodigious Relation of what he had seen or heard, to this Purpose: In his Descent, he was beset with a caliginous Mist, upon which he pray’d, lying prostrate for a long Time, and not having Sense enough to know whether he was awake or in a Dream, he surmises, that he receiv’d a Blow on his Head, with such an echoing Violence, as dissever’d the Sutures of his Skull, thro’ which his Soul migrated; and being disunited from the Body, and mixt with bright and refin’d Air, with a seeming Contentment, began to breathe for a long Time, and being dilated like a full Sail, was wider than before. After this, having heard a small Noise, whistling in his Ears a delightful Sound; he look’d up, but saw not a Spot of Earth, only Islands reflecting a glimmering Flame, interchangeably receiving different Colours, according to the various Degrees of Light. They seem’d to be of an infinite Number, and of a stupendous Size, not bearing an equal Parity betwixt one another in this, tho’ they were all alike, *viz. Globular*: It may be conjectur’d, that the Circumrotation of these mov’d the *Æther*, which occasion’d that Whistling, the gentle Pleasantness of which bore an adequate Agreement with their well-tim’d Motion. Between these there was a Sea, or Lake, which spread out a Surface glittering with many Colours, intermixt with an azure; some of the Islands floated in its Stream, by which they were driven on the other Side of the Torrent; many others were carried to and fro, so that they were well-nigh sunk. This Sea, for the most Part, was very shallow and fordable, except towards the South, where ’twas of a great Depth; it very often ebb’d and flow’d, but not with a high Tide; some Part of it had a natural Sea-colour, untainted with any other, as miry
 “ and

“ and muddy as any Lake : The Rapidness of the Torrent carry’d
 “ back those Islands from whence they had grounded, not situating
 “ them in the same Place as at first, or bringing them about with a
 “ Circumference; but in the gentle turning of them, the Water makes
 “ one rising Roll : Betwixt these, the Sea seem’d to bend inwards a-
 “ bout (as near as he could guess) eight Parts of the whole. This Sea
 “ had two Mouths, which were Inlets to boisterous Rivers, casting out
 “ fiery Foam, the flaming Brightness of which cover’d the best Part
 “ of its natural Azure. He was very much pleas’d at this Sight, un-
 “ til he look’d down, and saw an immense *Hiatus*, resembling a hol-
 “ low’d Sphere, of an amazing and dreadful Profundity : It had
 “ Darkness to a Miracle ; not thin, but thicken’d, and agitated :
 “ Here he was seiz’d with no small Fright, by the astonishing Hub-
 “ bubs, and Noises of all Kinds, that seem’d to arise out of this Hol-
 “ low, from an unfathomable Bottom, *viz.* He heard an Infinity of
 “ Yells and Howlings of Beasts, Cries and Bawlings of Children, con-
 “ fus’d with the Groans and Outrages of Men and Women. Not
 “ long after, he heard a Voice invisibly pronounce these Words.”——

What follows is nothing but a prolix and tedious Harangue upon various Subjects. One Thing there is more especially remarkable in this Account, *viz.* That he makes *Timarchus* to return from Consultation with a brisk and chearful Countenance, whereas ’tis commonly reported, that all the Consultants of this Oracle became pensive and melancholy ; that their Tempers were sour’d, and their Countenances, however gay and pleasant before, render’d dull and heavy ; whence, of any Person dejected, melancholy, or too serious, it was generally said, *ὡς Τροφῶνι μεράντιται*, i. e. *He has been consulting the Oracle of Trophonius*. But this is only to be understood of the Time immediately ensuing Consultation ; for, as we learn from *Pausanias*, all Enquirers recover’d their former Chearfulness in the Temple of *Good Genius* and *Good Fortune*.

C H A P. XI.

Of other Grecian Oracles.

A *Amphiaraus* was the Son of *Oicleus*, and married *Eriphyle* the Sister of *Adrastus*, King of *Argos* ; he was an excellent Soothsayer, and by his Skill foresaw, that it would prove fatal to him, if he engag’d himself in the *Theban War*. Wherefore, to avoid inevitable Destruction, he hid himself, but was discover’d by his Wife, *Eriphyle*, whom *Polynices* had corrupted with a Present of a golden Chain. Being discover’d, he was oblig’d by *Adrastus*, to accompany the Army to *Thebes*, where, as he had foretold, together with his Chariot and Horses, he was swallow’d up by the Earth, whence *Ovid* saith of him,

Notus humo merfis Amphiaraus equis.

Some say this Accident happen’d in the Way betwixt *Thebes* and *Chalcis*, and for that Reason the Place is call’d *Ἀψα*, i. e. a Chariot, to this Day, saith *Pausanias* (a).

After his Death, he was honour'd with Divine Worship; first by the *Oropians*, and afterwards by all the other *Grecians*: And a stately Temple, with a Statue of white Marble, was erected to him in the Place where he was swallow'd up, saith my Author, being about XII *Stadia* distant from *Oropus*, a City in the Confines of *Attica* and *Boeotia*, which, for that Reason, is sometimes attributed to both Countries. There was also a remarkable Altar, dedicated to him in the same Place; it was divided into five Parts; the first of which was sacred to *Hercules*, *Jupiter*, and *Pæonian Apollo*: The second, to the *Heroes* and their Wives: The third, to *Vesta*, *Mercury*, *Amphiaraus*, and the Sons of *Amphilochus* (for *Alcmæon*, the Son of *Amphiaraus*, was not allow'd to partake of any of the Honours paid to *Amphilochus*, or *Amphiaraus*, because he slew his Mother *Eriphyle*;) The fourth to *Venus*, *Panacea*, *Jason*, *Hygia*, and *Pæonian Minerva*. The fifth Part to the *Nymphs*, *Pan*, and the Rivers *Achelous* and *Cepheisus*.

Answers were deliver'd in Dreams: *Jophon* the *Gnosian*, who publish'd the ancient Oracles, in Heroick Verses, reports, that *Amphiaraus* return'd an Answer to the *Argives* in Verse; but my Author herein contradicteth him, and reports farther, that it was the general Opinion, that only those, who were inspir'd by *Apollo*, gave Answers after that Manner; whereas all the rest made Predictions either by Dreams, or the Flight of Birds, or the Entrails of Beasts. He adds, for a Confirmation of what he had said before, *viz.* That these Answers were given in Dreams. That *Amphiaraus* was excellently skill'd in the Interpretation of Dreams, and canoniz'd for the Invention of that Art.

They that came to consult this Oracle were first to be purify'd by offering Sacrifice to *Amphiaraus*, and all the other Gods, whose Names were inscrib'd on the Altar: (b) *Philostratus* adds, they were to fast 24 Hours, and abstain three Days from Wine. After all, they offer'd a Ram in Sacrifice to *Amphiaraus*, then went to Sleep, lying upon a Victim's Skin, and in that Posture expected a Revelation by Dream. In the same Manner did the People of *Apulia Daunia* expect Answers from *Podalirius*, who died there, and return'd prophetick Dreams to those that came to enquire of him. Whoever consulted him was to sleep upon a Sheep's Skin at his Altar, as we learn from these Words of *Lycophron* (c),

Δοραῖς δὲ μέλων τύμβῳ ἱκοιμῶμενοι
Χρήσει καθ' ὕπνον ὥσιν νημερτὴ φάτιν.

They, whose aspiring Minds curious to pry
Into the mystick Records of Events,
Ask Aid of *Podalirius*, must sleep
Prostrate on Sheep-Skins at his hallow'd Fane,
And thus receive the true prophetick Dreams.

H. H.

To return: All Persons were admitted to this Oracle, the *Thebans* only excepted, who were to enjoy no Benefit from *Amphiaraus* in this Way: For, as *Herodotus* reporteth (d), he gave them their Option of

(b) *Vita Apollonii Tyanei*, lib. ii. (c) *Cassandr.* v. 1050. (d) *Lib. viii. cap. 134.*

two Things, *viz.* His Counsel and Advice, to direct them in Time of Necessity, or his Help and Protection, to defend them in Time of Danger; telling them they must not expect both: Whereupon they chose the latter, thinking they had a greater Need of Defence, than Counsel, which they could be sufficiently furnish'd with by *Delphian Apollo*.

This Oracle was had in a very great Esteem: *Herodotus* (e) reckons it amongst the five principal ones of Greece, consulted by *Cræsus*, before his Expedition against *Cyrus*, *viz.* the *Delphian*, *Dodonæan*, *Amphiaræus's*, *Trophonius's*, and the *Didymæan*; and *Valerius Maximus* (f) saith, it was not inferior either to the two first of those already mention'd, or that of *Jupiter Hammon*.

Near the Temple was the Fountain, out of which *Amphiaræus* ascend'd into Heaven, when he was receiv'd into the Number of the Gods, which for that Reason was call'd by his Name: It was held so sacred, that it was a capital Crime to employ the Waters of it to any ordinary Use, as washing the Hands, or Purification; nay, it was unlawful to offer Sacrifice before it, as was usual at other Fountains: The chief Use it was employ'd in was this, *viz.* They that by the Advice of the Oracle had recover'd out of any Disease were to cast a Piece of coin'd Gold or Silver into it; and this (g) *Pausanias* tells us, was an ancient Custom, and deriv'd from the Primitive Ages.

At *Pharæ*, a City of *Achaia*, Answers were given by *Mercurius* *Ἀγοραῖος*, so nam'd from *ἀγορά*, i. e. the Market-place, where was a Statue of Stone erected to him, having a Beard, which seems to have been a Thing unusual in his Statues; before it was placed a low Stone Altar, upon which stood brazen Basons soldered with Lead. They that came for Advice first offer'd Frankincense upon the Altar, then lighted the Lamps, pouring Oil into them; after that, they offer'd upon the right Side of the Altar a Piece of Money, stamp'd with their own Country Impression, and call'd *χαλκός*, then propos'd the Questions they desir'd to be resolv'd in, placing their Ear close to the Statue, and after all, departed, stopping both their Ears with their Hands, till they had pass'd quite through the Market-place; then they pluck'd away their Hands, and receiv'd the first Voice that presented itself, as a Divine Oracle. The same Ceremonies were practis'd in *Egypt*, at the Oracle of *Serapis*, as (h) *Pausanias* reports.

(i) At *Bura* in *Achaia* there was an Oracle of *Hercules*, call'd from that City *Buraicus*; the Place of it was a Cave, wherein was *Hercules's* Statue: Predictions were made by throwing Dice. They that consult'd the God first address'd themselves to him by Prayer; then taking four Dice out of a great Heap that lay ready there, they threw them upon the Table: All the Dice had on them certain peculiar Marks, all which were interpreted in a Book kept for that Purpose; as soon therefore as they had cast the Dice, they went to the Book, and there every Man found his Doom.

At *Patra* (k) a City on the Sea-coast of *Achaia*, not far from the sacred Grove of *Apollo*, there was a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*, in

(e) Lib. i. cap. 46. (f) Lib. viii. cap. 15. (g) *Atticis*. (h) *Achaicis*.
(i) *Ibidem*. (k) *Pausanias* *ibidem*.

which were erected three Statues, two to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, standing; the third to *Earth*, sitting upon a Throne. Before the Temple there was a Fountain, in which were deliver'd Oracles, very famous for the Truth of their Predictions. These were not given upon every Account, but concern'd only the Events of Diseases. The Manner of consulting was this; They let down a Looking-glass by a small Cord into the Fountain, so low that the Bottom of it might just touch the Surface of the Water, but not to be cover'd by it: This done, they offer'd Incense and Prayers to the Goddess, then look'd upon the Glass, and, from the various Figures and Images represented in it, made Conjectures concerning the Patient.

(l) At *Træzen*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, there was an old Altar dedicated to the *Muses* and *Sleep*, by *Ardalus*, one of *Vulcan's* Sons; who was the first Inventor of the Flute, and a great Favourite of the *Muses*, who from him were call'd *Ardalides*. They that came for Advice were oblig'd to abstain certain Days from Wine. Afterwards they lay down by the Altar to sleep, where, by the secret Inspiration of the *Muses*, proper Remedies for their Distempers were reveal'd to them.

(m) At *Epidaurus*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, there was a Temple of *Æsculapius*, fam'd for curing Diseases; the Remedies of which were reveal'd in Dreams. When the Cure was perfected, the Names of the diseased Persons, together with the Manner of their Recovery, were register'd in the Temple. This God was afterwards translated to *Rome*, by the Command of *Delphian Apollo*, who told them, that was the only Way to be freed from the Plague, which at that Time rag'd exceedingly amongst them: Whereupon they sent Ambassadors to *Epidaurus*, to desire the God of them: But the *Epidaurians* being unwilling to part with so beneficial a Guest, *Æsculapius* of his own accord, in the Shape of a great Serpent, went strait to the *Roman Ship*, where he repos'd himself, and was with great Veneration convey'd to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd with great Joy; and having deliver'd them from the Distress they lay under, was honour'd with a Temple in the little Island, encompass'd by the River *Tiber*, and worshipp'd in the same Form he had assum'd. This Story is related by *Pliny* (n), and *Ovid* (o).

At *Amphiclea*, call'd by *Herodotus*, *Ophitea*, by *Stephanus Amphicæa*, there was a Temple sacred to *Bacchus*, but no Image, at least, none expos'd to publick View. To this God, saith *Pausanias* (p), the *Amphicleans* ascribe both the Cure of their Diseases, and the Foretelling of future Events: The former he effected by revealing proper Remedies in Dreams; the latter, by inspiring into his Priests Divine Knowledge.

Strabo, in his Description of *Corinth*, telleth us, *Juno* had an Oracle in the *Corinthian Territories*, in the Way between *Lechæum* and *Pagæ*.

There was also in *Laconia* a Pool sacred to *Juno*, by which Predictions were made after this Manner; They cast into it Cakes made of Bread-corn; if these sunk down, Good; if not, something dreadful was portended.

(l) *Pausanias*. (m) *Idem. Corinthice*. (n) *Lib. xv.* (o) *Met. xv.* (p) *Phociæ. Cælius*

Cælius Rhodiginis (p) telleth us out of *Philostratus*, that *Orpheus's* Head at *Lesbos* gave Oracles to all Enquirers, but more especially to the *Grecians*, and told them, that *Troy* could not be taken without *Hercules's* Arrows: He adds, that the Kings of *Persia* and *Babylon* often sent Ambassadors to consult this Oracle, and particularly *Cyrus*, who, being desirous to know by what Death he was to die, receiv'd this Answer, *Τὰ ἡμέα, ὦ Κύρῃ, τὰ σά· My Fate, O Cyrus, is decreed you.* Whereby it was meant he should be beheaded; for *Orpheus* suffer'd that Death in *Thrace*, by the Fury of the Women, because he profess'd an Hatred and Aversion to the whole Sex: His Head being thrown into the Sea, was cast upon *Lesbos*, where it return'd Answers in a Cavern of the Earth. There were also Persons initiated into *Orpheus's* Mysteries, call'd *Ὀρφεοτελεσταί*, who assur'd all those that should be admitted into their Society of certain Felicity after Death: Which when *Philip*, one of that Order, but miserably poor and indigent, boasted of, *Leotychidas* the Spartan reply'd, *Why do you not die then, you Fool, and put an End to your Misfortunes together with your Life.* At their Initiation little else was requir'd of them besides an Oath of Secrecy.

An Oracle of the Earth is said to have been in the Country of *Elis* (q).

An Oracle of *Pan*, which was consulted by the Inhabitants of *Pisa*, seems to be meant in the following Words of *Statius* (r):

———— *licet aridus Ammon*
Invidcat, Lyciæque parent contendere sortes,
Niliacumque pecus, patrioque æqualis honori
Branchus, Et undosæ qui rusticus accola Pisæ
Pana Lycaonia nocturnum exaudit in umbra.

Seneca speaks of an Oracle at *Mycenæ* (s):

———— *Hinc orantibus.*
Responsa dantur certa, cum ingenti sono
Laxantur adyto fata, Et immugit specus
Vocem Deo solvente.

An Oracle of the Night is mention'd by *Pausanias* (t).

In *Laconia* in the Way betwixt *Oebylus* and *Thalamia*, *Pausanias* (u) saith, there was a Temple and Oracle of *Ino*, who gave Answers by Dreams to those that enquir'd of her.

Plutarch (x) maketh mention of another famous Oracle in *Laconia*, at the City of *Thalamia*, which was sacred to *Pasiphae*, who, as some say, was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, and had by *Jupiter* a Son call'd *Ammon*. Others are of Opinion, it was *Cassandra* the Daughter of King *Priamus*, who dying in this Place, was called *Pasiphae*, *παρὰ τὸ πᾶσι φάσκει τὰ μαντικά*, from revealing Oracles to all Men. Others will have it, that this was *Daphne* the Daughter of *Amyclas*, who flying from *Apollo*, was transform'd into a Laurel, and honour'd by that

(p) *Antiquitat. lib. xv. cap. 9.* (q) *Pausanias Eliac. ñ.* (r) *Thebaid. iii. v. 476.* (s) *Thyeste, v. 677.* (t) *Atticis, p. 75. Edit. Hanov.* (u) *Laconicis.* (x) *Agide.*

God with the Gift of Prophecy. This Oracle, when *Agis* King of *Sparta* endeavour'd to reduce the *Spartans* to their ancient Manner of Living, and put in Force *Lycurgus's* old Laws, very much countenanced and encouraged his Undertaking, commanding the People to return to the former State of Equality. Again, when *Cleomenes* made the like Attempt, it gave the same Advice, in this Manner, as my Author relates the Story (y): "About that Time, saith he, one
 " of the *Ephori* sleeping in *Pasiphae's* Temple dream'd a very surprizing Dream; for he thought he saw the four Chairs remov'd,
 " where the *Ephori* used to sit and hear Causes, and only one placed
 " there; and whilst he wonder'd, he heard a Voice out of the Temple, saying, *This is the best for Sparta.*"

Upon the Top of *Cithæron*, a Mountain in *Boeotia*, was a Cave call'd *Sphragidium*, where many of the Inhabitants of that Country were inspir'd by the Nymphs call'd *Sphragitides*, and thence nam'd *Νυμφόλητοι* (x), i. e. inspir'd by the Nymphs.

Ulysses had an Oracle among the *Eurytanes*, a Nation of *Ætolia*, as *Aristotle* (a) is said to report by *Tzetzes* in his Comment upon *Lyophron*, who hath these Words concerning *Ulysses*:

(b) Μάντιν δὲ νέκρον Εὐρύταν ἔειπεν λέων,
 Ὅ, τ' αἰπὺν νάων Τραμπύας ἔδεθλον.

Ætolian People the dead Prophet crown.

Several other Oracles we read of in Authors, as that of *Tiresias* and *Ægeus*, with others of less Repute, which for that Reason I shall forbear to mention.

C H A P. XII.

Of Theomancy.

HAVING given you an Account of the most celebrated Oracles in *Greece*, which make the first and noblest Species of *Natural* Divination, I come now to the second, call'd in *Greek* *Θεομαντεία*, which is a compound Word, consisting of two Parts, by which it is distinguish'd from all other Sorts of Divination: By the former (*viz.* *Θεός*) it is distinguished from *artificial* Divination, which, tho' it may be said to be given by the Gods, yet does not immediately proceed from them, being the Effect of Experience and Observation. By the latter (*viz.* *μαντεία*) it is oppos'd to *Oracular* Divination; for tho' *Μαντεία* be a general Name, and sometimes signifies any Sort of Divination; yet it is also used in a more strict and limited Sense, to denote those Predictions that are made by Men; and in this Acceptation it is oppos'd to *Χρησμός*, as the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* has observ'd (c).

(y) *Cleomene.* (x) *Pausanias Boeotic.* (a) *Ithacor. Politeia.* (b) *Ver. 799.*
 (c) *In Oedip. Tyr.*

Thus much for the Name. As to the Thing, it is distinguish'd from Oracular Divination (I mean, that which was deliver'd by Interpreters, as the *Delphi*, for in others the Difference is more evident) because that was confin'd usually to a fixed and stated Time, and always to a certain Place; for the *Pythia* could not be inspir'd in any other Place but *Apollo's* Temple, and upon the sacred *Tripus*; whereas the *Θεομάντις* were free and unconfin'd, being able (after the Offering of Sacrifices, and the Performance of the other usual Rites) to prophesy at any Time, or in any Part of the World.

As to the Manner of receiving the Divine Inspiration, that was not always different; for not only the *Pythia*, but the *Sibyls* also, with many others, were possess'd with Divine Fury, swelling with Rage like Persons distracted, and beside themselves. (b) *Virgil* describes the *Sibyl* in this hideous Posture:

—Cui talia fanti
Ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comæ mansere comæ, sed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans: afflata est numine quando
Jam propiore Dei —

Thus at the Entrance spake the sacred Maid;
And now no settl'd Air or Feature staid
Thro' the whole Symmetry of her alter'd Face,
For fleeting Colours seiz'd each other's Place.
But when the head-strong God, not yet appear'd,
With holy Phrenzy had the *Sibyl* seiz'd,
Terror froze up her grisly Hair; her Breast
Throbbing with holy Fury, still exprest
A greater Horror, and she bigger seems
Swol'n with th' *Afflatus*, whilst in holy Screams
Sh' unfolds the hidden Myseries of Fate.

H. H.

Few that pretend to Inspiration, but raged after this Manner, foaming and making a strange and terrible Noise, gnashing with their Teeth, shivering and trembling, with other antick Motions: And therefore some will have their Name (*viz μάσις*) to be deriv'd ἀπὸ τοῦ μαινέσθαι, i. e. from being mad.

Other Customs there were common to them with the *Pythia*; I shall only mention those about the Laurel, which was sacred to *Apollo*, the God of Divination, being sprung from his beloved *Daphne*, and thought to conduce very much to Inspiration, and therefore call'd *μαυλινὸν φυτόν*, the *Prophetick Plant*: Whence *Claudian* saith of it,

—Venturi præscia Laurus.

The Laurel skill'd in Events.

With this they us'd to crown their Heads. Thus *Cassandra* is describ'd by *Euripides* (c). And *Æschylus* (d) speaks thus of her:

(b) *Æn.* lib. vi. v. 47. (c) *Andromache.* (d) *Agamemnone*, v. 1273.

Καὶ σκῆπτρα, καὶ μαντιᾶ περὶ δέξῃ σήφη.

Her Hand a Laurel Scepter grasp'd, her Neck
The same prophetick Plant with Garlands grac'd.

Where by σκῆπτρον he means a Staff of Laurel, which Prophets usually carried in their Hands; it was called in Greek ἰθυτήριον, as we learn from Hesychius. It was also usual to eat the Leaves of this Tree; whence Lycophron (e) saith of Cassandra,

Δαφνηφάγων φοβέσθην ἐκ λαμῶν ὄπας.

The Mouth with Laurel Morfels often blefs'd,
In mystick Words unriddl'd future Truths.

And the Sibyl in Tibullus speaks of it, as one of her greatest Privileges, placing it in the same Rank with that of Virginity, a Thing held by her very sacred, tho' not always observ'd by other Prophets; for Cassandra was Agamemnon's Concubine; and tho' the Condition of a Captive might lay some Force upon her, yet 'tis agreed by all, that Helenus married Andromache; and that blind Tiresias was led up and down by his Daughter Manto. But to return to the Sibyl, whose Words in Tibullus are these:

— Sic usque sacras innoxia laurus
Vescar, & æternum sit mihi virginitas.

With holy Laurel may I e'er be fed,
And live and die an unpolluted Maid.

It was also customary for Diviners to feed upon the κυριώτατα μέρη ξύων μαντικῶν, principal Parts of the propheticall Beasts; such were the Hearts of Crows, Vultures, and Moles; thinking that by these they became Partakers of the Souls of those Animals, which by a natural Attraction follow'd the Bodies, and by Consequence receiv'd the Influence of the God, who us'd to accompany the Souls. Thus we are inform'd by Porphyry (f).

Thus much of these Prophets in general; I shall only add, that they, as also other Diviners, were maintain'd at Athens at the publick Charge, having their Diet allow'd in the Πρωτανεῖον, or Common Hall, as the Scholiast upon Aristophanes observes.

Of the Θεόματις there were three Sorts among the Grecians, distinguish'd by three distinct Manners of receiving the Divine Afflatus.

One Sort were possess'd with prophesying Demons, which lodged within them, and dictated what they should answer to those that enquired of them, or spoke out of the Bellies or Breasts of the possessed Persons, they all the while remaining speechless, and not so much as moving their Tongues or Lips, or pronounced the Answer themselves, making use of the Members of the Dæmoniack. These were call'd Δαιμονόληπτοι, i. e. possess'd with Demons; and because the Spirits either lodg'd or spoke within their Bodies, they were also nam'd Ἐγχεσρήμυθοι,

(e) Cassandr. v. 6.

(f) Lib. II. de Abstinencia ab Animal.

(which

(which Name was also attributed to the *Dæmons*) Ἑλγαστριμάντις, Στερο-
μάντις, Ἑλγαστρίται, &c. This Way of Prophefying was practis'd also in
other Countries, and particularly amongst the *Jews*, as also *Necro-*
mancy: For the Prophet *Isaiab* denounced God's Judgments upon
those that made Use of either of them. (g) His Words, as they are
translated by the *Seventy*, run thus: Καὶ εἰάν τις εἴπωσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ζητήσατε
τὰς ἑλγαστριμάντις, καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνῶντας, τὰς κενολογούντας, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας
φωνοῦσιν· ἐκ ἔθνους πρὸς θεὸν αὐτὰ ἐκζητήσουσι; τί ἐκζητῶσι περὶ τῶν ζώντων τὰς
νεκρῶν; And if they say unto you, Seek unto them whose Speech is in their
Belly, and those that speak out of the Earth, those that utter vain Words,
that speak out of their Belly: Shall not a Nation seek unto their God?
Why do they enquire of the Dead concerning the Living? These Diviners
were also nam'd Εὐρυκλεῖς, and Εὐρυκλεῖται, from *Eurycles*, the first that
practis'd this Art at *Athens*, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* hath in-
form'd us, at these Words,

Μημισάμενος τὴν Εὐρυκλεῖς μαντείαν καὶ διάκλειαν
Εἰς ἀλλοτρίας γαστέρας ἐνδύς, κωμῶδικά πολλα χεῖσθαι (b).

Like that fantastick Divination,
Which *Eurycles* of old did first invent,
To enter Bellies, and from thence pronounce
Ridic'ulous Whims—————

H. H.

They were also call'd Πύθωνες, and Πύθωνικοί, from Πύθων, a prophesying
Dæmon, as *Hesychius* and *Suidas* have told us. The same is men-
tion'd in the *Acts* of the Apostles (i): Ἐγένετο δὲ πορευομένων ἡμῶν εἰς
προσευχὴν, παιδίσκην τινὰ ἔχουσαν πνεῦμα Πύθωνος, ἀπαντᾶσαι ἡμῖν. Our
Translators have rendered it thus: And it came to pass, as we went to
Prayer, a certain Damsel possess'd with a Spirit of Divination met us.
But the Margin reads *Python*, instead of *Divination*, which is a gene-
ral Name, and may be us'd in that Place, as more intelligible by the
common People. *Plutarch*, in his Treatise concerning the Cessation
of Oracles, saith, these familiar Spirits were anciently call'd Εὐρυκλεῖς,
and only Πύθωνες in latter Ages: “ It is absurd (saith he) and childish
“ to suppose, that God himself, like the Ἑλγαστριμάντις, which were for-
“ merly call'd Εὐρυκλεῖς, but are now named Πύθωνες, should enter into
“ the Bodies of Prophets, and make Use of their Mouths and Voices,
“ in pronouncing their Answers.”

As to the Original of this Name (*Python*) there are various Conjec-
tures; the most probable of which seems to be, that it was taken
from *Apollo Pythius*, who was thought to preside over all Sorts of Di-
vination, and afterwards appropriated by Custom to this Species; for
so we find a great many Words of a general Signification, in Time,
made peculiar to some one Part of what they signified before. To
give one Instance: Τύραννος, by the ancient *Greeks* was apply'd to all
Kings, as well the just and merciful, as the cruel, and whom we now call
Tyrannical; but in more modern Ages was appropriated to that latter

(g) Cap. viii. v. 19. (b) *Vespis*. (i) Cap. xvi. v. 16.

Sort, and became a Name of the greatest Ignominy and Detestation. On the contrary, Words of a narrow and limited Sense have sometimes passed their Bounds, and taken upon them a more general and unconfined one: So *Μανία*, which at first signified only that Sort of Propheying which was inspir'd with Rage and Fury; being derived (as *Plato* and others after him will have it) ἀπὸ τῆς μαινῆος, from being mad; and by *Homer* (k) in that Sense oppos'd to some other Ways of Divination, as that by Dreams and Entrails, came at length to be a general Name for all Sorts of Divination.

The second Sort of *Θαυμάσιαι* were call'd *Ἐνθουσιαί*, *Ἐνθουσιῶν*, and *Θουσιῶσαι*, being such as pretended to what we also call *Enthusiasm*; and different from the former, who contain'd within them the Deity himself; whereas these were only govern'd, acted, or inspir'd by him, and instructed in the Knowledge of what was to happen. Of this Sort were *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, *Museus*, and several of the *Sibyls*.

A third Sort were the *Ἐκστασιῶν*, or those that were cast into Trances or *Ecstasies*, in which they lay like Men dead, or asleep, depriv'd of all Sense or Motion, but after some Time (it may be Days, or Months, or Years, for *Epimedes* the *Cretan* is reported to have lain in this Posture LXXV Years) returning to themselves, gave strange Relations of what they had seen and heard. For it was a vulgar Opinion, that Man's Soul might leave the Body, wander up and down the World, visit the Place of the Deceased, and the heavenly Regions, and, by conversing with the Gods and Heroes, be instructed in Things necessary for the Conduct of human Life. *Plato*, in the tenth Book of his *Politicks*, speaks of one *Pamphilus*, a *Phærean*, that lay ten Days amongst the Carcasses of slain Men, and afterwards being taken up, and placed upon the Funeral Pile to be burn'd, returned to Life, and related what Places he had seen in Heaven, Earth, and Hell, and what was done there, to the Astonishment of all that heard him. And *Plutarch*, in his Discourse concerning *Socrates's Demon*, saith, it was reported of the Soul of *Hermodorus* the *Clazomenian*, that for several Nights and Days it would leave his Body, travel over many Countries, and return after it had view'd Things, and discours'd with Persons at a great Distance; till at last, by the Treachery of a Woman, his Body was deliver'd to his Enemies, who burn'd the House while the Inhabitant was Abroad. Several other Stories of the same Nature are recorded in History; which whether true or false, it matters not much, since they were believ'd, and receiv'd as such.

Hither may also be reduced another Sort of Divination. It was commonly believ'd, that the Souls of dying Men, being then in a Manner loos'd from the Body, could foresee future Events. Whence *Hector* is introduced by *Homer* (l), foretelling to *Achilles* the Authors and Place of his Death. In Imitation of whom *Virgil* brings in *Orodes* foretelling the Death of *Mezentius* (m). I will only mention one Example more, which is related by *Cicero* (n), concerning *Calanus* the *Indian* Philosopher, who being ask'd by *Alexander*, whether he had a Mind to speak any Thing before his Death, reply'd, *Optime, propediem te videbo*: Yes, I

(k) *Iliad*. 2. (l) *Iliad*. x. v. 355. (m) *Æneid*. x. 739. (n) *De divinat.* lib. ii. shall

shall see you shortly. *Quod ita contigit*; Which accordingly (saith *Cicero*) came to pass.

Thus much for *Natural Divination*. I come, in the next Place, to speak something of that which is call'd *Artificial*; in doing which, because Divination, or Prediction by Dreams, seems to bear a more near Affinity to the *Natural* than the rest, and is by some reckon'd amongst the Species of it; I shall therefore in the first Place give you an Account of the Customs practis'd in it.

C H A P. XIII.

Of Divination by Dreams.

I SHALL not in this Place trouble you with the various Divisions of Dreams, which do not concern my present Design, which is only to speak of those by which Predictions were made, commonly call'd *Divine*; and of these were three Sorts.

The first was *Xηνιαλισμος*, when the Gods and Spirits in their own or under any assumed Form convers'd with Men in their Sleep: Such an one was *Agamemnon's* Dream, at the Beginning of the second *Iliad*; where the God of Dreams, in the Form of *Nestor*, adviseth him to give the *Trojans* Battle, and encourageth him thereto with the Promise of certain Success and Victory. Such an one also was the Dream of *Pindar*, in which (as *Pausanias* (a) reports) *Proserpina* appear'd to him, and complained he dealt unkindly by her, for that he had compos'd Hymns in Honour of all the other Gods, and she alone was neglected by him: She added, that when he came into her Dominions, he should celebrate her Praises also. Not many Days after the Poet died, and in a short Time appear'd to an old Woman, a Relation of his, that us'd to employ a great Part of her Time in reading and singing his Verses, and repeated to her an Hymn made by him upon *Proserpina*.

The second is *Ὀραμα*, wherein the Images of Things which are to happen are plainly represented in their own Shape and Likeness; and this is by some call'd *Θεωρηματικὸς*. Such an one was that of *Alexander* the Great, mention'd by *Valerius Maximus* (b), when he dream'd that he was to be murder'd by *Cassander*: And that of *Cræsus*, King of *Lydia*, when he dream'd that his Son *Alys*, whom he designed to succeed him in his Empire, should be slain by an Iron Spear, as *Herodotus* (c) relateth.

The third Species, call'd *Ὀνειρος*, is that in which future Events are revealed by Types and Figures; whence it is named *Ἀλληγορικὸς*, an *Allegory*, being, according to *Heraclides* (d) of *Pontus*, a Figure by which one Thing is express'd, and another signify'd. Of this Sort was *Hecuba's*, when she dream'd she had conceiv'd a Firebrand; and *Cæsar's*, when he dream'd he lay with his Mother; whereby was signified he should

(a) *Bæoticis*. (b) *Lib. i. cap. 7.* (c) *Lib. i. cap. 34.* (d) *De Allegor. Homericis.*
enjoy

enjoy the Empire of the Earth, the common Mother of all living Creatures. From this Species, those, whose Profession it was to interpret Dreams, have desumed their Names, being call'd in Greek *Ὀνειροκρίται*, *Ὀνειράτων ὑποκριταί*, from *Judging* of Dreams; *Ὀνειροσκόποι*, from *Prying* and *Looking* into them; and *Ὀνειροπόλοι*, because they were *conversant* about them. To one of these three Sorts may all Prophetical Dreams be reduced; but the Distinction of their Names is not always critically observ'd.

The first Author of all Dreams, as well as other Divinations, was *Jupiter*, as I have already intimated,

— κ' γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν.

For Dreams too come from *Jove*.

faith (e) *Homer*. But this must not be understood, as if Dreams were thought immediately to proceed from *Jupiter*: It was below his Dignity to descend to such mean Offices, which were thought more fit for inferior Deities.

To omit therefore the Apparitions of the Gods, or Spirits in Dreams, upon particular Occasions, such as was that of (f) *Patroclus's* Ghost to *Achilles*, to desire his Body might be interr'd: The *Earth* was thought to be the Cause of Dreams, faith *Euripides* (g):

— ὦ πάτρια Χθὼν,

Μελανοπτερύγων μᾶτερ' ὀνείρων·

Hail, reverend *Earth*, from whose prolifick Womb
Sable wing'd Dreams derive their Birth.

Where the *Scholiast* gives this Reason for it, viz. That the *Earth*, by obstructing the Passage of the Light of the Sun, causeth the Night, in which Dreams present themselves, which are upon this Account imputed to the *Earth* as their Mother. Or, that out of the *Earth* proceeds Meat, Meat causeth Sleep (*Sleep* being nothing but the Ligation of the exterior Senses, caus'd by humid Vapours ascending from the Stomach to the Brain, and there obstructing the Motion of the Animal Spirits, which are the Instruments of Sensation, and all other Animal Operations) and from Sleep come Dreams: But these were esteem'd meer Cheats and Delusions, as *Eustathius* telleth us, in his Comment upon the nineteenth Book of *Homer's Odyssey*, not far from the End; and such as these he saith the Poet speaks of, when he makes Dreams to inhabit near the *Ocean*, the great Receptacle of the humid Element,

Πὰρ δ' ἴσαν Ὀκεανῷ τε ῥοὰς, κ' Λευκάδα πέτραν,
Ἦδ' ἐπ' ἡλίου πύλας, κ' δῆμον ὀνείρων·

Near to that Place, where with impetuous Force,
The rolling Ocean takes his rapid Course,

(e) *Iliad*. α.

(f) *Iliad*. ψ.

(g) *Hecub*. v. 70.

Near *Phæbus*' glitt'ring Gates, and that dark Cell,
Which Dreams inhabit. —————

H. H.

Others were ascrib'd to Infernal Ghosts. Thus *Virgil* at the End of his sixth *Æneid*:

Sed falsa ad cælum mittunt insomnia Manes.

By this th' Infernal Deities convey
Into the upper World phantastick Dreams.

Hence *Sophocles* brings in *Electra* saying, that *Agamemnon*, out of a Concern for *Orestes* and his Designs, haunted *Clytemnestra* with fearful Dreams,

(b) Οἶμαι μὲν εἶναι, οἶμαι τι κακὸν ἔμελλον,
Πέμψας τὰδ' αὐτῇ δυσπρόσοπτ' ὄνειρατα.

For He, solicitous of those Affairs,
In frightful Dreams doth *Clytemnestra* haunt.

Others were imputed to *Hecate*, and to the *Moon*, who were Goddesses of the Night, and sometimes taken for the same Person; they were also suppos'd to have a particular Influence, and to preside over all the Accidents of the Night, and therefore invoked at Incantations, and other Night-mysteries, as shall be shewn afterwards.

But the chief Cause of all was the God of Sleep, whose Habitation, as (i) *Ovid* describes it, was among the *Cimmerii*, in a Den dark as *Hell*, and in the Way to it; around him lay whole Swarms of Dreams of all Sorts and Sizes, which he sent forth when, and whither, he pleased; but *Virgil* assigns to the false and deluding Dreams another Place, upon an Elm at the Entrance of *Hell*:

*In medio ramos annosaque brachia pandit
Ulmus opaca, ingens: quam sedem somnia vulgo
Vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus hærent* (k).

I' th' Midst an ancient spreading Elm doth grow,
Whose clasping Arms diffuse a Shade below;
And here, if Fables don't the World deceive,
To ev'ry Branch, to ev'ry trembling Leaf
Clings a phantastick Dream —————

H. H.

It may be, he supposes this to have been the Receptacle of some Part of them, and the rest to accompany the God of Sleep. *Ovid* tells us, He had three Attendants more ingenious than the rest, which could transform themselves into any Form; their Names were *Morpheus*, *Phobetor*, or *Icelos*, and *Phantasus*: The Employment of the first was to counterfeit the Forms of Men, the second imitated the Likeness of Brutes, and the last that of inanimate Creatures;

(b) *Electra*, v. 48c. (i) *Metam.* lib. xi. Fab. 10. (k) *Æneid.* vi. v. 283.

(l) *Excitat artificem, simulatoremque figuræ
Morphea; non illo jussus solertior alter
Exprimit incessus, vultumque, sonumque loquendi;
Adjicit & vestes, & consuetissima cuique
Verba, sed hic solos homines imitatur. At alter
Fit fera, fit volucris, fit longo corpore serpens,
Hunc Icelon superi, mortale Phobetora vulgus
Nominat. Est etiam diversæ tertius artis
Phantasos; ille in humum, saxumque, undamque, trabemque,
Quæque vacant animâ sæliciter omnia transit.*

He rous'd the antick Fiend; than whom none can
More subtly, or more lively mimick Man.
The Beaux, the Clown, he'll in their Garbs express,
And set his Tongue to each Man's proper Phrase.
Their Looks, tho' ne'er so diff'rent, he can ape;
But he's oblig'd t' assume an human Shape.
The diff'rent Shapes of Beasts a second bears
And now in snaky Wreathings he appears
A hissing Serpent; now again he seems
A tim'rous Bird, thus mixes all Extremes.
Him Icelos th' immortal Beings call,
But Men Phobctor.
Phantasus next, but he, distinct from these,
Usurps the uncouth Shapes of wither'd Trees,
Of Stones, or other lifeless Substances.

H. H. }

In *Virgil*, the God of Sleep descended from Heaven upon *Palinurus*; which is not to be understood, as if Heaven was his proper Seat; but that he was sent thence, by some of the ethereal Gods, by whom he had been call'd thither: Or else he is to be suppos'd to rove up and down through the Heavens, or Air, to disperse his Dreams among Men, as he sees convenient. The Poet's Words are these (n):

——— *levis æthereis delapsus Somnus ab astris
Æra dimovit tenebrosam, & dispulit umbras;
Te, Palinure, petens, Tibi tristia Somnia portans.*

When nimble Sleep glides thro' the liquid Air,
Dispels the Clouds, and makes the Skies more clear,
Laden with fearful Dreams, which he doth bear
For thee, unhappy *Palinurus*———

H. H. }

There was another Deity also, to whom the Care of Dreams was committed, call'd *Brizo*, from the old Greek Word *Βριζω*, to sleep: *Cælius* (n) saith she was worshipp'd in the Island *Delos*, and that Boats full of all Sorts of Things were offer'd to her, except Fish. But she was thought rather to assist at the Interpretation of Dreams, than to be the efficient Cause of them, and is therefore by *Hesychius* call'd *Βρυζιάρχης*.

(l) *Ovid*, Loc. citat. (m) *Æneid*, v. v. 838. (n) *Antiq. Lect. lib. xxvii. c. 10.*

This Account *Cælius* hath taken out of the eighth Book of *Athenæus*, who adds farther, that they used to pray to her for the publick Safety and Prosperity; but more particularly, that she would vouchsafe to protect and preserve their Ships.

Lastly, 'Twas believed that Hawks or Vultures (*ἱέρακες*) when they were dead, did *μαντεύεσθαι, καὶ ὀνείρατα ἐπιστέμπευν* *prophecy and send Dreams*; being then divested of their Bodies, and become *γυμναὶ ψυχαὶ*, *naked Souls* (o).

Having treated of the reputed Authors of Dreams, I shall in the next Place describe the Ways by which they were suppos'd usually to come. These were two, one for delusive Dreams, which pass'd thro' a Gate of Ivory; another for the true, which pass'd through a Gate of Horn. Descriptions of these two Gates occur both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, one of which I shall give you in each Tongue: The first shall be that of (p) *Homer*, where speaking of Dreams, he saith,

Τῶν οἳ μὲν κ' ἔλθωσι διὰ τοῖσιν ἰεφάνεσσιν,
οἳ δ' ἰεφάροισι ὑπὲρ ἀκράαντα φέροντες·
οἳ δὲ διὰ ξυστῶν κραάων ἔλθωσι δύραζε,
οἳ γ' ἔτυμα κραινέσσιν βροτῶν ὅτε κεν τις ἴδῃται·

The second shall be that of (q) *Virgil*, imitated from the former:

*Sunt geminæ Somni portæ, quarum altera fertur
Cornea, quæ veris facilis datur exitus Umbris:
Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
Sed falsa ad Cælum mittunt insomnia Manes.*

Vain and phantastick are the Dreams that fly
Thro' the great Gate of polish'd Ivory,
With senseless Whims these to our Heads repair,
Gull us with golden Mountains in the Air;
But when i' th' Morn we wake our drowzy Eyes,
Big with th' Expectance of the lovely Prize,
With eager Haste the giddy Phantasm flies.
But no such Whims infect our easy Pate,
When Sleep conveys our Dreams thro' th' other Gate,
Compos'd of polish'd Horn. For those from hence
Are true prophetick Dreams, and full of solid Sense. *H. H.*

In Allusion to these Gates, we are told by *Philostratus*, that it was customary to represent any Dream in a white Garment, wrapp'd over a black one, with a Horn in his Hand. And *Eustatbius*, in his Comment upon the fore-mention'd Passage of *Homer*, hath made several Conjectures concerning it, most of which are so frivolous, that to mention them would be lost Labour. Such as desire farther Satisfaction may consult the Author.

(o) *Ælian* de Animal. lib. xi. cap. 39. (p) *Odyss.* xix. v. 562. (q) *Æneid.* vi. v. 893.

The Time in which true Dreams were expected, was Νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶς, and therefore *Homer* telleth us, that *Penelope*, having an auspicious Dream concerning her Son *Telemachus*, who was travelling in Search of his Father *Ulysses*, rejoiced the more, because it appear'd to her at that Time,

ἡ δ' ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνόρουσε
Κέρη Ἰκαρίοιο, φίλον δὲ οἱ ἦτορ ἰάνθη,
Ὡς οἱ ἐκαργῆς ὄνειρον ἐφαίνετο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ (r).

But when *Penelope* awak'd, her Breast
With greater Joy and Gladness was possess'd,
Because at Break of Day the Dream appear'd.

H. H.

What Time that was Grammarians do not agree: Some derive it (saith *Eustathius*) from the privative Particle α and μολέω, to walk, or μογέω, to labour and toil, as tho' it were ἀμολῶ, or ἀμογῶ, and by *Epenthesis*, ἀμολγῶς, as tho' it should signify the dead of the Night, in which People neither labour nor walk Abroad. Others also think it may signify the Middle or Depth of the Night, but for a different Reason; for ἀμολγῶς (say they) is the same with πυκνός, i. e. thick or close compacted; and *Hesiod* hath us'd the Word in this Sense, when he saith,

Μάζα τ' ἀμολγαίνε

That is, as *Athenæus* expounds it, ποιμενικὴ ἀμμιαία, a thick Cake, such as the *Shepherds*, and labouring Men eat. Others allow it the same Signification, but for a third Reason: Ἀμολγῶς, (say they) according to the *Glossographers*, amongst the *Achæans*, is the same with ἀκμή, which signifies the Midst, or Height of any Thing, as ἀκμή Σέπης, that Part of Summer, when the Heat is most violent, *Midsummer*; and Men are said to be ἐν ἀκμῇ, when they are in their full Strength; and therefore ἀμολγῶς, or ἀκμή νυκτὸς, must be the Depth, or Midst of the Night. But this Signification concerns not our present Purpose, for I no where read, that Dreams had more Credit, because they came in the dead of the Night. It must therefore be observ'd, that ἀμολγῶς was us'd in another Sense, for the Time in which they us'd to milk Cattle, being derived from ἀμύλω, to milk; and then ἀμολγῶς νυκτὸς must signify the Morning, in Opposition to ἡμέρας ἀμολγῶς, or the Evening Milking time. That it was us'd in this Sense is evident from *Homer's* twenty-second *Iliad*, where he saith the Dog-star (which riseth a little before the Sun) appears ἐν νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ. His Words are these,

Παμφαίνοισ' ὥς ἄστρ' ἐπεσσύμερον πεδίοιο,
Ὅς ἔα τ' ὀπάρης εἶσιν, ἀρίζηλοι δὲ οἱ αὐγαὶ
Φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἄστροις νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ,
Ὅν τε κῦν Ὠρίωνος ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέουσιν (s).

(r) *Finis* *Odyss.* iv.(s) *Il.* χ'. v. 26.

——— Rushing he shone,
As when th' *Autumnal Dog-star* hast'ning on
To set himself 'fore Morning in the Sky,
Darts down his fiery blazing Beams from high;
A dazzling Lustre all round is seen,
It burns the brightest in the heavenly Plain. *E. D.*

And that this was the Time, in which Dreams were thought to deserve
the greatest Regard (1) *Horace* assures us,

*At ego quum Græcos facerem natus mare citra
Versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
Post mediam noctem visus, quum somnia vera.*

——— Now being a *Roman* born,
And *Grecian* Numbers once resolv'd to try,
Quirinus kindly did my Will deny;
Methought the Night near spent, when Dreams are true,
'Twas at the Dawn of Day he came unto my View,
And spoke such Words as these. ——— *E. D.*

Ovid appears of the same Opinion from the following Words:

*Namque sub Auroram jam dormitante lucernâ,
Tempore quo cerni somnia vera solent.*

Near Morn, when Lamps are dwindling out their Light, }
And seem to nod for Sleep, that Part of Night, }
When Dreams are truest offer'd to our Sight. *E. D.*

Theocritus also agrees with them,

——— ἔγχεθι δ' ἡδὲ,
Εὔτε καὶ ἀτρεκέων ποιμαίνεται ἔθνος ὀνείρων

And now *Aurora's* just about t' appear,
When surest Dreams do most excuse our Fear. *E. D.*

The Reason of which Opinion was this, *viz.* They thought all
the Remainders of the Meat upon their Stomachs might by that Time
be pretty well digested, and gone; for till then, Dreams were be-
liev'd rather to proceed from the Fumes of the last Night's Supper,
than any Divine or Supernatural Cause: And therefore *Pliny* tells us,
a Dream is never true presently after Eating or Drinking: And *Arte-
midorus* farther observes, that small Credit is to be given to a Morning
Dream, if you have eaten too plentifully the Night before; because
all the Crudities cannot then be carried off.

For that Reason, they who desired a prophetick Dream, us'd to take
a special Care of their Diet, so as to eat nothing hard of Digestion, : 3

(1) I. Sat. x. 31.

particular Beans, or raw Fruit. Some, that they might be sure to be free from Fumes, fasted one Day before, and abstain'd from Wine for three. Fish is not soon, or easily digested, and therefore ('tis probable) was thought to obstruct true Dreams, which seems to have been the Reason why, such Quantities of other Things being offer'd in Sacrifice to the Goddess *Brizo*, Fish only were excepted, as appears from the forementioned Passages of *Athenæus* (u). *Plutarch* observes, that the *Polypus*'s Head was prejudicial to those who desir'd prophetic Dreams ;

Παλύποδος κεφαλῇ ἐν μὲν κακὸν, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν.

— I' th' *Polypus*'s Head

Something of Ill, something of Good is bred.

Because it is sweet and pleasant to the Taste, but disquieteth Men in their Sleep, and maketh them restless, causing troublesome and anxious Dreams ; and therefore he compares Poetry to it, which containeth many Things, both profitable and pleasant, to those that make a right Use of it ; but to others is very prejudicial, filling their Heads with vain, if not impious Notions and Opinions. In short, all Things apt to burden the Stomach, to put the Blood into a Ferment, and the Spirits into too violent a Motion ; all Things apt to create strange Imaginations, to disturb Men's Rest, or any Way hinder the free and ordinary Operations of the Soul, were to be avoided ; that so the Mind and Phantasy being pure, and without any unnatural, or external Impressions, might be fitter to receive Divine Insinuations. Some Choice there was also in the Colour of their Clothes : *Suidas* hath told us, it was most proper to sleep in a white Garment, which was thought to make the Dreams and Visions the clearer.

Besides all this, (to omit those that expected Dreams from *Amphiaræus* or other Deities in an Oracular Way, of which I have spoken in another Place) before they went to Bed, they us'd to sacrifice to *Mercury*. The *Calasiris* in *Heliodorus*, after he had prayed to all the rest of the Gods, calls upon *Mercury* to give him εὐδνέων κύκλα, i. e. a Night of good Dreams. *Mercury* was thought to be ὕπνου δοῖς, the Giver of Sleep, as *Eustathius* telleth us ; and therefore they usually carved his Image upon the Bed's feet, which were for that Reason call'd ἐρμῆες, which Word *Homer* hath made Use of, when he saith that *Vulcan* caught *Mars* in Bed with *Venus* :

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἐρμῆσιν χεῖ δέσματα κύκλῳ ἅπαντα (x).

Great massy Chains on ev'ry Bed-post round,
With restless Force God *Vulcan* bound.

Again, in the twenty-third Book of his *Odyssey*.

καὶ ἐπὶ σταθμῶν ἴθυνα

(y) Ἑρμῶν ἀσκήσας

(u) Initio Libelli de Audiendis Poetis. (x) *Odyss.* 9. v. 278. (y) *Ver.* 198.

Then having with the Rule first shap'd it out,
H' a polish'd Bed-post made. ———

Others will have ἱμῆς to be deriv'd from ἱμα, i. e. a *Prop*, or *Support*, because by it the Bed was upheld or supported. However that be, certain it is, that one of *Mercury's* Employments was to preside over *Sleep* and *Dreams*, and the Night also, with all Things which belong to it. Thus we are inform'd by *Homer*, in his Hymn upon this God, wherein he calls him,

(x) Ἀΐς ἤρ', ἐλαΐηρα βοῶν, ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων,
Νυκλὸς ὀπωπῆϊν, πολυηδόκον' ———

A thieving God, a Cattle-stealer, one
Whose Care are Dreams and Noises in the Night.

After all this Preparation, they went to Sleep, expecting to discover whatever they were solicitous about, before the Morning: But if their Fate was reveal'd in obscure, or allegorical Terms, so that themselves could not dive into their Meaning; then an Interpreter was consulted. The first of this Kind, as *Pliny* (a) reports, was *Amphiēyon*, *Deucalion's* Son: *Pausanias* (as hath been mention'd before) would have it to be *Amphiaræus*, who had divine Honours paid him, for the Invention of that Art. Others ascribe it to the Inhabitants of *Telmessus* (b): But whoever was the Author of it, it is certain, that, amongst the ancient *Grecians*, it had very great Credit, as appears from the Number of Books written concerning it: *Geminus Pyrius* compos'd three Books upon this Subject; *Artemon* the *Milesian* two and twenty; beside *Panyasis* the *Halicarnassæan*; *Alexander* the *Myndian*; *Phæbus* the *Antiochian*; *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*; *Nicostratus* the *Ephesian*; *Antipho* the *Athenian*; *Artemidorus*; *Astramyschus*; *Philo Judæus*; *Achines* the Son of *Scyrimus*; *Nicephorus*, &c. Yet it was never in so great Request, as the other Species of Divination. The many false and frivolous Dreams, which happen to every Man, cast a Suspicion on all the rest; and those, which were nothing but Delusions, made the truly δίοπτιμοι, *Prophetical*, to be call'd in Question; and therefore, when the Hero in (c) *Homer* adviseth the *Grecians* to enquire of some Prophet, what Means they should use to appease the Anger of the Gods, he speaks boldly, and without Hesitation, of μάντις, or the inspir'd Prophet; and ἱερεύς, or him that consulted the Entrails of Victims offer'd in Sacrifice (for so ἱερεύς must signify in that Place) but when he comes to ὀνειροπόλοισι, or the *Interpreter of Dreams*, he's forced to make a Sort of an Apology, in this Manner:

Ἄλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείμεν ἢ ἱερεῖα,
ἢ καὶ ὀνειροπόλον, καὶ γὰρ τ' ὕνας ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν·

But come, let's call some Prophet here or Priest,
Or Dream-Interpreter, for sure, at least,
Some Dreams are sent from *Jove*.

E. D.

(x) Ver. 14. (a) Lib. viii. cap. 5. (b) *Clement Alexandrinus Strom.* i. pag. 306.
(c) Il. 4.

Whereby he anticipates a Question, which he foresaw might be propos'd to him thus: Why should we ask Counsel of one, whose Business is only to expound these Delusions? Why should we trust the Safety of the whole Army in the Hands of a cunning Impostor? To this he answers, That indeed there were many false and deceitful Dreams; yet some also were true, and came from *Jupiter*, the common Father of all Prophetical Predictions, and therefore might be depended upon. After this Manner *Eusebius* has paraphras'd the Poet's Words. In later Ages Dreams came to be little regarded, except by old doating Women, who were very superstitious in observing them, as (d) *Propertius* intimates in the following Verse:

Quæ mea non decies somnia versat anus?

A hundred Times old Women have I told
My frightful Dreams.

In more remote Ages, the People who lived near the *Gades*, and *Borysthenes*, and the Inhabitants of *Telmessus*, and *Hybla Gereatis*, a City belonging to the *Cataneans*, in *Sicily*, were famed for their Skill in this Art. The Signs by which they made Conjectures would be too tedious to mention in this Place; and whoever has Leisure may consult *Artemidorus*.

When any frightful or obscure Dream appear'd, the Dreamer us'd to disclose his Fears to some of the Gods, offering Incense, or some other Oblation; and praying, that, if Good was portended, it might be brought to pass: If the contrary, that the Gods would avert it. This telling of Dreams was not appropriated to any particular Deity. Some discover'd them to *Hercules*, others to *Jupiter*, as one doth in *Plautus*; however, because the Household-Gods were nearest at Hand, and thought to have a particular Concern and Care for the Family, in which they were worshipp'd, it was most useful to declare Dreams to them, and particularly to *Vesta*, as appears from (e) *Propertius*;

Vadit & hinc castæ narratum Somnia Vestæ,

Quæ sibi, quæque mihi non nocitura forent.

Chaste *Vesta* too my Dreams she went to tell,
Such Dreams, as both for You and Me were well. E. D.

Apollo also had a peculiar Title to this Worship, under the Name of *Ἐξακισήρης*, *ἀποτρέπων*, or *Averruncus*; so called from averting Evils, and *προστατήρης*, because he presided over, and protected Houses; and therefore, as the old *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* informs us, had Images erected to him in the Porches. Whence, in *Sophocles's Electra*, *Clytemnestra* having seen a terrible Dream, calls upon her Woman thus,

*Ἐπαίρει δὲ σὺ δῶμαθ', ἢ παρῶσά μοι,
Πάλλαρε', ἀναντι τῶν δ' ὅπως λυτηρίης
Εὐχὰς ἀνάσχω δαιμάτων ἃ νῦν ἔχω (f).*

(d) Lib. ii. El. 4.

(e) Lib. i. El. 29.

(f) Ver. 635.

Here.

Here, bring the Incense, Maid, for I intend
To *Phæbus* straight: I'll address myself in Prayer,
That he would free me from those aking Fears,
Which pain my troubled Breast. —————

E. D.

And then she begins her Prayer :

Κλύεις ἂν ἦδη, Φαῖβε προσατήριε,
——— ὅδ' ἄκουε· τῇδε γὰρ καὶ γὰρ φράσω.
Ἄ γὰρ προσεῖδον νυκτὶ τῇδε φάσματα
Δισσῶν ὀνείρων, ταῦτα μοι, Λύκει' Ἀναξ,
Εἰ μὲν πεφηνεν ἰσθλὰ, δὲς τελοσφόρα·
Εἰ δ' ἐχθρὰ, τοῖς ἐχθροῖσιν ἐμπαλιν μέθεε.

Great God *Apollo*, you who from all Harms
Our Houses guard, attend my humble Prayer:
The Visions which were to my Fancy brought
Last Night in Dreams, if Good they do portend,
Let me enjoy the same: If otherwise,
My Enemies may they the Ill receive.

E. D.

But before that she had discover'd her Fears to the Sun, whence
Chrysothemis learn'd the Dream from one that overheard her :

(g) Τοιαῦτα τῷ παρόντος, ἡίχ' ἡλίῳ
Δείκνυσι τέτιαρ, ἔκλυον ἐξηγμένε.

This was told by one that present was,
When to the Sun her Dream she did rehearse.

E. D.

Both the *Scholiasts* upon that Place tell us, that it was done conformably to the ancient Custom of relating Dreams to the Sun; and *Tri-clinius* giveth his Reason for it, *viz.* That the Sun, being contrary to the Night, did avert or expel all the Evils which proceeded from it. The same we find done by *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* (b) with this Difference, that she discloses her Thoughts to the Heavens, whereas *Clytemnestra* had done it to the Sun alone: Her Words are these :

Ἄ κενὰ δ' ἤκει νύξ φέρουσα φάσματα,
Δείξω πρὸς αἰθέρ' εἴ τι δὴ τόδ' ἐς' ἄκος.

But what new Dreams this present Night affords,
To th' Sky I'll tell, if that will benefit.

The doing this they call'd ἀποπέμπισθαι, ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι, and ἀποτρέπισθαι ἐνυχον ὄψιν, or ἀποτροπιάζεσθαι τῷ ἡλίῳ, &c.

But before they were permitted to approach the Divine Altars, they

(g) *Ibid.* v. 427.

(b) *Taur.* v. 43.

were oblig'd to purify themselves from all the Pollutions of the Night; whence in *Æschylus* (i) one saith,

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνέστην, καὶ χερσὶν καλλιγρόσιν
Ἐψαῦσα πηγῆς, σὺν θυηπόλῳ χερὶ
Βαμῶν προσέστην, ἀποτροπαίοις δαίμοσι
Θίλωσα θύσαι πέλανον.

As first I rose, I to the Rivers went,
And wash'd away their foul Impurities,
Which had my Body stain'd; this being done,
I approach'd the holy Fanes, and offer'd up
A Sacrifice to the deliv'ring Gods.

E. D.

Æneas in *Virgil* is purify'd after the same Manner, taking Water out of the River in his Hands (k):

————— *rite cavis undam de flumine palmis*
Sustulit.—————

But *Silius* has introduced one washing his whole Body (l):

————— *sub lucem ut visa secudent*
Oro Cœlicolas & vivo purgor in amne.

I cleanse myself in running Streams, and pray
My Dreams may lucky prove.

It appears from *Persius* (m), that it was usual amongst the Romans to dip their Heads five Times in Water before Morning Prayer:

Hæc sanctè ut poscas Tiberino in gurgite mergis
Manè caput bis terque, & noctem flumine purgas.

And lest your Pray'r should speak a sinful Mind,
You purge away the Filthiness you find
Procur'd by Night; you to the *Tiber* go,
And down into the Tide you flouncing bow
Five Times your Head.—————

C H A P. XIV.

Of Divination by Sacrifices.

DIVINATION by Sacrifices, call'd *ἱερομαντεία*, or *ἱεροσκοπία*, was divided into different Kinds, according to the Diversity of the Materials offer'd to the Gods. They first made Conjectures from the external Parts and Motions of the Victim; then from his Entrails,

(i) *Persius*. (k) *Æneid*, lib. viii, ver. 67. (l) *Lib. viii*. (m) *Sat. ii. v. 16.*
from

from the Flame in which it was consum'd, from the Cakes and Flour, from the Wine and Water, with several other Things, of which in their Order.

The Art, which made Observations in killing, and cutting up the Victim, was call'd *Θύκη*. Unlucky Omens were, when the Beast was drawn by Force to the Altar, when it escap'd by the Way, and avoided the fatal Blow, did not fall down quietly and without Reluctancy, but kick'd, leap'd up, or bellow'd, bled not freely, was long a dying, shew'd any Tokens of great Pain, beat upon the Ground, expired with Convulsions, or did any Thing contrary to what usually happens at the Slaughter of Beasts; especially if the Beast prevented the Knife, and dy'd suddenly. Whence *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, being about to make a League with two other Kings, *Theodotus* forbid him to proceed, and withal foretold the speedy Death of one of the Kings, when one of the three Victims, which was brought to the Altar, suddenly fell down dead (a). But on the contrary, the Gods were judg'd to be propitious, and kindly to receive the Devotions paid to them, when every Thing was carried on with Ease: When the Victim went voluntarily and without Compulsion to the Slaughter, endur'd the Blow patiently, fell down quietly, bled freely, and expir'd without groaning, then the Victim seem'd willing to submit to Death: Any Sign of this was a most fortunate Omen. Such an one is that mention'd by *Seneca* (b):

*Stat ecce ad aras hostia, expectat manum
Cervice pronâ.*

Hence it was customary to pour Water into its Ear, ὡς ἐπιτρέψαι ταῖς τελευταῖς, that it might by a Nod consent to be sacrificed (c). Somewhat also was observ'd in the Wagging of the Tail; whence the Poet saith,

Κίρξ' οὐκ οὐκ καλῶς.

The Victim kindly wags his Tail.

On this Account it was usual to draw a Knife from the Victim's Head to its Tail. Other Predictions were made from the Tail, when cast into the Fire: When it was curl'd by the Flame, it portended Misfortunes; when it was extended out in Length and hung downwards, it was an Omen of some Overthrow to be suffer'd; but when erected, it signify'd Victory (d).

After this, the Victim being cut open, they made Observations from its Entrails; these were term'd *ἐμπύρα*, from the Fire, wherein they were burn'd. The Omens are call'd by *Plato*, τὰ ἐμπύρα σήματα, and the Divination was distinguish'd by the Name of ἡ δι' ἐμπύρων μαρτία. By some it was feign'd to have been first occasion'd, or very much improv'd by the Death of the *Delphian Sibyl*, whose Body being reduced to Earth, imparted first to the Herbs, and by their Means to the Beasts, which fed on them, a Power of Divining: As also those other Parts of her, which, mix'd with the Air, are said to have occasion'd

(a) *Plutarchus Pyrrho.* (b) In *Heroule Furante.* (c) *Myrtilus lib. i. Lesbicorum.*
(d) *Euripidis Scholiastæ Phœnissis.*

the Divination by ominous Words (*d*). If the Entrails were whole and sound, had their natural Place, Colour, and Proportion, then all was well; but if any Part was decay'd, or wanting, if any Thing was out of Order, or not according to Nature, Evil was portended. Hereof Seneca hath furnish'd the Example (*e*):

*Mutatus ordo est, sede nil propriâ jacet :
Sed acta retro cuncta. Non animæ capax
In parte dextrâ pulmo sanguineus jacet,
Non læva cordis regio.*

The Palpitation of the Entrails was a very unfortunate Omen, as appears from the same Author (*f*), who there enumerates several other direful Passages :

*non levi motu, ut solent,
Agitata trepidant exta, sed totas manus
Quatiunt.*

The first and principal Part to be observ'd was the Liver: If this was corrupted, they thought that both the Blood, and by Consequence all the Body must be so too; and therefore, if it was found very bad, they desisted immediately, not caring what the other Parts might promise: These Signs were call'd ἀκίνεθα, as hindering them from going any farther (*g*). This observing the Liver was call'd ἡπατοσκοπία, which also became a general Name for Divination by Entrails, being the chief Part of it. If the Liver had a pleasing and natural Redness, if it was found, without Spot or Blemish, if its Head was large, if it had two Heads, or there were two Livers; if its Lappets were turned inwards, then Prosperity and Success was expected. On the other Hand, nothing but Dangers, Disappointments, and Misfortunes were to be look'd for, if there was δίψα, too much Driness, or δεσμός, a Tie between the Parts, especially if it was ἀλγεῖν, without a Lappet, or the Liver itself was altogether wanting. Pythagoras the Soothsayer, foretold Alexander's Death, ὅτι ἀλγεῖν οἱ τὸ ἥπαρ ἐν ἱεστέῳ because his Victim's Liver had no Lobes. And his Friend Hephestion's Death was prognosticated by the same Omen (*b*). Bad Signs also were accounted such as these; If there appear'd upon it any Blisters, Wheals, or Ulcers; if it was parch'd, thin, hard, or of an ugly, blackish Colour; had any corrupt and vitiated Humours, was any Way displaced; or, lastly, if in boiling it did not conspicuously appear among the rest of the Entrails, was polluted with any nasty corrupt Matter, became very soft, and as it were melted into a Jelly. The concavous Part of the Liver was call'd ἱεράς, i. e. belonging to the Family, because the Signs observ'd there concern'd themselves and their Friends; the gibbous Side ἐπίβολος or ἀνιςάτις, because the Tokens in it concern'd their Enemies: If either of these Parts was shrivelled, corrupted, or any Way changed for the worse, it boded Ruin to the Person concern'd in it; but if large and sound, or bigger

(*d*) Clemens Alex. Strom. i. p. 804. (*e*) Oedip. ver. 367. (*f*) Ibidem ver. 353. (*g*) Hesychius. (*b*) Arrianus de Exped. Alexand. lib. vii.

than usual, it was a prosperous Omen. To this *Seneca* alludes, when he introduces *Manto*, the Daughter of *Tiresias*, thus describing the Liver's Heads (i):

*Et capita paribus bina consurgunt toris,
Sed utrumque caesum tenuis abscondit caput
Membrana, latebram rebus occultis negans.
Hostile valido robore insurgit latus,
Septemque venas tendit.*—————

And that the Romans also used this Method appears from *Lucan*, who tells us, that *Caesar's* Victory over *Pompey* was foretold this Way: His Words are these:

*Quodque nefas nullis impune apparuit extis,
Ecce videt capiti fibrarum increfcere molem,
Asterius capiti pars agra & marcida pendet,
Pars micat, & celeri venas movent improba pulsu.*

Another ill-prefaging Sign was seen;
For of the Liver's Heads was one overgrown,
And as 'twere squeez'd was by the other down,
Sickish, and wither'd one Side quiet lay,
The other leap'd, and sportfully did play. E. D.

The Place, or Seat where all the Parts of the Liver lay, was call'd *δέξ* and *δοχή*. The Place between the Parts in the Middle was term'd *πυλαία*, and *εὐρυχωρία* (k); by *Hesychius*, *ὁδοί*, or *ἐκτροπαί*; by *Euripides* *πύλαι*.

————— *πύλαι κ' δοχή πύλαι*
Κακὰς ἔφαινον τῷ σκοπῶντι προσβολὰς.

This was an unfortunate Omen, when found compress'd or clos'd; whence *Dio* (l) relates, that the Soothsayers warn'd *Caracalla* to take Care of himself, *ὅτι αἱ τῇ ἡπάλῃ πύλαι κλείνεται*, because the Gates of the Liver were clos'd.

The next Thing to be taken Notice of was the Heart, which, if it was very little, palpitated much, leaped, was shrivell'd, or wrinkled, or had no Fat at all, portended bad Fortune; if there was no Heart to be found, it was a most deadly Omen.

Next to the Heart they observ'd the Gall, the Spleen, the Lungs, and the Membranes in which the Bowels were inclos'd. If there were two Galls, if the Gall was large, and ready to burst out of its Skin; then sharp and bloody, but yet prosperous Fights were expected. If the Spleen lay in its own Place, was clear and sound, of its natural Colour, without Wheals, Hardness, or Wrinkles, it boded nothing but Success; as the contrary Signs prefaged Misfortunes: So did also the Entrails, if they chanced to slip out of the Hands of him that offer'd the Sacrifice; if they were besmear'd with Blood, of a

(i) *Oedip.* ver. 360. (k) *Demofthenis* Interpret. in *Orat. de Coronâ.* (l) *Caracalla.*

livid Colour, or spotted; were full of Blisters, or Pimples, fill'd with corrupt or salt Matter, broken or torn in Pieces, or stunk like putrified Bodies; lastly, if Serpents crawling, or any Thing else terrible and unusual was found in them. If the Lungs were cloven, the Business in Hand was to be deferr'd; if whole and entire, it was to be proceeded in with all possible Speed and Vigour.

Other Parts of the Victim did sometimes presage Things to come, especially if any Thing had happen'd extraordinary, and contrary to the common Course of Nature. For Instance, on the Day that King Pyrrhus was slain at Argos, his Death was foretold by the Heads of the Sacrifices, which being cut off, lay licking their own Blood, as Pliny (m) reports. Another unlucky Omen happen'd to Cimon, the Athenian General, a little before his Death; for when the Priest had slain the Sacrifice according to Custom, the Blood that ran down, and congeal'd upon the Ground, was by a great many Pismires carried to Cimon, and placed all together at his great Toe: They were a long Time in doing this before any Man perceiv'd them; but Cimon had no sooner espy'd them out, but the Augur brought him Word that the Liver had no Head; and in a very short Time after that famous Captain died.

Hither are to be reduced some other Ways of Divination, by Things made use of at Sacrifices; as first, Πυρομαντεία, Divination by the Fire of the Sacrifice. Good Signs were such as these; If the Flames immediately took hold of and consum'd the Victim, seizing at once all the Parts of it; on which Account they usually prepar'd τὰ φρύγανα, dry Sticks, which would easily take Fire. Also if the Flame was bright, and pure, and without Noise or Smoke; if the Sparks tended upward in the Form of a Pyramid; if the Fire went not out till all was reduced to Ashes. Contrary Signs were, when it was kindled with Difficulty, when the Flame was divided, when it did not immediately spread itself over all the Parts of the Victim, but, creeping along, consumed them by little and little; when, instead of ascending in a straight Line, it whirled round, turned sideways, or downwards, and was extinguish'd by Winds, Showers, or any other unlucky Accident; when it crackled more than ordinary, was black, casting forth Smoke, or Sparks, or died before all the Victim was consum'd. All these, and such like Omens, signified the Displeasure of the Gods. Some of these Signs Tiresias speaks of in Sophocles (n), as very fatal and pernicious:

— ἐν δὲ θυράτων
ἦ φάιντο ἐκ ἱλαμπεν' ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σποδῷ
Μυδάσσει κηὶς μύριον ἔτηκετο,
Καύτουφε, κατέπλυε' ἢ μετάρσιον
Χολαὶ δασπείροντο, καὶ κατὰ ῥυτίς
Μηροὶ καλυπτῆς ἐξέκλυτο αἰμαλῆς.

— At the Sacrifice

No sparkling Flames up from the Fire flew,
But a black Smoke, with cloudy Vapours mixt,

(m) Lib. xi. cap. 37.

(n) Antigon. ver. 1122.

That roll'd about, and smother'd all the Place;
Scatter'd abroad the mangl'd Entrails lay,
And Thighs defil'd without their wonted Fat.

E. D.

Sometimes, when the Entrails foretold nothing certain by Dissection, the Priest made Observations from them in the Fire. In order hereto, he took the *Bladder*, and binding the Neck of it with *Wool* (for which Reason *Sophocles* calls the Bladders *μαλλαδῆτοις κύστις*) put it into the Fire, to observe in what Place it would break, and which Way it would dart the Urine (ο). Sometimes they took Pitch of the Torches, and threw it into the Fire; whence if there arose but one entire Flame, it was taken for a good Omen. In Matters of War, or Enmity, they took Notice of the *ἄκρα λαμπάς*, or uppermost Part in the Flames, and the Gall: *πικροὶ γὰρ ἔχθροὶ*, Enemies being bitter like Gall.

Καπνομαντεία, Divination by the Smoke of Sacrifices, in which they observ'd what Windings and Turnings it made, how high it ascended, and whether in a direct or oblique Line, or in Wreaths; also how it smell'd, whether of the Flesh that was burned, or any Thing else.

Ἀενομαντεία, Divination by Frankincense, which if it presently caught Fire, and sent forth a grateful Odour, was esteem'd an happy Omen; but if the Fire would not touch it, or any nasty Smell contrary to the Nature of Frankincense proceeded from it, it boded Ill.

Οἶνομαντεία, and *ὕδρομαντεία*, Divination by Wine and by Water, when Conjectures were made from the Colour, Motion, Noise, and other Accidents of the Wine, of the Libations; or the Water in which the Victims were washed, and some Parts of them boiled. *Virgil* (p) hath made mention of them both in the Story of *Dido*:

*Vidit, thuricremis cum dona imponeret avis,
Horrendum dictu! latices nigrescere sacros,
Fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem.*

Off'ring before the Altar, as she stood,
(Amazing Sight!) lo, into putrid Blood
The Wine is chang'd, the Water, clear before,
A sudden, muddy Blackness covers o'er.

E. D.

Κριθομαντεία, and *Ἀλευρομαντεία*, Divinations by which Predictions were made from the Flour with which the Victim was besprinkled.

Hither also may be referr'd *Ἰχθυομαντεία*, Divination by the Entrails of Fishes, for which *Tiresias* and *Polydamas* are said to have been famous: As also *ὠοσκοπία*, which made Predictions by Eggs, and several others.

Who was the first Inventor of this Divination is uncertain. By some it is attributed to *Prometheus*, the great Father of most Arts. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (q) ascribes it to the *Hetrurians*: And *Tages*, one of that Nation, whom they feign'd to have sprung out of a Furrow in the *Tarquinius* Fields, was commonly thought by the *Italians* to have been the

(o) *Euripides Scholiastæ Phœnissæ*. (p) *Æneid*. iv. 453. (q) *Strom.* i. p. 306.
first

first who communicated this *Divination* to Mankind, as appears from *Cicero* (r). The same is mention'd by *Lucan* (s):

*Et fbris fit nulla fides, sed conditor artis
Finxerit ista Tages.*—————

It was certainly very ancient, and obtain'd so great Credit amongst the *Grecians*, that they would desist from the greatest and seemingly most advantageous Undertakings, and attempt Things most hazardous and unlikely to be attain'd, if the Entrails of Victims dissuaded them from the former, or encouraged them to the latter. Whereof we have this remarkable Instance in *Plutarch's* Life of *Aristides*: “ When
“ *Mardonius* the *Persian* made an Assault upon the *Grecians*, *Pausanias*
“ the *Lacedæmonian*, at that Time General of all the *Grecian* Forces,
“ offer'd Sacrifice, and, finding it not acceptable to the Gods, com-
“ manded the *Lacedæmonians*, laying down their Shields at their Feet,
“ to abide quietly, and attend his Directions, making no Resistance
“ to any of their Enemies. Then offering a second Time (for if the
“ first Victim afforded not auspicious Omens, it was usual to offer on,
“ till they obtained what they desired) as the Horse charged, one of
“ the *Lacedæmonians* was wounded: At this Time also *Callicrates*,
“ who by Report was the most comely proper Man in the Army, be-
“ ing shot with an Arrow, and upon the Point of expiring, said,
“ That he lamented not his Death (for he came from Home to lay
“ down his Life in the Defence of *Greece*) but that he had died with-
“ out Action. The Cause was heard, and wonderful was the For-
“ bearing of the Men; for they repelled not the Enemy that charged
“ them, but expecting their Opportunity from the Gods, and their
“ General, suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their
“ Rank; and so obstinate they continued in this Resolution, that
“ tho' the Priests offer'd one Victim after another without any Suc-
“ cess, and the Enemy still pressed upon them, they moved not a
“ Foot, till the Sacrifices proved propitious, and the Soothsayers
“ foretold the Victory.”

C H A P. XV.

Of Divination by Birds.

I COME in the next Place to speak of *Divination* by Birds; the Invention of which is by some ascribed to *Prometheus*, or *Melampus* the Son of *Amythaon* and *Dorippe*. *Pliny* (t) reports that *Car*, from whom *Caria* receiv'd its Name, was the first that made Predictions by Birds; and *Orpheus* by other Animals. *Pausanias* (u) telleth us, That *Parnassus*, after whose Name the Mountain *Parnassus* was called, first observed the Flight of Birds. The same *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (x) re-

(r) Lib. ii. de Divinatione. (s) Lib. i. (t) Lib. vii. c. 55. (u) *Phocis*.
(x) *Strom.* i. p. 306.

ports concerning the *Phrygians*. This Art was very much improved by *Calchas*, who, as *Homer* tells us, was

οἰωνοπόλων ὅχ' ἄριστος.

Of Augurs far the best.

At length it arriv'd at such Perfection, and gained so much Credit in the World, that seldom any Thing of Moment was undertaken, either in Time of War or Peace, seldom any Honours conferred, any Magistrates created, without the Approbation of Birds: Nay, other Divinations were sometimes pass'd by unregarded, if not confirmed by them. At *Lacedæmon*, the King and Senate had always an Augur attending upon them, to advise with; and *Cælius* (d) reports, that Kings themselves used to study the Art. The Birds, because they were continually flying about, were thought to observe and pry into Men's most secret Actions, and to be acquainted with all Accidents: Whence that Verse of *Aristophanes* (e),

Οὐδείς, εἶδε τὸν θησαυρὸν τὸν ἐμὸν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἄρ' ὄρνις.

None, but perhaps some Bird, knows any Thing
About my Treasure. —

And the *Scholias*t quotes such another Saying out of him;

Οὐδείς με θεωρεῖ πλὴν ὁ παραπτόμενος ὄρνις.

None see me, but the Bird that flieth by.

There is a Proverb also much to the same Purpose; for when they thought themselves secure from the Knowledge of all Persons, they used to say, Οὐδείς εἶδε τ' ὠμίλησα, πλὴν γὰρ εἴ τις ὄρνις. *None is conscious to what I have been conversing about except perchance some Bird.* *Aristophanes* (f) hath introduced the Birds themselves, telling what religious Observance was paid them,

Ἑσμέν δ' ἐμῖν Ἄμμον, Δελφοῖ; Δωδώνη, Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
Ἐλθόντες γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπ' ὄρνις, ἔγω πρὸς ἅπαντα τρέπεσθαι.

For we to you instead of *Hammon* are,
Instead of *Delphi*, and *Dodona's* Oak,
Instead of *Phœbus*; for our Oracles
You first consult, then prosecute Designs.

The Omens given by Birds were by the *Greeks* called ὄρνις, ὀρνεισκόπικα, αἵσιμα, οἰωνοί, οἰωνισμάτα, &c. And the Observers of them, ὀρνεισκόποι, ὀρνιθομάντις, ὀρνιθοσκόποι, οἰωνισαί, οἰωνοβέται, οἰωνοπόλοι, &c. But, afterwards, these Names were promiscuously used for almost all the Species of Artificial Divination; as *Aruspicium* and *Augurium* were among the *Latins*. The *Scholias*t of *Aristophanes* hath observed, that οἰωνος καλεῖται καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄρνεια they called Omens, which are not made by Birds, by the Name of οἰωνοί. And the same Author affirms, that

(d) Antiq. Lect. l. b. viii. cap. 1. (e) Avibus. (f) Loc. citat.

πάν σύμβολον ἐκφεικτικόν, ἢ προτρεπτικόν λέγεται ὄνεις: Every Omen, which either encourages to, or dissuades from any Thing, was termed ὄνεις. Plato is of Opinion that οἰωνιστικὴ was originally a general Name, and written with an ὀ Micron, οἰωνιστικὴ signifying any Thing, δι' ὃ οἰόμεθα τὰ μέλλοντα, by which we make Conjectures of what is to come; but now (saith Aristides) they write it with ὤ Mega τὸ ὤ σιμύνντι, to give the better Grace to it.

The Grecian Augurs were not, as the Latin, clothed in Purple, or Scarlet, but in White, having a Crown of Gold upon their Heads when they made Observations, as (g) *Alexander ab Alexandro* informs us. They had also οἰωνιστήριον, i. e. a Place, or Seat appointed for that Purpose, called sometimes by the general Names of θῶκος, and θῶκος, as in *Sophocles's* (b) *Antigone*, where *Tiresias* speaks thus;

Εἰς γὰρ παλαιὸν θῶκος ὀρνιθοσκόπον
ἵζων, ἐν ᾧ μοι πάντος οἰωνὸς λιβήν.

For fitting in my wonted hallow'd Place,
Whither all Birds of Divination flock.

And the *Scholiast* upon that Place telleth us, this Seat was peculiarly named θῶκος, and that *Tiresias* had Power to assemble the Birds from all Quarters, when he had Occasion for them. They us'd also to carry with them writing Tables, as the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* reports, in which they wrote the Names and Flights of the Birds, with other Things belonging thereto, lest any Circumstance should slip out of their Memory.

The Omens that appeared towards the East were accounted fortunate by the *Grecians*, *Romans*, and all other Nations; because the great Principle of all Light and Heat, Motion and Life, diffuses its first Influences from that Part of the World. On the contrary, the Western Omens were unlucky, because the *Sun* declines in that Quarter.

The *Grecian* Augurs, when they made Observations, kept their Faces towards the North, the East being upon their Right-hand, and the West upon their Left: That they did so, appears from *Homer*, who brings in (i) *Hector*, telling *Polydamas*, that he regarded not the Birds,

Εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ἴωσι πρὸς ἥν τ' ἡέλιον τε,
Εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ τοὶ γὰρ ποτὶ ζόφον ἡρόντα.

Whether o' th' Right-hand, tow'rd the gilded East,
Or on the Left, towards the dusky West,
They take their Flight.

The Reason of this, as it is deliver'd by *Plutarch* from *Plato* and *Aristotle*, was, that ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, the Beginning of the Celestial Motions, was in the Oriental Parts of the World, and that therefore these were accounted δεξιὰ τῷ κόσμῳ, the right Side of the World; and the

(g) Gen. Hier. xv. cap. 10.

(b) Ver. 1115.

(i) Iliad. μ'. v. 239.

West,

West, where the Motion terminates, ἀριστερά, the *left*. Hence the Signs that were presented to them on the Right-hand, were accounted fortunate; and those of the Left unlucky. On the contrary, the Romans, making Observations with their Faces towards the South, had the East upon their Left-hand, and the West upon the Right: Of which there are innumerable Proofs, which, for Brevity's Sake, I shall pass; by remitting such as desire farther Satisfaction, to *Varro* and other *Latin* Authors. For this Reason, whatever was fortunate, the *Grecians* called δεξιόν, the *Romans*, *Sinistrum*, on what Hand soever it appeared. And tho' the *Roman* Poets do sometimes call Things unlucky, *Sinistra*; yet then they speak *Græco* more: And so doth (k) *Virgil*, when he saith,

Sæpe sinistra cavâ prædixit ab ilice cornix.

Oft has th' ill-boding Crow from hollow Oaks
These Miseries presag'd. —————

On the contrary, *Statius*, tho' the Business in Hand concern'd the *Grecians*, speaks more *Romano*, when he saith in his *Thebais*,

Signa feras, lævumque tones. —————

Hence it came to pass, that Things awkward and foolish were called *Sinistra* or *Læva*, in which Sense (l) *Virgil* has used this latter Word,

Sæpe malum hoc nobis (si mens non læva fuisset)

De cælo tælas memini prædicere quercus;

That is, My Misfortunes were often presaged by the Oaks torn in Pieces by Thunder, if I had but had *Wit*, or *Forefight* enough to have understood the Divine Prodigies. In (m) *Sophocles* the Word ἀριστερός has the same Signification,

Οὐ ποτὲ γὰρ Φρενὸβεν γ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά,

Παῖ Τηλαμῶνος, ἔβας —————

He means, that if *Ajax* had been in his right Wits, he would never have committed Actions so foolish and ridiculous; and the old *Scholiast* upon that Place tells us in express Terms, that the Right-hand signified *Prudence*, and the Left *Folly*; ἀριστερά (saith he) οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ μωρὰ ἐκάλεον, δεξιὰ δὲ τὰ σοφικά.

Birds were fortunate, or unfortunate, either by their own Nature, or by the Place and Manner of their Appearance; for the same Birds at different Times have boded different and contrary Events. The unlucky Birds were called ἐξώλαιοι, *pernicious*; ἀποθύμιοι, *hated*, or *ungrateful*; ἀνικέλιοι, *troublesome*, ab a priv. and ἔκω cedo, q. non *Sinistræ*; i. e. non *sinentes*, because they would not permit a Man to proceed in his Undertakings; so *Sinistra* (if we may believe *Festus*) is rather derived à *sinendo*, than à *sinistrâ manu*. For the same Reason they were also named κωλυτικά, and εἰρητικά, because they restrained Men from what they had design'd. Those that appear'd out of their

(k) *Eclog. i. v. 18.*

(l) *Ib. ver. 16.*

(m) *Ajace, v. 184.*

wonted Place, or in any unlucky Place, were called *διεδροί*, and *ἐξεδροί*, which Words are peculiar to the *Soothsayers*, though they be sometimes applied to other Things that are displaced; as when *Euripides* saith, *ἐξεδροί χθονός*, i. e. Persons banished, and that had left their own Country; and *ἐξεδροί φρενῶν*, a Man distracted and out of his Wits. In *Hippolytus* (n) the same Phrase signifies a Thing done contrary to right Reason:

ἐκπλήσσοι με
Λόγοι παραλλάσσοντες ἐξεδροί φρενῶν.

On the contrary, lucky Birds are called *αἰετοί*, *αἰσιμοί*, *ἐναῖσιμοί*, *οἰοί*, and *συνέδροι*. I shall give a brief Account of some of both Sorts, and the Omens signified by them; only give me Leave first to add, that there were two Sorts of ominous Birds: The *τανυπτερυγες*, or *Alites*, whose Flight was observ'd by the Augurs: And the *ὠδικαί*, or *Oscines*, which gave Omens by their Voices and Singing.

First then, if a Flock of all Sorts of Birds came flying about any Man, it was an excellent Omen, and portended some extraordinary Felicity, or unexpected Success; such as *Diodorus Siculus* observes happened to *Gordius*, who, from a poor Country Farm, was exalted to a Kingdom.

The *Eagle*, if she appeared brisk, clapping her Wings, sporting about in the Air, and flying from the Right-hand to the Left, was one of the best Omens the Gods could give; as *Niphus* (o) telleth us out of *Appian*. King *Priamus*, designing to go to the Grecian Fleet to redeem *Hector*, begs of *Jupiter*, that he would give him Assurance of his Protection, by sending his beloved Bird, the *Eagle*.

Πάμφρον δ' οἰωνόν τευχ' ἄγγελον, ὃς τε σοὶ αὐτῷ
Φίλτατος οἰωνῶν, καὶ ἑκράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον,
Διζήν, ὅφρα μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι πύσῃται,
Τῷ πόσεινος ἐπὶ νῆας ἰὼ Δαναῶν ταχυπόλων.

Command, great *Jove*, the Eagle your Delight,
And Queen of Birds, to take her lucky Flight.
Let her upon my Right-hand straight appear,
And move with noisy Flutt'rings thro' the Air:
This happy Sight some chearful Hopes will give,
That from the Greeks my Son I shall receive. E. D.

Aristander, observing an Eagle to fly from *Alexander's* Camp to the Enemies, foretold, that *Alexander* should obtain the Victory. Observations also were made from the Manner of taking their Prey: For Instance, (p) when *Telemachus* was at *Sparta* in Search of *Ulysses*, an Eagle came flying upon his Right-hand, bearing in her Talons a tame Goose, which she had caught in her Roost: From which Omen *Helena* then foretold, that *Ulysses* would return, surprize all *Penelope's*

(n) Ver. 934. (o) De Auguriis, lib. i. c. 9. (p) Homer. *Odyss.* α. v. 160.

Courtiers in his House, and inflict upon them the Punishment they deserved. And *Penelope* is said to have made the same Conjecture, from an Eagle that seiz'd upon twenty Geese whilst they were feeding in her House. When an Eagle dragg'd a Fawn by the Feet, and cast it down upon *Jupiter Panomphaus's* Altar, the *Grecians*, tho' before quite disheartened, took such Courage, that they gave the *Trojans* a signal Defeat. On the contrary, when *Hector* attempted to burn the *Grecian* Fleet, an Eagle appear'd towards the Left-hand, carrying in her Talons a Serpent, which made such Resistance, that she, not able to convey it to her Nest, was forced to let it fall; whereupon *Polydamas* presently foretold that *Hector* would be constrain'd to desist from his Enterprize. When *Penelope's* Suitors Way-laid *Telemachus*, there appear'd an Eagle on the Left, with a Dove in her Talons; and *Amphinomus* concluded from that Omen, that their Design would not succeed. When two Eagles appear'd, tearing each other with their Talons, and hovering over the Assembly wherein the Suitors were, *Haliherfes* foretold that they should be all slain by *Ulysses*. Lastly, to mention but one Instance more, an Eagle which snatch'd a Javelin out of the Hand of a Soldier of *Dionysius the Syracusan*, and cast it into the Deep, portended the Downfal and Miseries that Tyrant was to suffer (q).

The Flight of Vultures was very much observ'd, because (as some say) they do but seldom appear, and their Nests are rarely or never found; wherefore a Sight so unusual was thought to portend something extraordinary: Or, (according to *Herodotus of Pontus*) because Vultures feed only upon Carcasses, not meddling with living Creatures; and therefore he tells us, *Hercules* was always well pleas'd when a Vulture appear'd to him at the Undertaking of any Enterprize; because he esteem'd it the most just of all the Birds of Prey (r). But *Aristotle* and *Pliny* reckon them among the unlucky Birds; and add, that they were usually seen two or three Days before any great Slaughter; and it was the common Opinion, that Vultures, Eagles, Kites, and other Birds of Prey, if they follow'd an Army, or continued for a considerable Time in any Place, were certain Signs of Death, and Blood-shed.

The Hawk is a ravenous Bird, and an unlucky Omen, portending Death (saith *Niphus*) if she appeared seizing of her Prey; but if the Prey slipped from her, or made its Escape, thereby was signified Deliverance from Dangers. The Buzzard, called in Greek, Τροχχης, because he has three Stones, was accounted by *Phæmonoe* a very ominous Bird. The Falcon-hawk, in Greek Κίρκος, as *Pliny* (s) reports, was very lucky to People that were about Marriage, or any Money-busines. This Bird was sacred to *Apollo*, as *Homer* (t) tells us; and, when *Telemachus* was solicitous in Mind about his Mother's Suitors, appear'd in this Manner,

Ὡς ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπλετο δεξιὸς ὄρνις,
Κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος, ἐν δὲ πόδισσι

(q) *Plutarchus Dion.* (r) *Plutarchus Romulo*, pag. 23. Edit. Paris. (s) *Lib. x. cap. 13.* (t) *Odysse. 6. v. 525.*

Τόλμα πέλαιαν ἔχων, μετὰ δὲ πτερὰ χεύειν ἔραζε
Μισσηγὺς τὸς τε καὶ αὐτῷ Τηλεμάχου.

— This said, a *Falcon-hawk*
(*Apollo* sent it) o' th' Right-hand between
The Ship and young *Telemachus* was seen;
Tow'ring he flies, and bears a Dove away,
Clinch'd in his Talons for his dainty Prey;
Pluck'd from the Roots her Feathers all around
Fly scatter'd in the Air, down to the Ground. E. D.

By which *Theoclymenus* foretold, that *Telemachus* should prevail over his Enemies.

Swallows flying about, or resting upon a Place, were an unlucky Omen. In *Darius's* Expedition against *Scythia*, the Appearance of them presaged the total Defeat of his Army by the *Scythians*. The same Birds sitting upon *Pyrrhus's* Tent, and *Anthony's* Ship, are said to have signified the Overthrow of the Armies of both those Generals.

Owls were for the most Part looked upon to be unlucky Birds, but at *Athens* were Omens of Victory and Success, being sacred to *Minerva*, the Protectress of that City; and therefore the Proverb *Γλαυκὴ ἵππεται*, was usually apply'd to Persons, whose Undertakings met with Success. (t) *Plutarch* reports, that when *Themistocles* was consulting with the other Officers, upon the uppermost Deck of the Ship, and most of them opposed him, being unwilling to hazard a Battle, an Owl coming upon the Right-side of the Ship, and lighting upon the Mast, so animated them, that they unanimously concurred with him, and prepared themselves for the Fight. But in other Places, as we are told by *Ælian* (u), Owls were unlucky Omens, when they appeared to Men going about any serious Business: An Instance of which we have in King *Pyrrhus*, whose inglorious Death at *Argos* was portended by an Owl, which came and sat upon the Top of his Spear, as he held it in his Hand. And for this Reason, when *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* went as Spies to the *Trojan* Camp, though it was Night, the most proper Time for Owls to appear in, yet (w) *Homer* reports that *Minerva* gave them a lucky Omen, by sending an *εἰωδιός*, or *Hern*.

Τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν εἰωδιὸν εἰγὺς ὁδοῖο
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη—

As they were marching on, a lucky *Hern*
Minerva sent.

Where *Eusebnius* saith, that this Bird was a Token of Success to Men that lay in Ambush, or were engag'd in any such secret Designs. Yet Owls were not at all Times esteem'd inauspicious, as appears from *Hieron*, at whose first Admission into Military Service, an Eagle came and sat upon his Shield, and an Owl upon his Spear; by which was

(t) *Themistocle*. (u) *Histor. Anim. lib. xv. c. 59*. (w) *Iliad. x'.*

signified, that he should be valiant in War, and wise in Counsel, and at length arrive to the Dignity of a King. This Story you may find in *Justin*, at the End of his third Book.

The Dove in *Homer* is a lucky Bird. So also was the Swan, especially to Mariners, being an Omen of fair Weather, for which we have a Reason in *Æmilius*, as he is cited by *Niphus*:

Cygnus in auspiciis semper lætissimus ales:

Hunc optant Nautæ, quia nunquam mergit in undis.

The Mariner, when tost by angry Seas,
Straight for a Swan, the luckiest Omen, prays;
For she herself i' th' Waters ne'er doth drown.

Ravens are very much observ'd, being thought to receive a Power of portending future Events from *Apollo*, to whom they were ἱεροὶ καὶ ἀπό-
λοιοι, *Sacred and Companions* (x). When they appear'd about an Army, they were dangerous Omens: If they came croaking upon the Right-hand, it was a tolerable good Omen: If on the Left, a very bad one; as also the Chattering of Magpies seems to have been. When *Alexander* entered into *Babylon*, and *Cicero* fled from *Anthony*, their Deaths were foretold by the Noise of Ravens: And these Birds alone were thought to understand their own Predictions, because (as *Pliny* (y) affirms) the worst Omens were given by them, when they made a harsh Sort of a Noise, rattling in their Throats, as if they were choak'd.

Cocks were also accounted prophetic, especially in Matters of War, for they were sacred to *Mars*, and therefore are called by *Aristophanes* Ἀγέλαοι, and were usually offer'd in Sacrifice to him, and pictured with him. The Crowing of Cocks was an auspicious Omen, and presaged *Themistocles's* Victory over the *Persians*; in Memory whereof he instituted an annual Feast call'd Ἀλεξτρονίων ἀγών, which was observ'd by fighting Cocks in the Theatre. And that signal Victory, wherein the *Boeotians* overthrew the *Lacedæmonians*, was foretold by the Crowing of Cocks some whole Nights before, which was interpreted to be an Omen of Success; because the Cock, when he is overcome, sits silent and melancholy; but, when he obtains the Victory, struts and crows, and as it were triumphs over his vanquish'd Enemy. On the contrary, if a Hen was heard to crow, they thought some dreadful Judgment was hanging over their Heads.

Thus I have given you a short Account of the principal Birds that were esteem'd ominous. There were several others, by which they made Predictions, and several other Ways of foretelling from those I have already mention'd; but what I have said is, I think, sufficient; and therefore shall not be much farther tedious to you. Only I must not forget to add, That some pretended to understand the Language of Birds, and thereby to be privy to the most secret Transactions; such an one was the famous Magician *Apollonius* the *Tyanean*, of whom it is reported, that, as he was sitting in a Parlour with his Friends, there came a Sparrow, and chattered to a Flock of Birds that were before the

(x) *Ælianus* de Animal, lib. vi. cap. 48.

(y) Lib. x. cap. 12.

Window; *Apollonius*, having heard the Noise, said, She invited them to a Feast, to such a certain Place, where a Mule loaded with Corn, had let his Burden fall: The Company desirous to know the Truth of the Business rose up immediately, went to the Place, and found it as he had told them. *Democritus* also was a Pretender to this Art, and gave out, that he could teach others the Method of obtaining it; which he did by telling them the Names of certain Birds, out of a Mixture of whose Blood a Serpent would proceed; which, being eaten, would, without any farther Trouble, inspire into them this Knowledge (x). It is also feign'd, that *Melampus* arrived at this Art by having his Ears licked by Dragons. Such another Story *Eustathius* relates of *Helelus*, and *Cassandra*, the Children of *Priamus*, the Trojan King, viz. That being left in *Apollo's* Temple, Serpents came to them, and, rounding themselves about their Ears, made them so quick of Hearing, that they could discover the Counsels and Designs of the Gods. I must add one Thing more out of *Apuleius*, viz. That when any unlucky Night Birds, as Owls, Swallows, Bats, &c. got into a House; to avert the bad Omen, they took especial Care to catch them, and hang them before their Doors, that so the Birds themselves might undergo, or atone for those Evils, which they had threatened to the Family.

Thus much for Birds. It will be convenient, in the next Place, to speak something concerning the Predictions made by Insects, Beasts, and Signs in the Heavens. First then, Ants were made Use of in Divination, as may appear from the Instance given in the last Chapter, where, I told you, *Cimon's* Death was presag'd by them. Another Instance we have in *Midas*, the *Phrygian* King; for when he was a Boy, and fast asleep, Ants came, and dropt Grains of Wheat into his Mouth; whereupon the Soothsayers being consulted, foretold, that he would be the richest Man in the World.

Bees were esteemed an Omen of future Eloquence, as appears from the Story of *Plato*; for as he lay in the Cradle, Bees are said to have come and sat upon his Lips; whereupon the Augurs foretold, that he should be famous for Sweetness of Language, and delightful Eloquence. And *Pindar* is said to have been exposed, and nourished by Bees with Honey instead of Milk. Other Things also were foretold by them: But the Romans esteem'd them an unlucky and very dreadful Omen, as may be found in *Plutarch's* Life of *Brutus*. Before *Pompey's* Defeat, *μελισσῶν ἰσμός ἐπὶ τοῖς βαμοῖς ἐκείνῃσι* a Swarm of Bees sat upon the Altar, as we are told by *Appian* (a).

There was a Locust green, and slow in Motion, call'd *Μάρτις*, which was observ'd in Soothsaying, as *Suidas* taketh Notice. Toads were accounted lucky Omens. Snakes also, and Serpents were ominous; as appears by the Serpent, that in *Homer's* second *Iliad* devour'd eight young Sparrows with their Dam; which was by *Calchas* interpreted to signify, that the Siege of *Troy* should continue nine whole Years. Boars were unlucky Omens, boding an unhappy Event to all the Designs of Persons that met them. I shall mention but

(x) *Plinius* Nat. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 49.

(a) Lib. ii. Bell. Civil.

one more, *viz.* the Hare, a most timorous Animal; and therefore appearing in Time of War, it signified Vanquishment and Running away. When *Xerxes* had prepared a vast Army to invade *Greece*, it happen'd that a Mare brought forth a Hare; which Prodigy was a Prefage of *Xerxes's* base and cowardly Flight, after his Fleet was destroy'd by *Themistocles*.

I come in the last Place to Omens from the Heavens. I do not mean those by which Philosophers and Astrologers made their Predictions, but such as were usually observed by the common People: Such were Comets, which were always thought to portend something dreadful.

Such also were Eclipses of the Sun or Moon, with which several Armies have been so terrified, that they durst not engage their Enemies, tho' upon never so great Advantages. *Plutarch* in his Treatise of Superstition reports, that *Nicias* the *Athenian* General, being surrounded on every Side by his Enemies, was struck into such a Consternation by an Eclipse of the Moon, that he commanded his Soldiers to lay down their Arms, and so, together with a numerous Army, tamely yielded up himself to the Slaughter. For the true Cause of them being unknown, they were imputed to the immediate Operation of the Gods, that were thought thereby to give Notice of some signal and imminent Calamity; and so strongly were the Vulgar possess'd with this Opinion, that *Anaxagoras* brought himself into no small Danger, by pretending to assign the natural Reason for them.

Lightnings also were observed; and, if they appeared on the Right-hand, accounted good Omens; but if on the Left, unlucky, as *Eustathius* hath observ'd in his Comment upon the second *Iliad*; where *Nestor* tells the *Grecians*, earnestly desiring to return into their own Country, that *Jupiter* had made a Promise that they should take *Troy*, and confirm'd it by Lightning:

Ἀσφάπτων ἐπὶ δεξιῇ ἰσάσιμα σήματα φάινων.

By ominous Lightning gave the lucky Sign.

Other Meteors also were observed by the Soothsayers, as the *Ignis Lambens*, which was an excellent Omen, presaging future Felicity; as appears from *Servius Tullius*, whose Promotion to the Kingdom of *Rome* was foretold by it. The *Argonauts*, in their Expedition to *Colchus*, were overtaken by a dangerous Tempest near the *Sigean* Promontory; whereupon *Orpheus* made Supplication to the Gods for their Deliverance; a little after there appear'd two lambent Flames about the Heads of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and upon this ensued a gentle Gale, the Storm ceasing, and the Sea becoming calm and still: This sudden Alteration begot in the Company a Belief, that the two Brethren had some Divine Power and Efficacy, by which they were able to still the Raging of the Sea; insomuch that it became a Custom for Mariners, whenever they were in any dangerous Storms, to invoke their Assistance. If the two Flames (which from this Story are call'd by the Names of the two Heroes) appear'd together, they were ever after esteem'd an excellent Omen, foreboding good Weather; and therefore

fore Theocritus, in his Hymn upon the *Dioscouri*, praiseth them for delivering poor Seamen ready to be swallow'd up by the Deep :

Ἄλλ' ἔμπης ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἐκ βυθῶ ἔλαπτε ῥῆας
 Αὐτοῖσιν αὐταῖσιν διομένοις θανέσθαι.
 Αἶψα δ' ἀπολήγοντ' ἀνέμοι, λιπαρὰ δὲ γαλάνα
 Ἀμπέλαγος, νεφέλαι δὲ διδραμον ἄλλυδις ἄλλαι,
 Ἐκ δ' ἄρκτοι τ' ἐφάνησαν, ὄνων τ' αἰὲρ μέσσοι ἀμαυρῇ
 Φάνη σημαίνουσα τὰ πρὸς πλόον εὐδία πάντα.

And when the gaping Deep would fain devour
 The tatter'd Ship, you hinder't with your Power.
 The stormy Winds, that vex the troubled Seas,
 At your Command their roaring Blusters cease;
 The pil'd-up Waves are still'd, and quiet lain,
 An even Calmness makes a watry Plain:
 The Clouds, that had before obscur'd the Sky,
 Vanish away, and quick dispersed fly.
 The Bears, and other lucky Stars appear,
 And bid the Seamen Safety not to fear.

E. D.

Horace speaketh to the same Purpose, calling these two Meteors *Stella*, or Stars,

Dicam ὧ Alciden, puerosque Ledæ;
 Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
 Nobilem; quorum simul alba nautis
 Stella refulsit,
 Defluit saxis agitated humor,
 Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,
 Et minax (quod sit voluere) ponto
 Unda recumbit (b).

Alcides next my Muse must write,
 And Leda's Sons; one fam'd for Horse,
 And one in close and handy Fight,
 Of haughty Brav'ry, and of noble Force:
 When both their Stars at once appear,
 The Winds are hush'd, they rage no more,
 (It is their Will) the Skies are clear,
 And Waves roll softly by the quiet Shore.

Mr. Creech.

If one Flame appear'd single, it was call'd *Helena*, and was a very dangerous Omen, portending nothing but Storms and Shipwrecks; especially if it follow'd *Castor* and *Pollux* by the Heels, and as it were drove them away. Tho' *Euripides* in his *Orestes* makes them all prosperous and desirable Signs, where speaking of *Helena*, he saith,

Ζηρὸς γὰρ ἔσται ζῆν' ἢν ἀφθιτον χροῖον,
 Κάστωρι τε Πολυδεύκῃ τ' ἐν αἰθέρι πτοχχαῖς
 Σύνθικας ἔσται ναυτίλοις σωτήριος.

For being sprung from *Jove*, she needs must be
Immortal too; and with her Brethren share
The heav'nly Regions, where her glorious Beams
Will shine alike, to help the Mariner.

E. D.

Earthquakes were unfortunate Omens. Hence *Seneca*, among other direful Prefages, mentions an Earthquake (c) :

*Lucus tremiscit, tota succusso solo
Nutavit aula, dubia quò pondus daret,
Ac fluctuanti similis.*—————

Earthquakes were commonly thought to be caus'd by *Neptune*, who is hence term'd *ἰνσοίγας* and *ἰνσοίχθων* by the Poets; and therefore it was usual to sing *Pæans*, and to offer *Sacrifices* on such Occasions, to avert his Anger. This we find to have been done by the *Lacedæmonians* in *Xenophon* (d). A Gulf being open at *Rome*, *Curtius* leap'd into it to appease the angry Gods. And the same Occasion happening at *Celæne*, a City of *Phrygia*, King *Midas* cast many Things of great Value, and at length his own Son into the Gulf, by the Command of an Oracle (e).

The Winds also were thought to contain in them something prophetic, and were taken Notice of in Soothsaying; as appears from *Statius* (f), when he saith,

———— *Ventis, aut alite visa,
Bellorum proferre diem.*—————

And, as the Birds or boding Winds prefage,
Defer the fatal Day of Battle.

Many others might be added, but I shall only mention one more, viz. the Thunder, the noblest and most observed of all the heavenly Omens. It was good, or bad, like other Signs, according to its different Position; for on the Right-hand it was lucky, on the Left unfortunate. Thunder in a clear and serene Sky was a happy Sign, and given by *Jupiter*, in *Homer* (g), as a Confirmation that he granted the Petitions made to him. The Poet's Words are these, where he speaks of *Ulysses*, who had pray'd to the Gods for some Sign to encourage him in his Enterprize against *Penelope's* Courtiers:

Ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· τῷ δ' ἔκλυε μητίετα Ζεὺς,
αὐτίκα δ' ἐβρόντησεν ἐπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου,
ὑψόθεν ἐκ νεφέων, γῆθησι δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

Thus pray'd the Sire: And all-wise *Jupiter*
Forthwith, propitious to his earnest Prayer,
A Clap of well-prefaging Thunder sent
From bright *Olympus'* crystal Firmament,
Which glads his Soul.—————

H. H.

(c) *Thyestis*, ver. 693. (d) *Græc. Hist. lib. iv.* (e) *Conf. Stobæus Serm. i.*
(f) *Thebaid*, iii. (g) *Odys. 6. v. 102.*

It was an unfortunate Omen to have any Thing Thunder-struck. The Shepherd in *Virgil* (b) relates, that all his Misfortunes were thus foretold :

*Sæpe malum hoc nobis, si mens non læva fuisset,
De cælo tactas memini prædicere quercus.*

There is a parallel Passage in *Ovid's* Letter to *Livia* :

*Jupiter ante dedit fati mala signa futuri,
Flammifera petiit cum tria templa manu.*

To avert unlucky Omens given by Thunder it was used to make a Libation of Wine, pouring it forth in Cups. And they stood in so much Fear of Lightning, that they adored it, as *Pliny* (i) observes. They endeavour'd to avert its malignant Influences, by hissing and whistling at it; which they call'd *πομπύζειν*, as appears from *Aristophanes* (k), when he saith, *καὶ ἀνασφάψω*, if I cast forth Lightning, *πομπύσουσι*, they'll hiss; where the *Scholiast* observes, that it was usual ταῖς ἀσφραπαῖς πομπύζειν, to hiss at the Lightning. In Places which had suffer'd by Thunder Altars were erected, and Oblations made to avert the Anger of the Gods; and after that no Man adventur'd to touch or approach them. Hence *Artemidorus* (l) observes, that by the Thunder obscure Places were made ἐπισήμα, remarkable, by Reason of the Altars and Sacrifices which were there presented to the Gods; and that on the contrary, Places which had been frequented became ἔρημα καὶ ἀβυσσά, desert and solitary; οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς διατρίβειν ἐτι θέλει because no Man would, after that Accident, stay there. At Rome, Places affected by Thunder were inclos'd by a publick Officer, and the Fragments of the Thunder-bolt, if any such could be found, were carefully bury'd, lest any Person should be polluted by touching them. And it was farther customary to atone for any Thing which was Thunder-struck, by sacrificing a Sheep, which being call'd *Bidens*, the Thing affected by Thunder came to be term'd *Bidental*, as the old *Scholiast* observes from the following Passage of *Perfius* (m) :

*An quia non fibris ovium, Ergennaque jubente,
Triste jaces lucis, evitandumque bidental?*

C H A P. XVI.

Of Divination by Lots.

OF Lots there were four Sorts, viz. Political, Military, Luforious, and Divinatory: The three first do not at all concern my present Purpose, however treated of by some in this Place. Of the Prophetical there were diverse Sorts, two of which were most in Use, viz. Στιχομαντεία, and Κληρομαντεία.

(b) *Eclog.* i. ver. 16. (i) *Lib.* xxviii. cap. 2. (k) *Vespis.* (l) *Oneirocrit.* lib. ii. (m) *Satir.* ii. ver. 26.

Συγχομαντεία was a Sort of Divination by Verses, wherein 'twas usual to take fatidical Verses, and, having wrote them upon little Pieces of Paper, to put them into a Vessel, and so draw them out, expecting to read their Fate in the first Draught. This was often practis'd upon the *Sibylline Oracles*, which were dispers'd up and down in *Greece*, *Italy*, and all the *Roman Empire*; whence there is frequent Mention in Authors of the *Sortes Sibyllinæ*. Sometimes they took a Poet, and, opening in one or more Places, accepted the first Verse they met with for a Prediction. This was also called *Παψδομαντεία*, from the *Rhapsodies* of *Homer*, and, as some are of Opinion, proceeded at the first from the Esteem which Poets had amongst the Ancients, by whom they were reputed Divine and Inspired Persons. But as *Homer* had of all the Poets the greatest Name, so also the *Sortes Homericæ* of all others were in the most Credit: Yet *Euripides* and other Poets were not wholly neglected. *Virgil* also and the *Latin Poets* were made use of in this Way, as appears as well from other Instances as that remarkable one of *Severus* in *Lampridius*, whose Promotion to the *Roman Empire* was foretold by opening at this Verse,

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Remember, *Roman*, with Imperial Sway

To rule the People.

The *Christians* also practis'd the like on the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregoras* (a). *Ἀνοίξιν ἔκρινε δὲν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ πρόβλημα τῶν οἰκείων ἀποριῶν*, i. e. He judg'd it necessary to dip into the *Psalter*, that there he might find a Support or Defence against the Distress he laboured under. And *Heraclius* is reported by *Cedrenus* to have asked Counsel of the New Testament, καὶ εὐρὺν ἐπιτρέποντα ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παραχειμάσαι, and to have been thereby persuaded to winter in *Albania*. And *Saint Augustin* himself, tho' he disallows this Practice in secular Affairs, yet seems to approve of it in spiritual Matters, as appears from his Epistle to *Januarius* (b).

Κληρομαντεία was a Sort of Divination, wherein they made Conjectures by throwing τὰς κλήρας, *Lots*; where you may observe, that *Lots* were call'd in the plural Number *κλήροι*, and by the *Latins* *sortes*; to distinguish them from *κλῆρος*, and *sors*, which in the singular Number usually signified the Hint or Occasion given to Diviners to make their Conjectures by, as the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* reports. These *κλήροι* were usually black and white Beans; amongst the Ancients little Clods of Earth; Pebbles also, Dice, or such like Things, distinguished by certain Characters: Hence this Divination was term'd by several Names, as *ψηφομαντεία*, *ἀσπραγαλομαντεία*, *κυδομαντεία*, *πισσομαντεία*, &c. They cast the *Lots* into a Vessel, and, having made Supplication to the Gods to direct them, drew them out, and according to the Characters conjectur'd what should happen to them. All *Lots* were sacred to *Mercury*, whom they thought to preside over this Divination; and therefore the Ancients, as *Eustathius* (c) observes, *εὐεργίας ἕνεκα*, i. e. for Good Luck's Sake, and that *Mercury* might be

(a) Lib. viii. (b) Epist. cxix. (c) *Iliad*, 6. p. 548. Edit. *Basil.*

propitious to them, used, with the rest of their Lots, to put in one which they call'd Ἐρμῆ κλήρον, *Mercury's Lot*, which was an Olive-Leaf, and was drawn out before the rest. Sometimes the Lots were not cast into Vessels, but upon Tables consecrated for that Purpose (d). This Divination was either invented, or at least so much practis'd by the *Tbria*, who were three Nymphs that nursed *Apollo*, that at length the Word *Θρία* came to be a synonymous Term with Κλήροι· whence the Proverb,

Πολλοὶ Θριοβόλοι, παῦροι δὲ τε μάντις ἄνδρες.

Crowds of your Lot-Diviners ev'ry-where,
But few true Prophets.————

To this Species of Divination we may reduce *Ῥαβδομαντία*, or *Prophesying by Rods*, mention'd also in the Holy Writings, wherein *Hosea* (e), amongst other abominable Wickednesses committed by the *Israelites*, reckons this as none of the smallest, Ἐν συμβόλοις ἐπηρώτων, καὶ ἐν ῥαβδοῖς αὐτὲ ἀπήγγειλον αὐτῶν, πνεύματι πορνείας ἐπλανήθησαν, καὶ ἐξέπορευσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν. Our Translation renders it thus: *My People ask Counsel of their Stocks, and their Staff declareth unto them; for the Spirit of Whoredom hath caused them to err, and they have gone a whoring from under their God.* This Divination, as it is described by St. Cyril of Alexandria and *Theophylact* (f), was thus perform'd: Having erected two Sticks, they murmur'd forth a certain Charm, and then according as the Sticks fell, backwards or forwards, towards the Right or Left, they gave Advice in any Affair. Not much different was *Βελομαντία*, in which Divination was made by Arrows, shaken together in a Quiver. Others are of Opinion, that the Arrows were cast into the Air, and the Man was to steer his Course the same Way that the Arrow inclin'd in its Descent. This seems to be the Divination us'd by *Nebuchadnezzar* in *Ezekiel*, where he deliberates about invading the *Israelites*, and the *Ammonites*: The Words are these, as they are rendered by our Translators (g): *Appoint a Way, that the Sword may come to Rabbah of the Ammonites, and to Juda in Jerusalem the defended. For the King of Babylon stood at the Parting of the Way, at the Head of two Ways, to use Divination: He made his Arrow bright, (the Septuagint Translation speaks not of βέλος, but ῥαβδος) he consulted with Images, he looked into the Liver. At his Right-hand was his Divination for Jerusalem, to appoint Captains, to open the Mouth in the Slaughter, to lift up the Voice with Shouting, to appoint Battering-Rams against the Gates, to cast a Mount, and to build a Fort.* But because the Prophet speaks of making his Arrows bright, some are of Opinion, that he divined by looking upon the Iron Heads of the Arrows, and observing the various Appearances in them; in the same Manner, as some in our Days pretend to tell Fortunes, by looking upon their Nails, saith *Clariss* upon that Place. Another Method of Divination by Rods was us'd by the *Scythians*, and is described in *Herodotus* (h). From the *Scythians* it was derived, with some Alteration, to the *Germans*, and

(d) Pindari Scholiast. in Pythion. Od. iv. ver. 338. (e) Cap. iv. v. 12. (f) In citatum *Hosea* locum. (g) Cap. xxi. ver. 20. (h) Lib. iv.

is described by *Tacitus* (i). Others also you may read of in *Strabo* (k), *Athenæus* (l), and *Ammianus Marcellinus* (m); but these and some others I shall pass by, as not pertinent to my present Design.

Another Way of Divination by Lots was used in *Greece* and *Rome*, in this Manner: The Person that was desirous to learn his Fortune carried with him a certain Number of Lots, distinguish'd by several Characters or Inscriptions, and walking to and fro in the publick Ways, desired the first Boy that met him, to draw; and if that which came forth agreed with what he had conceiv'd in his Mind, it was taken for an infallible Prophecy. This Divination is by *Plutarch*, in his Treatise about *Isis* and *Osiris*, said to be derived from the *Egyptians*, by whom the Actions and Words of Boys were carefully observed, as containing in them something Divine and Prophetical; and that for a Reason no less absurd than the Practice itself; all the Ground they had for it being only this, *viz.* That *Isis*, having wander'd up and down in a fruitless Search after *Osiris*, happen'd at last upon a Company of Boys at Play, and was by them inform'd about what she had so long sought for in vain. To this Custom of Divining by Boys, as some think, *Tibullus* (n) alludes, when he saith,

*Illa sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit illi,
Rettulit è triviis omnia certa puer.*

Thrice in the Streets the sacred Lots she threw,
And thence the Boy did certain Omens shew.

But I am rather of Opinion, that the Poet speaks of a different Kind of Lots, which was this: In the Market, Highways, and other Places of Concourse, it was usual for a Boy, or a Man, whom the *Greeks* call'd *Ἀγύρτης*, to stand with a little Tablet call'd in *Greek* *πίναξ ἀγυρτικός*, or *ἀγυρτικὴ σάνις*, upon which were written certain fadical Verses, which, according as the Dice light upon them, told the Consultants what Fortune they were to expect. Sometimes, instead of Tablets, they had Pots or Urns, into which the Lots or fadical Verses were thrown, and thence drawn by the Boys; and I am the rather inclined to think the Poet's Words to be understood in this Sense, because he saith, the Woman herself that had a Mind to be instructed what was to befall her, took up the Lots; which can never be meant of the Boy's drawing Lots out of the Woman's Hand. *Artemidorus*, in his Preface, speaks of *τῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεων*, i. e. *Diviners in the Market-Place*; and the *Sortes viales* were very common at *Rome*: The *Circus* was thronged with those, and a great many other Diviners, which the poor silly Women used to consult, as *Juvenal* (o) witnesseth: His Words are these:

*Si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrumque
Metarum, & sortes ducet: frontemque manumque
Præbebit vati crebrum poppysma roganti.
Divitibus responsa dabit Phryx augur, & inde*

(i) Lib. de Morib. German. (k) Lib. xv. (l) Lib. xii. (m) Lib. xxix.
(n) Lib. i. Eleg. 3. (o) Sat. vi. v. 581.

*Conductus dabit astrorum mundique peritus;
Atque aliquis senior qui publica fulgura condit.
Plebeium in Circo positum est, & in aggere fatum;
Quæ nudis longum ostendit cervicibus aurum,
Consulit ante Phalas, Delphinorumque columnas,
An saga vendenti nubat caupone relicto.*

The middle Sort, who have not much to spare,
Into the crowded *Circus* straight repair,
And from the cheaper *Lots* their Fortunes hear.
Or else to cunning *Chiromancers* go,
Who clap the pretty Palm, and thence their Fortunes know.
But the rich Matron, who has more to give,
Her Answers from the *Brachman* will receive.
Skill'd in the Globe and Sphere, he gravely stands,
And with his Compass measures Seas and Lands.
The poorest of the Sex have still an Itch
To know their Fortunes, equal to the Rich:
The Dairy-maid enquires if she may take
The trusty Taylor, and the Cook forsake.

Whereby it appears, that *Lots* had very small Credit in *Juvenal's* Days, being consulted only by the meaner Sort, and such as were not able to be at the Charge of more reputable Divination. *Didymus* tells us, this was brought to pass by *Jupiter*, who, being desirous that *Apollo* should preside in chief over Divination, brought *Lots*, which are said to have been invented by *Minerva*, into Disrepute.

C H A P. XVII.

Of Divination by ominous Words and Things.

ANOTHER Sort of Divination there was, very different from all those I have hitherto spoken of, which foretold Things to come, by certain Accidents and casual Occurrences, that were thought to contain in them Presages of Good or Evil. Of these there were three Sorts: The first of Things Internal, by which I mean those that affected the Persons themselves. The second, of Things External, that only appeared to Men, but did not make any Impression upon them. The third were Ominous Words. Of these in their Order.

First, Of those Omens that Men receiv'd from themselves, which are distinguish'd into four Kinds; 1. Marks upon the Body, as *ἑλαια*, Spots like Oil. Secondly, sudden Perturbations seizing upon the Mind; such were the *Panici Terrores*, *Panick Fears*, which were sudden Consternations that seized upon Men without any visible Cause, and therefore were imputed to the Operation of *Demons*, especially *Pan*, upon Men's Fancies. Of these there is frequent Mention in History; as when *Brennus* the *Gallick* General had been defeated by the *Greeks*, the Night following he and the Remainder of his Troops were seized with such Terrors and Distractions, that, ignorant of what they

they were doing, they fell to wounding and killing one another; till they were all utterly destroy'd. Such another Fright gave the *Athenians* a great Advantage against the *Persians*, insomuch that *Pan* had a Statue erected for that Piece of Service; as appears from one of *Simonides's* Epigrams,

Τὸν τραγόπην ἐπὶ Πᾶνα, τὸν κατὰ Μήδων,
Τὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἔσκατο Μιλτιάδης;

Grateful *Miltiades* rais'd this Monument,
That Me *Arcadian Pan* doth represent;
Because I aided him, and warlike *Greece*
Against the powerful *Medes*.—————

The Reason why these Terrors were attributed to *Pan* was, because, when *Osiris* was bound by *Typho*, *Pan* and the *Satyrs* appearing cast him into a Fright. Or, because he affrighted the Giants that waged War against *Jupiter*. There is also a third Reason assigned by *Mythologists*, which will be explain'd in the following Book (a). In these Terrors, whereof there was either no apparent Cause, or at least none answerable to the Greatness of the sudden Consternation, it was a good Remedy to do something quite contrary to what the Danger would have required, had it been such as Men vainly imagin'd. Thus *Alexander* caused his Soldiers to disarm themselves, when they were on a sudden in a great Fear of they knew not what.

All sudden and extraordinary Emotions and Perturbations, in Body or Mind, were look'd upon as evil Omens; such was that of *Penelope's* Courtiers described by (b) *Homer*, and said to have been caused by *Minerva*, their implacable Enemy;

————— μνηστῆρας δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
" Ἀσβεστον γέλον ὤσε, παρέπλαν' ἔπει δὲ νόημα.
Οἱ δ' ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελῶν ἀλλοτρίοισιν
Αἰμοφόροντα δὲ δὴ κρεῖα ἔσθιον ὕσσε δ' ἄρα σφίω
Δακρύφιν ὠμῶς πλαντο· γέρον δ' αἶψα θυμὸς.

The Courtiers straight offended *Pallas* seiz'd
With profuse Laughter, not to be appeas'd,
And raving frantick Thoughts; they now appear
O'erwhelm'd with Laughter, not what first they were:
Their Eyes with briny Tears o'erflow'd, their Food,
Amazing Sight! seem'd chang'd to putrid Blood.
Nothing their anxious Thoughts doth entertain,
But lamentable Grief.—————

An Augur then present was affrighted at this dreadful Omen, and presently broke out into this Exclamation,

Ἄ δειλὸν τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; —————

Ah wretched Men! what Fate is this you bear?

The third Sort of internal Omens were the Παλμοί, or Πάλμια οἰωνίσματα, so call'd ἀπὸ τῆ πάλλειν, from *Palpitating*. Such were the Palpitations of the Heart, the Eye, or any of the Muscles, called in *Latin Sationes*, and Βόμβος, or a *Ring* in the Ears; which in the Right-ear was a lucky Omen; so also was the Palpitation of the Right-eye, as *Theocritus* telleth us,

Ἀλλέται ὀφθαλμός μοι ὁ δεξιός —————

My Right-eye twinkles. —————

(c) *Niphas* hath enumerated all the Parts of the Body, with all the Omens to be gathered from the Palpitations of each of them; whom you may consult at leisure. *Melampus*, the famous Fortune-teller, dedicated a Book upon this Subject to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: Another to the same Purpose was compos'd by *Pofidonius*, as *Suidas* reports; the Title of which was Παλμικὸν οἰωνισμα.

The fourth Sort of internal Omens were the Πταρμοί, or *Sneezings*, which were so superstitiously observ'd, that Divine Worship was thought due to them; tho' some say this Adoration was only an Expiation of the Omen: Others are of Opinion, as (d) *Casaubon* observes, that Sneezing was a Disease, or at least a Symptom of some Infirmary; and therefore when any Man sneez'd, it was usual to say, Ζῆθι, May you live; or, Ζεῦ σῶσον, GOD bless you. To this Custom *Ammian* alludes in an Epigram upon one who had a long Nose, which he saith was at so great Distance from his Ears, that he could not hear himself sneeze,

Οὐδὲ λέγει, Ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν πταρῇ, ἢ γὰρ ἀκούει
Τῆς ἑνὸς, πολὺ γὰρ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀπέχει

His long-beak'd Snout at such a Distance lies
From his dull Ears, that he ne'er hears it sneeze;
And therefore never does he say, GOD bleis.

Where you may observe, That it was not only usual for Persons that stood by to cry, Ζεῦ σῶσον, but also for Men when themselves sneezed. However it be, it is certain, that Sneezing was accounted sacred, as appears from (e) *Athenæus*, who proves that the Head was esteemed holy, because it was customary to swear by it, and adore as holy the Sneezes that proceeded from it: And *Aristotle* tells us in express Terms (f), That Sneezing was accounted a Deity, Τὸν Πταρμόν θεὸν ἡγούμεθα. *Casaubon* has also proved the same out of (g) *Xenophon*; who reports, that the Soldiers with one accord worshipped it as a God. But it is scarce to be supposed, they could be so ignorant, as to think every Act of Sneezing a Deity; nor do *Aristotle's* Words necessarily imply they did; for no more need be understood by them, than that there was a God of Sneezing, called Πταρμός; and *Xenophon* may be expounded the same Way, viz. That, when the Soldiers heard a Sneeze, they worshipped the God, i. e. the God of Sneezing: Or, it may be, no more is meant, than they worshipped God perhaps in the

(c) De Augur. l. i. c. 9. (d) In *Athenæum*, l. ii. c. 25. (e) Loc. citat.
(f) Problem. Sect. xxxiii. cap. 7. (g) De Exped. Cyri, lib. iii.

usual Form of Ζεῦ σῶσον or by casting up some other short Ejaculation to any of the Gods, to avert the Omen.

However, it is certain, that great Regard was given to Sneezing, insomuch that if a Man sneezed at certain Times, or on any certain Side it was enough to persuade them to, or discourage them from any Business of the greatest Moment. When *Themistocles* was offering Sacrifice, it happen'd, that three beautiful Captives were brought to him, and at the same Time the Fire burn'd clear and bright, and a Sneeze happen'd on the Right-hand: Hereupon *Euphrantides* the Soothsayer, embracing him, predicted the memorable Victory, which was afterwards obtain'd by him (b). Such a Sneeze happening, whilst *Xenophon* was making a Speech, was thought a sufficient Reason to constitute him General. And *Socrates* himself, though a great Despiser of Heathen Superstitions, judg'd it not unreasonable to make a Sneeze serve as an Admonition from the *Dæmon*, which always tended him. And that the Observation of Sneezing was very ancient appears from the Virgins in *Theocritus* (i), who thus congratulate *Menelaus* upon his Marriage with *Helena*:

Ὅλκιε γάμβρ' ἀγαθὸς τις ἐπέπταρεν ἐρχομένῳ σοὶ
Ἐς Σπάρταν·—————

There is also mention of this Custom in *Homer*, who has introduced *Penelope* rejoicing at a Sneeze of her Son *Telemachus* (k):

Οὐχ ὀράας ὃ μοι υἱὸς ἐπέπταρον;—————

Sneezing was not always a lucky Omen, but varied according to the Alteration of Circumstances: τῶν πλάσμων οἱ μὲν εἰσὶν ὠφέλιμοι; οἱ δὲ βλάπτεροι. Some Sneezes are profitable, others prejudicial, according to the Scholiast upon the following Passage of *Theocritus*, where he makes the Sneezing of the *Cupids* to have been an unfortunate Omen to a certain Lover (l):

Σιμυχίδα μὲν ἔρωτες ἐπέπταρον.—————

When *Xenophon* was persuading his Soldiers to encounter the Enemy, a Sneeze was accounted so dangerous an Omen, that they were forced to appoint publick Prayers to expiate it. If any Person sneezed, ἀπὸ μέσων νύκτων ἄχρι μέσης ἡμέρας, between Midnight and the following Noontide, it was fortunate: But ἀπὸ μέσης ἡμέρας ἄχρι μέσων νύκτων, from Noontide till Midnight, it was unfortunate: The Reasons of which Difference *Aristotle* has endeavour'd to account for (m). If a Man sneezed at the Table, while they were taking away; or if another happen'd to sneeze upon his Left-hand, it was unlucky; if on the Right-hand, fortunate. If in the undertaking any Business, two, or four Sneezes happen'd, 'twas a lucky Omen, and gave Encouragement to proceed; if more than four, the Omen was neither good nor bad; if one, or three, it was unlucky, and dehorted them from proceeding in what they had designed. If two Men were deliberating about any Business,

(b) *Plutarchus Themistocle*. (i) *Idyll. xviii. ver. 16.* (k, *Odyss. viii.* (l) *Idyll. vii. ver. 96.* (m) *Problem. Sect. xxxiii. cap. 11.*

and both of them chanced to sneeze together, it was a prosperous Omen, as (n) *Niphas* relates in his Book of Auguries, where he has enumerated a great many other Circumstances in Sneezing, and the Omens thought to be given by them.

I come in the next Place to speak something concerning the Omens which appear'd to Men, but were not contain'd in their own Bodies; of which there were several Sorts: As first, The Beginnings of Things were look'd upon to contain something ominous; as *Ovid* has observed (o),

*Rerum principis omnia inesse solent;
Ad primam vocem timidas advertimus aures,
Et primum visam consulit Augur avem.*

A sudden and unusual Splendor in any House, or other Place, was a very fortunate Prefage, as, on the contrary, Darkness was an Omen of Infelicity; the former being thought to accompany the Celestial Gods, whereas Darkness intimated the Presence of some of the Infernal Deities, which was thought to be commonly pernicious. Thus *Telemachus* in *Homer* describes a Prodigy appearing before the Victory, which *Ulysses* obtain'd against the Courtiers of his Wife *Penelope*,

ὦ πάτερ, ἢ μέγα θαῦμα τὸδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι,
Ἐμπης μοι τοῖχοι μεγάρων, καλαὶ τε μεσόδμαι,
Εἰλάττωαί τε δοκοὶ, καὶ κίονες ὑψόσ' ἔχοντες,
Φαίνοντ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ὥσπερ πυρὸς αἰθεμένους.
Ἡ μάλα τις Θεὸς ἔνδον, οἱ ἑρᾶνδον εὐρὺν ἔχει (p).

It was thought a direful Prefage, when any Thing unusual befel the Temples, Altars, or Statues of the Gods. Such a one was that which *Pausanias* (q) relates concerning the brazen Statue of *Diana*, which παρήκε τὴν ἀσπίδα, let the Shield fall out of her Hand. Before the *Lacedæmonians* were vanquish'd at *Leuctra*, the two Golden Stars, consecrated by them at *Delphi* to *Castor* and *Pollux*, fell down, and could never be found again (r). Hither must also be reduced the sweating, or falling down of Images, the Doors of Temples opening of themselves, and other Accidents whereof no Account could be assign'd.

To this Place likewise do belong all monstrous and frightful Births, sudden and unusual Deluges, the unexpected withering and decaying, or flourishing of Trees or Fruits, the Noise of Beasts, or any Thing happening to Men, or other Creatures, contrary to the common Course of Nature, the Inversion of which was thought a certain Argument of the Divine Displeasure. Many of these are contain'd together in the following Passage of *Virgil* (s):

*Tempore quanquam illo tellus quoque, Et æquora ponti,
Obscænique canes importunæque volucres
Signa dabant. Quoties Cyclopum effervere in agros
Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Ætnam,*

(n) De Auguriis, cap. 8. (o) Fastor. lib. i. (p) *Odyss.* σ'. ver. 36. (q) *Mis-
saciacis.* (r) *Cicero* de Divinat. lib. i. (s) *Georgic.* lib. i. ver. 469.

Flammarumque globos, liquefactaque volvere saxa?
Armorum sonitum toto Germania cælo
Audiit, inscitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes:
Vox quoque per lucos vulgo exaudita silentes
Ingens, & simulacra modis pallentia miris
Visa sub obscurum noctis: pecudesque locutæ,
Infandum! sistunt amnes, terræque debiscunt:
Et mæstum illacrymat templis ebur, æraque sudant:
Pyroluit insano contorquens vortice sylvas
Fluviorum rex Eridanus, camposque per omnes
Cum stabulis armenta tulit; nec tempore eodem
Tristibus aut extis fibræ apparere minaces,
Aut puteis manare cruor cessavit; & aliæ
Per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes.
Non alias cælo ceciderunt plura sereno
Fulgura, nec diri toties arserunt cometa.
Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi.

Hither also are to be refer'd *Ἐνόδια σύμβολα*, Omens offering themselves in the Way, of which *Polis* and *Hippocrates* (not the Physician) are said to have written Books.

Such as these were, the meeting of an Eunuch, a Black, an Ape, a Bitch with Whelps, a Vixen with Cubs; a Snake lying so in the Way, as to part the Company; a Hare crossing the Way. A Woman working at her Spindle, or carrying it uncover'd, was thought to be very prejudicial to any Design, and to blast whatever Hopes they had conceiv'd, especially about the Fruits of the Ground. A Weezle crossing the Way, was a sufficient Reason to deter a publick Assembly for that Day; it was called *γαλῆ*, and *Artemidorus* gives the Reason, why its running by was so much taken Notice of; *viz.* Because it is *ισόψηφός* to *δικῆ*; that is, the Letters in each Word signify the same Number, *viz.* 42. All these were *δυσάντηα*, *δυστοίμια*, and *ἀποτρόπαια διαύματα*, i. e. *unlucky* and *abominable* Sights.

Another Sort of external Omens were those that happen'd at Home, and the Divination that observ'd them was call'd *τὸ οἰκοσκοπικόν*, concerning which *Xenocrates* is said to have wrote a Treatise. Such as these were, the coming of a black Dog, a Mouse eating a Bag of Salt, the appearing of a Snake or Weezle upon the House-top. This Sort of Divining by Beasts is reported by *Suidas* to have been invented by *Telegonus*. Such also were the throwing down of Salt, the spilling of Water, Honey, or Wine, taking the Wine away while any Person was drinking, a sudden Silence, and ten thousand other Accidents. In putting on their Clothes, the Right-side was served first; and therefore, if a Servant gave his Master the left Shoe first, it was no small Fault. This Omen was particularly observ'd by *Augustus Caesar*, as we are told by *Suetonius* (t); and *Pliny* (u) reports, that on a certain Day wherein that Emperor had like to have been destroy'd in a Mutiny of some of his Soldiers, his left Shoe was put on before his right.

(t) *Augusto* cap. 92.(u) *Nat. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 7.

It was a direful Omen, when the Crown fell from any Man's Head : On which Account it is mention'd among other unfortunate Prefages in *Seneca's Thyestes* :

————— *Regium capiti decus*
Bis terque lapsum est.

Hither also may be referred the various Actions, which were thought to contain good or bad Fortune. For Instance, At Feasts it was accounted lucky to crown the Cup with a Garland. This we find done in *Virgil* (w) :

Tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
Induit, implevitque mere. —————

And again in the same Poet (x) :

Crateras magnos statuunt, & vina coronant.

This Practice was taken from *Homer's* Heroes, who used to drink out of Cups that were *ἐπισκεπές οἶνον* the Reason of which (saith *Eustathius*, out of *Athenæus*) was this, viz. Because a Garland represents a Circle, which is the most capacious and complete of all Figures. It was usual, to carry Home the Fragments left at Sacrifices, for good Luck's Sake, as hath been observ'd in another Place ; and these were call'd *ἱγίαιαι*, as contributing to the Preservation of *Health* (y), &c. Thus much concerning ominous Actions and Accidents, whereof I have only mentioned the most remarkable ; for it would be an endless Undertaking to enumerate all of them, every Day's Reading being able to furnish almost infinite Numbers.

In the last Place I come to ominous Words, which, as they were good or bad, were believed to preface accordingly. Such Words were call'd *ὄραι*, *κληρόνες*, or *φῆμαι*, ἀπὸ τῆ φωνῆς, as the *Latin* Omen is so call'd, *q. Oremen, quia fit ab ore* ; i. e. because it proceeds from the Mouth, saith *Festus* : They may be interpreted *Voices*, for *Tully* hath call'd them by the Names of *Voces* (z). *The Pythagoreans* (saith he) *used to observe the Voices of Men as well as of the Gods*. Hence, as the same Author there observes, the old *Romans*, before the Beginning of any Action us'd this Preface, *Quod bonum, faustum, felix fortunatumque sit* : Wishing that their Enterprize might succeed well, happily, prosperously, and fortunately. In Divine Service, he adds, that Proclamation was made, *ut faverent linguis*, that all there present might govern their Tongues. In bidding Festivals and Holidays, the People were commanded *Litibus & jurgiis abstinere*, to beware of Brawls and Quarrels. At publick Lustrations, the Persons who brought the Victims were required to have *Bona nomina*, fortunate Names. The same, he there tells us, was also observ'd by the Consuls in the Choice of the first Soldier. This Sort of Divination was most in Use at *Smyrna* (as *Pausanias* reports) where they had *κληρόνων ἱερὸν*, a Temple in which Answers were return'd this Way ; and *Apollo Spodius* gave Oracles in *Thebes*,

(w) *Æneid.* lib. iii. ver. 525.
(z) Lib. i. *Divinat.*

(x) *Æneid.* lib. i. ver. 728.

(y) *Hesychius.*

after the same Manner, as hath been already observed: But the first Invention of it is attributed to *Ceres* by *Hesychius*. *Serapion* in *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (a) relates, that the *Delphian Sibyl* was endued with a Power of divining after her Death, and that the gross Parts of her Body being converted first into Earth, and then chang'd into Herbs, communicated the same Faculty to the Entrails of Beasts, which fed on them, whence proceeded the Way of divining by Entrails; but that her finer Parts, mixing with the Air, presag'd future Events by these κληδόνες, *ominous Voices*, concerning which we are now treating.

Words that boded Ill were call'd κακάι ὄνει, or δυσφημίαι; and he that spoke them was said βλασφημεῖν, φθέγεισθαι βλασφημίαν, as *Euripides* terms it; where he speaks of certain ominous Words let fall by a Servant at a Feast, as one of the Company was going to drink,

Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐφθεγξάτο·

Unlucky Words one of the Servants spoke.

Plautus calleth it *obscænare*, or as some read *obscævare*; for *scæva* signifieth *Luck*, either good or bad; and the Words *Horace* calleth *Male ominata Verba*,

————— male ominatis

Parcite verbis.

Ill-boding Words forbear to name.

Such Words as these they were always careful to avoid; insomuch that instead of δεσμοκτήριον, i. e. a *Prison*, they put often οἶκημα, i. e. an *House*, μέλι instead of ὄξος, γλυκεῖα instead of χολή, ὀχετός for βόσχορος, καλλίας for πύθης, φιλατης for κλέπτης, ἄγος for μῦθος, κοινός for δῆμος, Σιμαί δεαί or Εὐμενίδες for Ἐρινύες. Which Way of speaking chiefly obtain'd at *Athens* (b). In Time of Divine Worship, as I have observ'd before, nothing was more strictly commanded, than that they should εὐφημεῖν, or avoid all ominous Expressions; which, if spoken by a Friend or near Relation, they accounted them so much the worse. Mr. *Dryden* hath excellently expressed this Custom in his *Oedipus*, where, after that *Hero* has been thundering most dreadful Imprecations upon the Murderers of *Laius*, *Jocasta* is introduced speaking thus,

Jocasta. At your Devotions? Heaven succeed your Wishes;
And bring th' Effect of these your pious Pray'rs
On You, on Me, on All.

Priest. Avert this Omen, Heaven!

Oedipus. O fatal Sound! Unfortunate *Jocasta*!
What hast thou said? an ill Hour hast thou chosen
For these fore-boding Words; why, we were cursing:

Jocasta. Then may that Curse fall only where you laid it.

Oedipus. Speak no more!
For all thou say'st is ominous. We are cursing.
And that dire Imprecation hast thou fasten'd
On Thebes, on Thee, and Me, and All of us.

(a) Strom. i. p. 304.
thee. p. 74.

(b) *Plutarchus Solonē, Helladius apud Photium Biblio-*

Jocasta. *Are then my Blessings turn'd into a Curse?*

*O unkind Oedipus! My former Lord
Thought Me his Blessing! be thou like my Laius.*

Oedipus. *What yet again! the third Time hast thou curs'd Me:*

*This Imprecation was for Laius' Death,
And thou hast wish'd me like Him.*

Mr. Dryden.

Which Verses I have here transcrib'd, because they fully represent the ancient Custom of catching ominous Expressions. There are other remarkable Examples in Cicero (c).

Some Words and proper Names imported Success, answerably to their natural Signification: *Leontichides*, being desir'd by a *Samian* to wage War against the *Persians*, enquir'd his Name; the *Samian* reply'd, that it was *Ἡγέστρατος*, i. e. *the Leader of an Army*. Then *Leontichides* answer'd, *Ἡγέστρατος δέχομαι τὸν οἶκόν, I embrace the Omen of Hegestratus* (d); *δέχεσθαι οἶκόν*, amongst the *Greeks* importing the same with *arripere Omen* among the *Latins*, which signifies the *accepting* of an *Omen*, and applying it to the *Business* in Hand: For it was thought to lie very much in the Power of the Hearer, whether he would receive the Omen or not. *Ostentorum vires in eorum erant potestate quibus ostendebantur*, saith *Pliny*: The Force and Efficacy of Omens depended upon the Persons to whom they appear'd. For if the Omen was immediately taken by the Hearer, or struck upon his Imagination, it was efficacious; but if neglected, or not taken Notice of, it was of no Force. Hence it is observed, that *Julius Caesar*, who paid no Deference to those Predictions, was never deterr'd by them from any Undertaking, whereas *Augustus* frequently desisted from his Designs on this Account (e). *Virgil* introduces *Aeneas* catching *Ascanius*'s Words from his Mouth; for the *Harpyes*, and *Anchises* also, having foretold that the *Trojans* should be forced to gnaw their very Tables for want of other Provisions,

(f) *Sed non ante datam cingetis manibus Urbem,
Quam vos dira fames, nostræque injuria cædis,
Ambefas subigat malis absumere mensas.*

With Walls the City shall not bulwark'd be,
Ere Famine shall revenge our Injury;
Sad Famine, when the once luxurious Lord,
Instead of Food, shall gnaw his sapless Board.

H. H.

After this they landed in *Italy*; and happening to dine upon the Grass, instead of Tables or Trenchers, which their present Circumstances did not afford, they laid their Meat upon Pieces of Bread, which afterwards they eat; whereupon

(g) *Heus! etiam mensas consumimus, inquit Iulus.*

(c) Lib. i. de Divinat. (d) *Herodotus* *Euterpes*, cap. 90. (e) Conf. *Salisburyensis*, lib. ii. cap. 1. (f) *Æneid*. iii. v. 255. (g) *Æneid*. vii. v. 116.

See, says Iulus, we our Tables eat.

Æneas presently caught the Omen, as the Poet subjoins:

————— *ea vox audita laborum*
Prima tulit finem; primamque loquentis ab ore
Eripuit pater, ac stupefactus numine preffit.

The lucky Sound no sooner reach'd their Ears,
 But straight they quite dismiss'd their former Cares;
 His good old Sire with Admiration struck,
 The boding Sentence, when yet falling, took,
 And often roll'd it in his silent Breast.

This Custom of catching Omens was very ancient, and deriv'd from the Eastern Countries: That it was practis'd by the *Jews* is by some inferr'd from the Story of *Jonathan*, the Son of King *Saul*, who, going to encounter a *Philistine* Garrison, thus spoke to his Armour-bearer (b): *If they say unto us, Tarry until we come unto you; then we will stand still in our Place, and will not go up unto them. But if they say thus, Come up unto us; then we will go up: for the Lord hath deliver'd them into our Hand, and this shall be a Sign unto us.*

For good Luck's Sake, whenever they apply'd themselves to any serious Business, they began with such a Preface as this, *Θεός, Θεός, or Εὖ πάθομεν, or Ἐσται μὲν εὖ, Ἐσται μὲν ἀγαθὴ τύχη*, like to *Perfius's Hoc bene fit*; and that Saying of the *Romans, Quod bonum, fœlix, fortunatumque fit*. And all their Works and Speeches were begun in the Name of some God; whence *Aratus*,

Ἐν Διὸς ἀρχόμεθα—————
 Let us with *Jove* begin.

Which *Theocritus* has borrow'd from him in his seventeenth *Eclogue*, and *Virgil* in his Third. *Xenophon* (i) gives the Reason of this Practice, *viz.* That Things undertaken in the Name of the Gods were like to have the most prosperous Events.

It will not be improper to add in this Place, that certain Times also were ominous, some Days being accounted fortunate, and Causes of Success; others unfortunate, and Causes of the Miscarriage of Things undertaken upon them, as *Hesiod* in his Days observes:

Ἄλλοτε μητρὶνὴν τίλει ἡμέρα, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ.

Some Days, like Step-Dames, adverse prove,
 Thwart our Intentions, cross whate'er we love;
 Others more fortunate and lucky shine,
 And, as a tender Mother, blest what we design. *H. H.*

(b) 1 Sam. xiv. 9, 10.

(i) Lib. de Ration. reddit.

Some Days were proper for one Business, others for another, and some for none at all, as that Author relates in the foremention'd Poem; where he runs through all the Days of the Month, declaring the Virtue and Efficacy of them. Thus to observe Days was term'd *αἰσιμασθαι τὰς ἡμέρας*. This Practice was common in other Nations, and particularly at Rome. Augustus Cæsar never went Abroad upon the Day following the Nundinæ, nor began any serious Undertaking on the Nonæ; and this he did on no other Account, as he affirm'd in one of his Letters to Tiberius, than to avoid *δυσφημίαν Ομινίς*, the unlucky Omen, which attended Things begun on those Days, as we find in Suetonius (k). And it was a general Opinion among the Romans, the next Days after the Nonæ, Idus, or Kalendæ, were unfortunate, as appears both from the ancient Grammarians, and from Livy, Ovid, and Plutarch. The like Observation of Days was practis'd by many Christians, when they had lately been converted from Heathenism, and hath been remark'd by St. Ambrose in his Comment on that Passage of St. Paul, where he reproves the Galatians for observing Days, and Months, and Times and Years (l).

The Way to avert an Omen was either to throw a Stone at the Thing, or to kill it out-right, if it was an ominous Animal, that so the Evil portended by it might fall upon its own Head: If it was an unlucky Speech, to retort it upon the Speaker with an *εἰς κεφαλὴν σοί, Tibi in caput redeat*, i. e. Let it fall upon thy own Head: Which perhaps is an Expression borrow'd from the *Ἱεροσκόποι*, who, when they espy'd any Thing in the Victim that seem'd to portend any Misfortune to themselves or their Country, used to pray, that it might *εἰς κεφαλὴν ταυτὴν τρέψεται*, be turned upon the Victim's Head. The like Expressions are sometimes made Use of in Holy Scripture, as in the fifteenth Verse of Obadiab's Prophecy, *Τὸ ἀνταπόδομα σοὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται εἰς κεφαλὴν σοί*: Or, as our English Translators have render'd it, *Thy Reward shall return upon thine own Head*. And again, in the third Chapter of Kings (m): *καὶ ἀνταπιδώσει Κύριος τὴν κακίαν σου εἰς κεφαλὴν σου*, in English thus: *And the Lord hath returned thy Wickedness upon thine own Head*. Herodotus (n) reports, that it was an Egyptian Custom, from which it's probable the Grecians derived theirs: "They curse (saith he) the Head of the Victim in this Manner, that if any Misfortune impended over themselves, or the Country of Egypt, it might be turned upon that Head." Instead of these Imprecations, sometimes they used to say, *Εἰς ἀγαθὸν μοι*, or *Μὴ γένοιτο*, *Dii meliora*, i. e. God forbid. It was customary to spit three Times into their Bosoms at the Sight of a Madman, or one troubled with an Epilepsy; of which Custom Theocritus hath taken Notice (o):

——— τρεῖς εἰς εὐνὴν ἔπτυσσε κόλπον.

Into his Bosom thrice he spit.

This they did in Defiance, as it were, of the Omen; for Spitting was a Sign of the greatest Contempt and Aversation: Whence *πτύειν*, i. e.

(A) *Augusti*, cap. 92. (I) *Galat*, iv. 10. (m) *Lib*. iii. ver. 44. (n) *Herodotus*, cap. 39. (o) *Idyll*, xx. ver. 12.

to spit, is put for καταφρονεῖν, ἐν ἔδρῳ λογίζεσθαι, i. e. to contemn, as the Scholiast of Sophocles observes upon these Words in *Antigone* (p) :

Ἀλλὰ πύσας ὡσεὶ δυσμενῆ.

Spit on him as an Enemy.

Sometimes they pray'd, that the ominous Thing might in *ultimas terras deportari*, be carry'd away to the farthest Part of the World; or in *mare deferri*, be cast into the Sea. This last was done to certain monstrous Births, particularly *Hermaphrodites*, which were accounted *Prodigia*. Hence that Saying of *Tibullus*,

Prodigia indomitae merge sub æquoribus.

Sometimes the Thing was burned with *ligna infelicia*, that is, such Sort of Wood as was in *tutela inferum Deorum, avertentiumque*, sacred to the Gods of Hell, and those which averted evil Omens (q); being chiefly Thorns, and such other Trees which were fit for no other Use than to be burn'd. Sometimes the *Prodigy*, when burnt, was cast into the Water, and particularly into the Sea, if it was not too far distant. The several Circumstances of this Custom *Theocritus* has thus described (r), where he speaks of the Serpents which assaulted *Hercules* in his Cradle :

Ἀλλὰ, γύναι, πῦρ μὲν τοι ὑπὸ σποδῷ εὐτυκὸν ἔγω,
κάβκανα δὲ ἀσπαλάθῳ ξύλ' ἐτομάσασα ἢ παλιέρω,
Ἥ βράτω, ἢ ἀνέμῳ διδοτημένον αὖτον ἄχερδον·
καὶ δὲ τῷδ', ἀγρίῳσι ἐπὶ χίλῃσι δράκοντι
Νυκτὶ μέγα, ὅσα παῖδα κακῇ τιδὲν ἤθελον αὐτοῖς
Ἥρι δὲ συλλέξασα κόνη πυρὸς ἀμφιπόλων τίς,
ῥιψάτω εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο φέρουσα,
ῥωγάδας ἐς πέτρας, ὑπὲρ ἔριον· ἅψ δὲ ῥέεσθαι
Ἀστέριος, καθαρῷ δὲ πυρώσαστε δῶμα Διείῳ.

Lastly, upon the meeting an unlucky Omen, they often desisted from what they were doing, and began it afresh, as appears from *Euripides*, in whom a Person, upon the hearing of an ominous Word, immediately threw his Cup upon the Ground, and call'd for another (s) :

Οἶκόν ἐθετο, κακέλευσ' ἄλλον νέον
Κρατῆρα πλεῖστον· τὰς δὲ πρὶν σπονδὰς Θιῶ
Δίδωσι γαίᾳ, πᾶσι τ' ἐκσπένδειν λέγει.

(p) Vers. 666. (q) *Macrobius Saturnal.* lib. iii, cap. 20. (r) *Idyll.* xxiv. vers. 86. (s) *Ion.* v. 1191.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of Magick and Incantations.

BESIDES the Methods of foretelling future Events already mentioned, and that Divination which is commonly called *Physical*, because it makes Predictions without any Supernatural Assistance, by the mere Knowledge of *Physical* or Natural Causes; there are several others, most of which are comprehended under the Names of *Μαγία*, and *Ἐνchantment*, i. e. *Magick* and *Incantations*; between which, though some make a nice Distinction, yet they bear a near Relation to each other, and therefore I shall treat of them conjunctly in this Place. And though some of the Species of these Divinations might be invented in later Ages, and never practised in old *Greece*, whose Customs alone it is my chief Design to describe, not meddling with those Innovations that were introduced in later Times, after the *Grecians* were subjected to the *Roman* Empire; yet since it is very difficult to determine exactly of all, which were truly ancient, and which were truly modern; since also there is frequent Mention of them in Writers of the middle Ages, especially those that lived towards the Declination of the *Roman* Greatness, I shall beg the Reader's Leave to give a brief Account of the most remarkable of them: For to enumerate all would be an endless as well as unreasonable Undertaking; and a great many of them (such as those wherein the *Incubi* and *Succubi* were concern'd) contain in them too much of Profaneness and Horror to be entertained by any civilized Ear.

Magical Arts are said by the *Grecians* to have been invented in *Perfia*, where at the first they were had in great Honour and Reputation; for the *Μάγος* were those that apply'd themselves to the Study of Philosophy, and the strict Search after the most curious Works and Mysteries of Nature: They were usually chosen to superintend the Divine Worship, and all religious Rites and Ceremonies; they continually attended upon the Kings, to advise them in all Affairs of Moment, and were preferred to the highest Honours, and Places of the greatest Trust. But afterwards the Case was alter'd; for when they left off the Contemplation of Nature, and betook themselves to the Invocation of *Dæmons* and other mean Arts, their former Credit and Esteem was very much diminished.

This Art is said to have been introduced among the *Grecians* by *Oe-thanes*, who came into *Greece* with *Xerxes*, and dispersed the Rudiments of it where-ever he had Opportunity. It was afterwards much improved, and brought to some Perfection by *Democritus*, who is said to have learned it out of the Writings of certain *Phœnicians*. But I shall not trouble you with any more Stories concerning its Original or Progress, it being more pertinent to my Design to give you a short Account of the various Species thereof.

First then, *Νεκρομαντεία* was a Divination, in which Answers were given by deceased Persons. It was sometimes performed by the Magical Use of a Bone, or Vein of a dead Body, especially by the *Thessali-*

ani:

ans: Or by pouring warm Blood into a Carcase, as it were to renew Life in it, as *Ericho* doth in *Lucian*; or some other Inchantments, to restore dead Men to Life; with which the Poet was very well acquainted, when he said,

—Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit,
Protinus adstrictus caluit cruor, atraque fovit
Vulnera.—

While he seeks Answers from the lifeless Load,
The congeal'd Gore grows warm with reeking Blood,
And cheers each ghastly Wound.—

Sometimes they used to raise the Ghost of deceased Persons by various Invocations and Ceremonies: *Ulysses*, in the Ninth Book of *Homer's Odyssey*, having sacrificed black Sheep in a Ditch, and pour'd forth certain Libations, invites the Ghosts, particularly that of *Tiresias*, to drink of the Blood, after which they become willing to answer his Questions. The like is done by *Tiresias* in *Statius*, by *Æson* in *Valerius Flaccus*, by *Nero* in *Pliny*. *Gregory Nazianzen* speaks also τῶν ἀνα-
τεταγμένων παρθένων τε καὶ παιδῶν ἐπὶ θυγατρύῃα of Virgins and Boys slaughtered at the Evocation of Ghosts. The most usual Ceremonies used on these Occasions are thus describ'd by *Seneca*, who has introduced *Tiresias* consulting the Ghosts in a dark and gloomy Grove (a):

Hinc ut sacerdos intulit senior gradum,
Haud est moratus: præstitit noctem locus.
Tunc fossa tellus, & super rapti rogis
Jaciuntur ignes. Ipse funesto integit
Vates amictu corpus, & frondem quatit:
Lugubris imos palla perfundit pedes:
Squalente cultu mæstus ingreditur senex:
Mortifera canam taxus adstringit comam.
Nigro bidentes vellere, atque atræ boves
Retro trahuntur: flamma prædatur dapes,
Vinumque trepidat igne ferali pecus.
Vocat inde manes, Teque qui manes regis,
Et obsidentem claustra lethalis lacus:
Carmenque magicum volvit, & rapido minax
Decantat ore quicquid aut placat leves,
Aut cogit umbras. Irrigat sanguis focos,
Solidasque pecudes urit, & mulio secum
Saturat cruore; libat & niveum insuper
Lactis liquorem, fundit & Bacchum manu
Læva, canitque rursus, & terram intuens
Graviore manes voce, & attonita ciet.
Latravit Hecates turba, &c.

Some other Ceremonies also were practised, which differ'd not much from those used in Parentations, of which I shall give a more particular Account in the following Books.

(a) *Oedip.* vers. 547.

This Divination, if the Dead appear'd only in airy Forms, like *Shades*, was call'd *Ευρομαντεία* and *Ψυχομαντεία*. It might, I suppose, be perform'd in any Place; but some Places were appropriated to this Use, and call'd *Νεκρομαντεία*, several of which are mentioned by the ancient Poets; but two of them were most remarkable: The first in *Theſprotia*, where *Orpheus* is said to have restored to Life his Wife *Eurydice*; and *Periander*, the Tyrant of *Corinth*, was affrighted by the Apparition of his Wife *Melissa*, whom he had murder'd (b): The other in *Campania*, at the Lake *Avernus*, celebrated by *Homer* and *Virgil*, in their Stories of *Ulyſſes* and *Æneas*.

Υδρομαντεία, or Divination by Water, sometimes call'd *Πυρομαντεία*, when it was done by *Fountain-Water*: In this they observed the various Impressions, Changes, Fluxes, Refluxes, Swellings, Diminutions, Colours, Images, &c. in the Water. Sometimes they dipp'd a Looking-glass into the Water, when they desir'd to know what would become of a sick Person; for, as he look'd well or ill in the Glass, accordingly they presum'd of his future Condition. Sometimes they fill'd a Bowl with Water, and let down into it a Ring equally poised on each Side, and hanging by a Thread tied to one of their Fingers; then in a Form of Prayer requested of the Gods to declare, or confirm the Question in Dispute; whereupon, if the Thing proposed was true, the Ring of its own accord would strike against the Side of the Bowl a set Number of Times. Sometimes they threw three Stones into the Water, and observed the Turns they made in sinking. Instead of Water, sometimes they made use of Oil and Wine, and then the Liquor was call'd *χέλαια* and instead of Stones, they sometimes used Wedges of Gold or Silver. This Divination was sometimes performed in a *Basen*, and thence call'd

Δεκατομαντεία, which also was sometimes practis'd in a different Manner, thus: They distinguish'd the Stones or Wedges with certain Characters, and then, having invoked the *Dæmon* in a set Form, proposed the Question they had a Mind to be satisfied about; to which an Answer was return'd in a small Voice, not unlike an Hiss, proceeding out of Water. The *Scholiast* upon *Lycophron* is of Opinion, that this Method of Divination was as ancient as the *Trojan War*, and practis'd by *Ulyſſes*; which he thinks gave Occasion for all the poetical Fictions of his Descent into the infernal Regions, to consult *Tiresias's* Ghost (c). Sometimes Divination by Water was performed with a *Looking-Glass*, and call'd

Κατοπτρομαντεία. Sometimes also Glasses were used, and the Images of what should happen represented without Water. Sometimes it was perform'd in a Vessel of Water, the middle Part of which was call'd *γάστρον*, and thence the Divination was termed

Γαστρομαντεία, the Manner of which was thus: They filled certain round Glasses with fair Water, about which they placed light Torches; then invok'd a *Dæmon*, praying in a low, murmuring Voice, and proposed the Question to be solved: A chaste and unpolluted Boy, or a Woman big with Child, was appointed to observe, with the greatest Care

(b) *Herodotus: Terpsychore.*(c) *Alexandr. v. 813. p. 84. Edit. nostræ.*

and Exactness, all the Alterations in the Glasses; at the same Time desiring, beseeching and also commanding an Answer, which at length the *Dæmon* used to return by Images in the Glasses, which by Reflexion from the Water, represented what should come to pass.

Κρυσταλλομαντεία was performed by polished and enchanted *Crystals*, in which future Events were signified by certain Marks and Figures.

Δακτυλομαντεία was a Divination by *Rings* enchanted, or made according to some Position of the Celestial Bodies. A Ring of this Sort *Gyges* the King of *Lydia* had, which when he turned to the Palm of his Hand, he became invisible to others, but could see every Body; and by the Help of this, he enjoyed his Mistress the Queen, and slew his Master *Candaules*, whom afterward he succeeded. Some ascribe the Invention of this Divination to *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus*, who in *Photius's Bibliotheca* is said to have found out τὸν διὰ δακτύλων κλήρον, the *Lots* which consisted of *Rings*, and with these to have conquer'd *Alexander*. But this is rather to be understood concerning the Game of *Lots*, than any Sort of Divination.

Ὀνοχομαντεία was performed by the *Nails* of an unpolluted Boy, covered with Oil and Soot, which they turned to the Sun, the Reflexion of whose Rays was believed to represent by certain Images, the Things they had a Mind to be satisfied about.

Ἀερομαντεία foretold future Events from certain Spectres or other Appearances in the *Air*; and sometimes thus: They folded their Heads in a Napkin, and, having placed a Bowl full of Water in the open Air, proposed their Question in a small whispering Voice; at which Time if the Water boiled or fermented, they thought what they had spoken was approved of and confirmed.

Λιθομαντεία was sometimes performed by a precious Stone, call'd *Siderites*, which they wash'd in Spring-Water in the Night by Candle-light; the Person that consulted it was to be purify'd from all Manner of Pollution, and to have his Face cover'd: This done, he repeated divers Prayers and placed certain Characters in an appointed Order; and then the Stone moved of itself, and in a soft, gentle Murmur, or (as some say) in a Voice like that of a Child, return'd an Answer. By a Stone of this Nature *Helena* is reported to have foretold the Destruction of *Troy*.

Tibullus (d) has given us an Account of two Sorts of Divination practis'd by a Country Swain, to try what Share he had in his Mistress's Affections: His Words are these:

Ἔβων πρᾶν, ὅκα μεῦ μενταμένω εἰ φιλέεις με,
 Οὐδὲ τὸ τηλέφιλον πολεμάξατο τὸ πηλαγόχημα,
 Ἀλλ' αὐτῶς ἀπαλῶ ποτὶ παχνί' ἐξεμαράνθη.
 Εἶπε κ' Ἀγροῖα ταλαθέα, κοσμιόμαντις,
 Ἄ πρᾶν παιολογεῖσα, παραιδότης, ἔνεκ' ἐγὼ μὲν
 Τὴν ὅλος ἔγκειμαι· τὸ δὲ μεῦ λόγον ἔδνεα ποιῇ.

All this I knew, when I design'd to prove
 Whether I shou'd be happy in my Love;

(d) Idyll. iii, v. 28.

I prefs'd the *Long-live*, but in vain did prefs,
 It gave no lucky Sound of good Success:
 To *Agrio* too I made the same Demand,
 A cunning Woman she, I cross'd her Hand;
 She turn'd the *Sieve* and *Sheers*, and told me true,
 That I shou'd love, but not be lov'd by you. *Mr. Creech.*

Where the Shepherd complains he had found his Suit was rejected these two Ways: First, by the Herb *Telephilum*, which being crushed in his Hand, or upon his Arm, returned no Sound; for it was usual to strike that, or some other Herb, against their Arms, and if they crackled in breaking, Good; if not, it was an unlucky Omen. Not much unlike this was the Divination by Laurel-leaves, which they threw into the Fire, and observ'd how they crackled in burning; from which Noise, some say, Laurel was call'd *δάφνη*, q. *δὰ φωνή*. The other Way of Divining, mention'd by *Theocritus*, was by a *Sieve*, which an old *Gypsy* used in telling silly People their Fortunes. This they call'd *Κοσκινωμαλία*; it was generally practised to discover Thieves, or others suspected of any Crime, in this Manner: They tied a Thread to the *Sieve*, by which it was upheld, or else placed a Pair of *Sheers*, which they held up by two Fingers; then prayed to the Gods to direct and assist them; after that, they repeated the Names of the Persons under Suspicion, and he, at whose Name the Sieve whirled round, or moved, was thought to have committed the Fact. Another Sort of Divination was commonly practised upon the same Account, which was called

Ἀξινόμαλία, from *Ἄξις*, i. e. an *Ax* or *Hatchet*, which they fixed so exactly upon a round Stake, that neither End might out-poise, or weigh down the other; then they pray'd, and repeated the Names of those they suspected; and the Person, at whose Name the *Hatchet* made any the least Motion, was found guilty.

Κεφαλονομαλία was by the *Head* of an *Ass* (as the Name imports) which they broil'd on Coals; and, after having muttered a few Prayers, they repeated the Persons Names as before; or the Crime, in case one was only suspected; at which, if the Jaws made any Motion, and the Teeth chatter'd against one another, they thought the Villain sufficiently discovered.

Αλεξίτρομαλία was a very mysterious Divination, in which they made use of a *Cock* in discovering secret and unknown Transactions, or future Events. It was effected after this Manner: Having wrote in the Dust the twenty-four Letters of the Alphabet, and laid a Grain of Wheat or Barley upon every one of them, a Cock magically prepared was let loose amongst them, and those Letters, out of which he picked the Corns, being join'd together, were thought to declare whatever they were desirous to be certified of. This Divination the famous Magician *Jamblicus*, *Proclus*'s Master, is said to have made use of with a Design to find out the Person who was to succeed *Valens Caesar* in the Empire; but the Cock picking up only four of the Grains, viz. those that lay upon the Letters *Σ*, *ι*, *ο*, *δ*, left uncertain, whether *Theodosius*, *Theodotus*, *Theodorus*, or *Theodectes*, was the Person design'd by the Fates to be Emperor. However, *Valens* being informed of the Matter,

Matter, was enraged at it, put to Death several Persons for no other Reason, than that their Names began with those Letters; and made a diligent Search after the Magicians themselves; whereupon *Jamblichus*, to prevent the Emperor's Cruelty, ended his Life by a Draught of Poison.

Σιδερομαντεία was perform'd by red hot *Iron*, upon which they laid an odd Number of Straws, and observed what Figures, Bendings, Sparklings, &c. they made in burning.

Μολυβδομαντεία was by observing the Motions, Figures, &c. of melted *Lead*. The three following Methods of *Divination* are by some reckon'd amongst the various Sorts of Incantations.

Τεφερομαντεία, or *Divination by Ashes*; which was perform'd in this Manner: They wrote the Things they had a Mind to be resolved about in *Ashes* upon a Plank, or any such Thing; this they exposed to the open Air, where it was to continue for some Time; and those Letters that remained whole and no ways defaced by the Winds or other Accidents, were thought to contain in them a Solution of the Question.

Βοτανομαντεία, or *Divination by Herbs*, especially *Ἑλελίσφανος*, or *Salvia*; or by *Fig-leaves*, and thence call'd *Συκομαντεία*, was practised thus: The Person thus consulted wrote their own Names, and their Questions upon Leaves, which they exposed to the Wind, and as many of the Letters as remained in their own Places were taken up, and being joined together contained an Answer to the Question.

Κηρομαντεία, or *Divination by Wax*, which they melted over a Vessel of *Water*, letting it drop within three definite Spaces, and observed the Figure, Situation, Distance, and Concretion of the Drops. Besides these, there were infinite other Sorts of *Divination*; as *Χυρομαντεία*, *Φυσιγνωμία*, which was practised in *Socrates's* Times, *Ὀρομαντεία*, *Ἀριθμομαντεία*, *Γεωμαντεία*, *Λυχνομαντεία*, mention'd with several others, by *Aratus* in his *Prognosticks*, and *Pliny* in his *Natural History*; but these I shall pass by, and only trouble you with one more, which is so remarkable, that it must not be omitted, *viz.*

Φαρμακία, which was usually performed by certain medicated and enchanted Compositions of Herbs, Minerals, &c. which they called *φάρμακα*. By these strange and wonderful Things were effected: Some of them, taken inwardly, caused Blindness, Madness, Love, &c. such were the Medicaments by which *Circe* transform'd *Ulysses's* Soldiers. Others infected by a Touch; such was the Garment which *Medea* sent to *Creüsa*. Others spread their Venom afar off, and operated upon Persons at a great Distance. There were also *φάρμακα σωτήρια*, which were Amulets against the former; such were the Herb *Moly*, which preserv'd *Ulysses* from *Circe's* Inchantments; the Laurel, the Swallow-tree, the Rhamn or Christ-thorn, Flea-bane, the Jasper-stone, and innumerable others mention'd by *Albertus Magnus*, and *Orpheus* in his Book *De Lapillis*; likewise certain Rings, which *Aristophanes*, in his *Plutus*, calls *δακτυλῆς φάρμακας*. For this Art the *Thessalians* were most famous of all the *Grecians*; *Democritus* and *Pythagoras* are also said to have been skilled in it. Every Story is full of the prodigious

Operations wrought by it, some of which I shall give you from the Inchantress's own Mouth in *Ovid* (e) ;

————— *Cum volui, ripis mirantibus, amnes
In fontes rediere suos ; concussaque fissa
Stantia concutio freta ; nubila pello
Nubilaque induco : ventos abigoque vocoque ;
Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces :
Vivaeque saxa, sua convulsaque robora terrâ,
Et sylvas moveo ; jubeoque tremiscere montes ;
Te quoque, Luna, traho.*—————

Whene'er I please, the wond'rous Banks behold
Their Waters backwards to the Fountains roll'd :
The Seas, if rough, and in vast Ridges rise,
As tho' their angry Waves wou'd dash the Skies,
I give the Word, and they no longer roam,
But break, and glide away in silent Foam.
If plain, and calm, the Ocean's Surface lie,
Smooth, like some well-spread azure Canopy,
I rouse the unruly Waves with hideous Roar,
And bid their swelling Heaps insult the Shore ;
Then straight the watry Mountains heave their Heads,
O'erleap their Bounds, and drown th' enamell'd Meads.
Clouds me obey, and at my Summons sent,
Insest, or quit th' ethereal Firmament.
Winds too on downy Wings attend my Will,
And, as I bid, or boist'rous are, or still.
I burst the Vipers by my magick Verse,
And from their Basis rend both Rocks and Trees.
The thronging Woods I move ; at my Command
The Moon shrinks back, and Mountains trembling stand.

H. H.

Where you may observe the last Verse, wherein she boasts, that she was able to draw the Moon from her Orb ; for the Ancients really believ'd, that Incantations had Power to charm the Moon from Heaven ; according to that Saying of *Virgil* :

Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere Lunam (f).

The Moon my Verses from her Orb can draw.

And whenever the Moon was eclipsed, they thought it was done by the Power of Magick ; for which Reason it was usual to beat Drums and Kettles, to sound Trumpets and Hautboys, to drown, if it was possible, the Voices of the Magicians, that their Charms might not reach her. The Moon also was thought to preside over this Art, and therefore was invoked together with *Hecate*, to whom the Invention of it was ascribed ; whence *Medea* in *Euripides* saith, that, of all the Gods, she paid the greatest Veneration to *Hecate* (g) :

(e) Met. lib. vii. Fab. 2. (f) Eclog. viii. (g) *Euripidis Medæ*, v. 395.

Οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Δέσποιναν, ἣν ἐγὼ σέβω
Μάλιστα πάντων καὶ συνεργὸν εἰλόμην,
Ἑκάτην·

For by the Goddess, whom I most adore,
Infernal *Hecate*, whom now I choose
Co-partner of my black Designs.

Some of the Rites used at the Invocation of this Goddess are given us by (b) *Apollonius* in these Words;

Δὴ τὸ τε μέσσην νύκτα διακμοιρηδὴ φιλάξει
Ἀκαμάτοιο ῥῶσι λισσάμενος πνταμυῖο;
Οἷος ἀνευ τ' ἄλλων ἐνὶ φάρεσι κυανέοις
Βόθρον ὀρέξασθαι περιηγέα, τῷ δ' ἐνὶ θῆλυν
Ἀρνειὸν σφάζειν, καὶ ἀδαίετον ὠμοθετῆσαι;
Αὐτῷ πυρκαϊὴν εὖ κηήσας ἐπὶ βόθρῳ·
Μενογενῇ δ' Ἑκάτην Περσηΐδα μελίσσασθαι,
Λείδων ἐκ δέπατος σμβολήνῃ ἔργα μέλίσσῃ·
Εἰθὰ δ' ἔπειτα θεῶν μεμνημένος ἱλάσασθαι.
Ἄψ' ἀπὸ πυρκαϊῆς ἀναχαλῆς, μηδὲ σέ δέπτος
Ἦε πωδῶν ὀρησι μετασφειθῆναι ὀπίσσω,
Ἦε κυτῶν ἱλακῇ, μήπως τὰ ἑκάστα κολουσας.

When lab'ring Night has half her Journey run,
Wash'd in some purling Stream, repair alone,
Clad in a dusky Robe, and dig a Pit,
Round let it be, and raise a Pile in it.
Then kill a tender Ewe; when this is done,
O' th' new-raised Pile, unquarter'd lay her on.
And if you *Perse's* Daughter wou'd appease,
Pour a Libation, which the painful Bees
Have first wrought up within their waxen Hives.
Next pray the Goddesses wou'd propitious prove,
Then backwards from the flaming Altar move;
But let no Yells of Dogs, or seeming Noise
Of Feet behind, turn back thy steady Eyes,
And frustrate all thy former Sacrifice.

H. H.

To this Sort of Divination are to be referred Charms and Amulets against Poison, Venom, and Diseases. *Suidas* reports, that the curing of Distempers by Sacrifices, and the Repetition of certain Words, was practis'd ever since the Time of *Minos* King of *Crete*; and (i) *Homer* relates, how *Autolycus's* Sons flanch'd *Ulysses's* Blood, flowing from a Wound he received in hunting a wild Boar, by a Charm;

(b) *Argon.* iii. v. 1028.

(i) *Odys.* i. v. 456.

Ἰταλὴν δ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἀντιθέοιο
 Δῆσαν ἐπισταμένως, ἐπαοιδῇ δ' αἶμα κελευστόν
 Ἐσχίσθον·—————

With nicest Care, the skilful Artists bound
 The brave, divine *Ulysses'* ghastly Wound;
 And th' Incantations stanch'd the gushing Blood.

The same is observ'd by *Pliny* (k), who adds farther, that *Sic Theophrastus ischidiacos Janari, Cato prodidit luxatis membris carmen auxiliari, Marcus Varro podagris*; It was reported by *Theophrastus*, that the Hip-Gout was cured in the same Manner; by *Cato*, that a Charm would relieve any Member out of Joint; and by *Marcus Varro*, that it would cure the Gout in the Feet. *Chiron* in *Pindar* is said to use the same Remedy in some Distempers, but not in all (l):

————— λίσαις ἄλλον ἄλ-
 λοίων ἀχίων
 Ἐξάγει· τὸ μὲν μαλακαῖς
 Ἐπαοιδᾷς ἀμφίπων.

And it is probable, that the Use of these Incantations gave Occasion to the Invention of that Fable, whereby *Orpheus* is said to have recover'd his Wife *Eurydice* from the Dead by the Force of his Musick; for we are told by *Pausanias* (m), that *Orpheus* was skill'd in the Art of Magick; and by *Euripides* (n), that he publish'd a Book concerning the Remedies of Distempers:

Κρίσσοι ἐδὲν ἀνάσκει
 Εὐρον· ἐδὲ τε φάρμακον
 Θρήσσαις ἐν σάνισι τὰς
 Ὀρφεία κατέγραψεν
 Γῆρυς.—————

Hither are also to be reduced enchanted Girdles, and other Things worn about Men's Bodies, to excite Love or any other Passion, in those with whom they conversed: Such was the *Ketton* in *Homer's Iliads*, given by *Venus* to *Juno*, for the Allurement of *Jupiter* to her Love, as *Eustatbius* observes upon the afore-mention'd Verses in the *Odysses*. But, concerning these Practices, I shall have Occasion to add something more, when I come to treat of Love-Affairs (o).

Lastly, To this Place doth also belong *Βασκανία, Fascination*, so call'd, as *Grammarians* inform us, παρὰ τὸ φάσαι καίνειν, from killing with the Eyes; whence also the Latin Word *fascinus* is said to have been deriv'd. For it was believ'd that some malignant Influence darted from the Eyes of envious and angry Persons, infected the ambient Air, and by that Means penetrated and corrupted the Bodies of Animals and other

(k) Nat. Hist. lib. xxxviii. cap. 2. (l) *Pyth.* Od. iii. ver. 89. (m) *Eliac.* ii. pag. 383. Edit. *Haupt.* (n) *Alceß.* ver. 965. (o) *Archæologiz*, lib. iv. cap. 10. Things.

Things (p). The younger Animals, as being most tender, were thought most easily to receive this Sort of Impression. Hence the Shepherd in *Virgil* (q) complains that his Lambs suffer'd by *Fascination*:

Nescio quis teneros oculis mihi fascinat agnos.

Plutarch mentions (r) certain Men, whose Eyes were destructive to Infants and Children, by Reason of the weak and tender Constitution of their Bodies, but had not so much Power over Men, whose Bodies were confirm'd and compacted by Age. Yet he adds in the same Place, that the *Thebans* about *Pontus* could not only destroy Infants, but Men of ripe Age. *Pliny* affirms the same concerning the *Triballi* and *Illyrians*, whose Eyes had commonly two *Pupillæ*, which were thought extremely conducive to *Fascination*; whence the same Author observes farther from *Cicero*, *fœminas omnes ubique nocere, quæ duplices pupillas habent*, that in all Places all the Women, who had double Eye-balls, had Power to hurt others on whom they would fix their Eyes (s). These Influences were thought chiefly to proceed from those, whose Spirits were moved by the Passions of Anger and Envy. Hence the fore-mention'd *Triballi* and *Illyrians* are reported to have injur'd those whom they look'd upon *iratis oculis*, with angry Eyes (t). And such Men as were bless'd with any singular and uncommon Happiness, were chiefly liable to *Fascination*: Hence the following Saying of *Horace* concerning his Country-seat (u):

*Non isthic obliquo oculo mihi commoda quisquam
Limat.* —————

For the same Reason, they who had been extravagantly commended by others, and more especially by themselves, were in Danger of having their Prosperity blasted (x). And the Goddess *Nemesis* was thought to have some Concern in this Matter. *Pliny* speaks of whole Families in *Africa*, *quarum laudatione intereant probata, ardescant arbores, moriantur infantes*: Whose Praises were destructive to Things which they commended, dry'd up Trees, and kill'd Infants. Hence, when the *Romans* praised any Thing or Person, they used to add *præfiscini*, or *præfiscine dixerim*, to avert any *Fascination* which might ensue; or to intimate that their Commendations were sincerely spoken, and not with any malicious Design to prejudice what they commended. *Plautus* represents the same Custom at *Athens* (y):

*Præfiscini hoc nunc dixerim: nemo etiam me accusavit
Merito meo: neque me Athenis est alter hodie quisquam,
Cui credi recte æque putent.* —————

Some crown'd those, whom they thought to be in Danger, with Garlands of the Herb *Baccharis*, which had a sovereign Power against *Fascinations*: Hence the following Verses in *Virgil* (z):

(p) *Heliodor. Æthiop. lib. iii.* (q) *Eclog. iii. ver. 103.* (r) *Sympos. lib. v. Quæst. 7.* (s) *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 2.* (t) *Idem loco citato.* (u) *Loco citato.* (x) *Tertullian, libro de Virgin. veland.* (y) *Afin. Act. ii. Sc. iv. ver. 84.* (z) *Eclog. vii. ver. 27.*

*Aut si ultra placitum laudarit, bacchare frontem
Cingite, ne noceat vati mala lingua futuro.*

Some made Use of certain Bracelets or Necklaces compos'd of Shells, Corals and precious Stones, and others apply'd certain Herbs prepar'd with Incantations and Magical Rites to this Use: These also being esteemed excellent Remedies according to *Gratius*:

*Nam sic affectus oculique venena maligni
Vicit tutela pax impetrata Deorum.*

Sometimes the Figure of a Man's Privities was hung about the Necks of Children (*m*), which was also thought a very powerful Amulet against *Fascinations*, and for that Reason was call'd *Fascinum*. These or the like Representations, were thought to avert the Eyes of malicious Persons διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς ὀψέως, by the Oddness of the Sight, from fixing too stedfastly on the Person or Thing, to which they were affixed (*n*). Hence they were sometimes hung upon the Doors of Houses and Gardens, as we are inform'd by *Pliny* (*o*); and *Pollux* (*p*) affirms, that Smiths commonly placed them before their Forges. The same Author observes from *Aristophanes*, that their Name was βασκάνα, they are called by *Plutarch* (*q*) προσβασκάνα, in the old Glossary προσβασκάνιον answers the Latin Word *Mutinium*. But we are inform'd by *Phavorinus*, that βασκάιον λέγουσι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, the Ancients us'd the Word βασκάιον, the Moderns προσβασκάνιον. It may farther be observ'd that these Figures were Images of *Priapus*, who was believ'd to punish such Persons, as did βασκαίνειν τι τῶν καλῶν, prejudice good Things by *Fascination*, as we are informed by *Diodorus the Sicilian* (*r*). The Romans had several other Deities, who averted *Fascinations*. The God *Fascin*us is mention'd as one of these by *Pliny* (*s*); and *Cunina* is said by *Lactantius* (*t*) to be worshipped, because she did *Infantes in cunis tueri*, & *fascinum submovere*; protect Children in their Cradles, and avert *Fascination*; it was before observ'd, that some Omens were averted by spitting at them, which is an Action of Detestation and Abhorrence. Hence some, chiefly old Women, averted *Fascinations* by spitting into their Bosoms. Hence the following Verse of *Callimachus*, which is cited by the *Scholiast* upon *Theocritus*, who farther affirms that, the same Custom was practis'd in his Time:

Δαίμων, τοὶ κόλποισιν ἐπιπτύεσι γυναῖκες.

It may be farther observed, that this was done thrice, three being a sacred Number, as hath been elsewhere shewn. Hence *Dametas*, who is introduced by *Theocritus*, representing the Behaviour of *Polyphe*mus, having praised himself, adds, that by the Advice of old *Cottaris* he had thrice spit into his Bosom to prevent *Fascinations* (*u*):

(*m*) *Varro*, lib. vi. (*n*) *Plutarchus* *Sympos.* lib. v. *Quæst.* 7. (*o*) *Nat. Hist.* lib. xix. cap. 4. (*p*) *Onomast.* lib. vii. cap. 24. (*q*) *Loco citato.* (*r*) *Lib.* iv. (*s*) *Nat. Hist.* xxiv. cap. 4. (*t*) *Lib.* i. cap. 10. (*u*) *Theocriti* *Idyll.* vi. ver. 30.

*Ὡς μὴ βασιλευσὶν δὲ, τρεῖς εἰς ἑμὸν ἔπτυσσα κόλπον.
Ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγρία με Κοτύλαρις ἐξεδίδαξεν.

Hence it was usual to reprove arrogant Persons, when they assum'd more than their Due, bidding them εἰς κόλπους πύειν, *spit into their Bosoms*, an Example whereof we find in *Lucian* (k). Another Method of averting *Fascinations* from Infants was this: They tied a Thread of divers Colours about the Neck of the Infant, then spit upon the Ground, and, taking up the Spittle mix'd with Dirt upon their Finger, put it upon the Infant's Forehead and Lips. There is an Allusion to this Custom in *Perfius* (l):

*Ecce avia, aut metuens Divum matertera, canis
Exemit puerum: frontemque atque uda labella
Infami digito, & lustralibus ante salivis
Expiat, tuentes oculos inhibere perita.*

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Grecian Festivals in General.

FESTIVALS were instituted upon four Accounts: First, in Honour of the Gods, to whom, besides the Worship every Day paid them, some more solemn Times were set apart. Especially if they had conferred any signal Favour upon the Publick, or upon private Persons, had assisted them in defending their Country, had given them Victory over their Enemies, had delivered them out of any apparent Danger, or blessed them with Success in any Undertaking, it was thought but reasonable to set apart some Time for offering Sacrifices and Praises to them, as grateful Acknowledgments for the Benefits receiv'd at their Hands.

Secondly, In order to procure some special Favour of the Gods; for (as you may learn from the following Chapters) several of the Festivals were instituted with a Design to render the Gods propitious, and willing to grant some particular Blessings, as Health, Children, and such like. And in Times of Famine, Pestilence, or other publick Calamities, the Oracles usually advised their Consultants to institute solemn Festivals, as the best Method to appease the angry Gods, and obtain of them Deliverance from the Evils they laboured under.

Thirdly, In Memory of deceased Friends, of those that had done any remarkable Service for their Country, or died valiantly in the Defence of it. This was no small Encouragement of generous and noble Dispositions to enter upon honourable Designs, when they saw that the brave Actions of the Virtuous did not perish with them, but their Memories were ever held sacred by succeeding Generations.

Fourthly, Festivals were instituted, as Times of Ease and Rest to

(k) Πλοῖον ἢ Εὐχαῖς.

(l) Sat. ii. ver. 31. Ubi conf. Interpretes.

Labourers; that amidst all their Toil and Sorrow, and as it were a Recompence thereof, some Days of Refreshment might be allowed them. For some one or more of these Ends, most Festivals seem to have been first instituted.

(m) *Aristotle* reports, that amongst the Ancients they had few, or no Festivals, besides those after Harvest or Vintage; for then they used to meet and make merry with the Fruits they had gathered, Eating and Drinking plentifully; which they esteem'd a Sort of Offering their First-fruits to the Gods, whom they thought honour'd by so doing; and therefore Feasts were called *Θεῖαι*, *q. Δείοναι*, ὅτι διὰ τὰς θεὰς ἀνέσθαι δύν ὑπελαμβάνον, i. e. *because they thought they were obliged, in Duty to the Gods, to be drunk.* And *Seleucus*, in the same Author tells us, That the Words *θαλία* and *μέθη* were derived from the same Original, Τὸν τε οἶνον ἐπὶ παλίων, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἡδυπάθειαν θεῶν ἕνεκα προσφέρεισθαι, διὸ καὶ δόνας, καὶ θαλίας, καὶ μέθας ἀνομασθῆναι, i. e. *Banquets were called δόναι, θαλῖαι, and μέθαι, from Θεὸς, or God; because it was usual at those Times to consume great Quantities of Wine, and other Provisions, in Honour of the Gods.*

In later Ages, when the Gods were increased almost to the Number of Men, and the old frugal Way of living was laid aside, the Number of Festivals were enlarged, and the Manner of them quite altered: For whereas formerly the Solemnities consisted in little or nothing, besides offering a Sacrifice to the Gods, and after that making merry themselves; now a great many Games, Processions, and innumerable Ceremonies, in Imitation of the fabulous Actions of the Gods, were introduced and practised, to the vast Charge of the Publick.

The *Athenians*, as they exceeded all other People in the Number of their Gods, so they out-did them in the Number of their Festivals; which, as (n) *Xenophon* reports, were twice as many, as any other City observed: Nor did the Number and Frequency of them abate any Thing of the Solemnity, Splendor, and Charges at their Observation. The Shops and Courts of Judicature were shut up on most of those Days; the Labourers rested from their Works, the Tradesmen from their Employments, the Mourners intermitted their Sorrows; and nothing but Ease and Pleasure, Mirth and Jollity were to be found amongst them. Indeed *κενὸν τὲτο καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βάρβαρων ἐστίν*, *this was common both to Greeks and Barbarians*, as we are informed by *Strabo*, to celebrate their religious Solemnities with Mirth and Remission of their Labours.

Most of them were celebrated at the publick Charge; and, lest their Treasury should be exhausted by so frequent Evacuations, several Means were contrived to supply and replenish them. For Instance, after *Therapylus* had deposed the Tyrants, their Estates were confiscated for this Use, as *Harpocration* observes out of *Philocorus*: And when the State was reduced to its old Democracy, if any of the Citizens, through too much Wealth, became formidable to the poorer

(m) *Ethic. ad Nicomach. lib. vii. c. 9.*

(n) *De Repub. Atheniens.*

Sort, and Objects of their Envy, it was customary to compel them to contribute towards the defraying of the Expences at publick Festivals; and so by conferring upon them a great (tho' chargeable and dear-bought) Honour, at once sweeten the Imposition (if not also oblige those on whom it was imposed) and rid themselves of those Fears and Jealousies, which the immoderate Opulency of private Persons might reasonably give to a popular State.

Thus much of Festivals in general: As to the Particulars, I have omitted very little that is material in the Tracts of *Meursius* and *Castellanus* upon this Subject; and some Things not taken Notice of by either of them, and perhaps not unworthy your Observation, I have added. Yet do I not pretend, that this is a complete or entire Collection of the *Grecian Festivals*; for that would be endless (seeing almost every Man of Repute, and that had done any notable Service for the Publick, had his anniversary Day) and impossible, since Hundreds of them (especially those that were observ'd by the less considerable Cities) are not so much as mention'd in any Author at this Day extant; or but barely mention'd, without any Account of the Persons to whom they belong'd, or the Ceremonies used at their Celebration: However, as much as is necessary to the understanding of the ancient *Greek Writers*, the following Chapters will furnish.

C H A P. XX.

Grecian Festivals.

ΑΗΤΟΠΕΙΟΝ and ΑΗΤΟΡΙΑ,

Mentioned by *Hesychius*, without any Notice of the Deity, in whose Honour they were observed. It is not improbable they might belong to *Apollo*, and be (at least the latter of them) the same with the *Lacedæmonian Καρνα*. This Conjecture is grounded upon the Words of *Hesychius*, who tells us, that Ἀγνὴς was the Name of the Person consecrated to the God at the Καρνα and that the Festival itself was term'd Ἀγνόρια, which Name seems to have been deriv'd from ἄγω, that Festival being observ'd in Imitation of στρατιωτικὴν ἀγωγὴν, or, the military Way of Living, as *Athenæus* (a) and *Eustathius* (b) have observ'd. It is not unlikely the former might belong to *Venus*, whose Priest (as *Grammarians* inform us) was call'd Ἀγνὴς in *Cyprus*.

ΑΓΡΑΝΙΑ

Was celebrated at *Argos* (c) in Memory of one of *Prætus's* Daughters; being in all Probability the same with

ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΑ,

Which (as the same Author tells us) was observ'd at *Argos* in Memory of a deceas'd Person. It was also celebrated at *Thebes* with solemn Sports.

(a) Lib. iv.

(b) *Iliad.* ω.(c) *Hesychius.*

ΑΓΡΑΥΛΙΑ,

At *Athens*, in Honour of *Agraulus*, or *Aglaurus*, the Daughter of *Cecrops*, and the Nymph *Aglauris*, and the Priestess of *Minerva*, to whom she gave the Surname of *Aglaurus*, and was worshipp'd in a Temple dedicated to her. The *Cyprians* also (as *Porphyrus* (d) reports) honour'd her by the Celebration of an annual Festival in the Month *Aphrodisius*, at which they offer'd human Victims; and this Custom is said to have continued till the Time of *Diomedes*.

ΑΓΡΙΩΝΙΑ,

In Honour of *Bacchus*, surnamed 'Αγρίων for his Cruelty, as *Plutarch* (e) is of Opinion; or because he convers'd with, and was attended by Lions, Tygers, and other savage Animals, which procur'd him the other Name of 'Αγρὸς, which properly denotes an Eater of raw Flesh. This Solemnity was observ'd in the Night after this Manner: The Women (f) being assembled made a strict Search after *Bacchus*, as if he had fled from them; but after some Time, finding their Labour to be in vain, said, that he had retir'd to the *Muses*, and conceal'd himself amongst them. This being done, and the Ceremony ended, they regaled themselves with an Entertainment; after which, the Time was pass'd away in proposing Riddles and cramp Questions. Large Quantities of Ivy were us'd at this Time (g), because that Plant was accounted sacred to *Bacchus*; and so great Excesses were sometimes committed, that once the Daughters of *Minya*, in a furious Ecstasy of Devotion, slaughter'd *Hippasus*, the Son of *Leucippe*, and serv'd him up to the Table: In Memory of which Murder their whole Family was ever after excluded from this Festival upon Pain of Death; which, as *Plutarch* (b) reports, was inflicted upon one of them, that had surreptitiously convey'd herself in among the rest of the Worshippers, by *Zoilus* a *Chæronean* Priest.

ΑΓΡΟΤΕΡΑΣΘΥΣΙΑ,

(i) An anniversary Sacrifice of five hundred Goats, offer'd at *Athens* to *Minerva*, surnam'd 'Αγροτέρα, from *Agræ* in *Attica*. The Occasion of it was this: When *Darius* the Emperor of *Persia* made an Invasion upon *Attica*, *Callimachus*, who was at that Time in the Office of a *Polemarch*, made a solemn Vow to *Minerva*, that if she would grant them Victory over their Enemies, they would sacrifice to her as many He-Goats as should equal the Number of the Slain on their Enemy's Side: *Minerva* granted his Request, but the Number of the *Persians*, that fell in the Battle being so great, that all the He-Goats they could procure did not come near it; instead of them they offer'd all the She-Goats they could find; and these also falling infinitely short of the Number, they made a Decree, that five hundred Goats should be offer'd every Year, till it should be completed.

(d) De Abſtinentia, lib. ii. (e) *Antonio*. (f) *Plutarch*. Sympoſ. lib. viii. Quæſt. i. (g) *Idem* Quæſt. Roman. (b) Quæſt. Græc. (i) *Xenoph.* Exped. Cyri.

ΑΓΡΥΠΝΙΣ,

A nocturnal Festival (*k*), celebrated in Honour of *Bacchus* at *Arbelia*, a Place of *Sicily*; and so call'd, because the Worshippers did ἀγρυπνῶν, or watch all Night.

ΑΔΩΝΙΑ, ΑΔΩΝΕΙΑ,

Was celebrated in most of the Cities of *Greece*, in Honour of *Venus*, and in Memory of her belov'd *Adonis*. The Solemnity continued two Days; upon the first of which certain Images or Pictures of *Adonis* and *Venus* were brought forth with all the Pomp and Ceremonies practis'd at Funerals; the Women tore their Hair, beat their Breasts, and counterfeited all other Postures and Actions usual in lamenting the Dead. This Lamentation was term'd ἀδωνιασμός (*l*), or ἀδωνία, whence ἀδωνίαν ἄγειν is interpreted by *Suidas* Ἀδωνι κλαίειν, to weep for *Adonis*. The Songs on this Occasion were call'd ἀδωνίδια (*m*). There were also carry'd along with them Shells fill'd with Earth, in which grew several Sorts of Herbs, especially Lettuces, in Memory that *Adonis* was laid out by *Venus* upon a Bed of Lettuces. These were call'd κήποι, *Gardens*; whence Ἀδωνίδος κήποι are proverbially apply'd to Things unfruitful or fading; because those Herbs were only sown so long before the Festival, as to sprout forth and be green at that Time, and then were presently cast out into the Water. The Flutes us'd upon this Day were call'd γυλγίαι, from γύλγης, which was the *Phœnician* Name of *Adonis*. Hence to play on this Instrument was term'd γυλγᾶν, or γυλγᾶναι, the Musick γυλγασμός, and the Songs γυλγᾶντα. The Sacrifice was term'd Καθίστα, because (I suppose) the Days of Mourning us'd to be call'd by that Name. The following Day was spent in all possible Expressions of Mirth and Joy; in Memory, that, by the Favour of *Proserpina*, *Venus* obtain'd that *Adonis* should return to Life, and dwell with her one Half of every Year. All this vain Pomp and serious Folly serv'd only to expose the Heathenish Superstition, and gave Birth to the Proverb Οὐδὲν ἱερὸν, by which seem to be meant Things that bear a Show of something great or sacred, but are in Reality nothing but sorry and ridiculous Trifles.

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ,

Two Festivals observ'd at *Athens* in Honour of *Minerva*; one of them was call'd Παναθήναια, the other Καλνδεα, and both shall be treated of in their proper Places.

ΑΙΑΚΕΙΑ,

Sports at *Agina* in Honour of *Aæcus*, who had a Temple in that Island; wherein, after the End of the Solemnity, the Victors us'd to present a Garland of Flowers (*n*).

(*k*) *Hesychius*. (*l*) *Etymologici Auctor*. (*m*) *Proclus* in *Chrestomathia*.
(*n*) *Pindarus* ejusque *Scholias*tes *Nemæon*. *Od*. VI.

ΑΙΑΝΤΕΙΑ,

To *Ajax* in the Isle of *Salamis* (o). Also in *Attica*, where, in Memory of the Valour of that Hero, a Bier upon set Days was adorn'd with a complete Suit of Armour; and such a pious Care the *Athenians* took of his Memory, that his Name was continued to Posterity in that of one of their Tribes, which was from him call'd *Αιαντις*.

ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

Was a Festival at *Ægina* observ'd in Honour of *Neptune* sixteen Days together; all which were employ'd in Mirth and Jollity, and offering Sacrifices to the Gods. And this was done only by free Denisons of that Island, without the Assistance of Servants, who were for that Reason call'd *Μονοφάροι*, which Word signifies Persons that eat by themselves. After all, the Solemnity was ended with offering a Sacrifice to *Venus*. The Occasion and Original of these Observances are accounted for by *Plutarch* in his *Greek Questions*.

ΑΙΜΑΚΟΥΡΙΑ,

A *Peloponnesian* Festival, wherein Boys (*κῦροι*) were whipt at the Sepulchre of *Pelops*, till Blood (*αἷμα*) was drawn, whence this Solemnity deriv'd its Name.

ΑΙΩΡΑ, ΕΩΡΑ, ΕΥΔΕΙΠΝΟΣ, or ΑΛΗΤΙΣ,

A Festival (p) and solemn Sacrifice celebrated by the *Athenians* with Vocal Musick in Honour of *Erigone*, sometimes call'd *Aletis*, the Daughter of *Icarius*; who, out of an Excess of Grief for the Misfortunes of her Father, hang'd herself: Whence the Solemnity had the Name of *Αιωρα*. At her Death she requested the Gods, that if the *Athenians* did not revenge *Icarius's* Murder, their Virgins might end their Lives in the same Manner that she did. Her Petition was granted, and a great many of them, without any apparent Cause of Discontent, became their own Executioners; whereupon, to appease *Erigone*, they instituted this Festival by the Advice of *Apollo*. Others report (q), that it was observ'd in Honour of King *Temaleus*; or of *Ægysthus* and *Clytemnestra*. And some are of Opinion (r), that it was first observ'd by Command of an Oracle, in Memory of the Daughter of *Ægysthus* and *Clytemnestra*, who in Company of her Grandfather *Tyndarus* took a Journey to *Athens*, where she prosecuted *Orestes* in the Court of *Areopagus*; and, losing her Cause, hang'd herself for Grief.

ΑΚΤΙΑ,

A triennial Festival solemniz'd at *Actium* in *Epirus*, with Wrestling, Horse-racing, and a Fight or Race of Ships in Honour of *Apollo*, who had the Sirname of *Actius* from that Place (s).

(o) *Hesychius*. (p) *Hyginus Astronom. lib. ii.* (q) *Hesychius*. (r) *Etymolog. Magnum.* (s) *Stephanus Byzantin. Clemens Protrept. Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. xi. cap. 8.*

ΑΛΑΙΑ, or ΑΔΕΑΙΑ,

To *Minerva*, surnam'd *Alea*, at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, where that God-
defs was honour'd with a Temple of great Antiquity (t).

ΑΛΕΚΤΡΥΟΝΩΝ ΑΓΩΝ,

A yearly Cock-fight at *Athens*, in Memory of the Cocks, from
whose crowing *Themistocles* received an Omen of his Success against
the *Persians* (u).

ΑΔΙΑ,

Solemn Games (w) celebrated at *Rhodes*, upon the twenty-fourth
Day of the Month *Γορπαια*, which answers to the *Athenian* *Βονδρομιων*, in
Honour of the Sun, who is called in *Greek* *Ἡλιος* and *Ἄλφειος*, and is said
to have been born in the Island of *Rhodes*; the Inhabitants of which
were reputed his Posterity, and therefore call'd *Heliades*, as we learn
from *Strabo* (x). The Combatants in these Games were not only
Men, but Boys; and the Victors were rewarded with a Crown of
Poplar.

ΑΔΚΑΘΟΙΑ,

At *Megara* (y), in Memory of *Alcathous* the Son of *Peleus*, who,
lying under a Suspicion of having murder'd his Brother *Chrysippus*, fled
to *Megara*; where having overcome a terrible Lion that wasted the
Country, and had slain, beside many others, King *Megareus*'s own Son,
he so far ingratiated himself, that he had in Marriage the King's
Daughter, and was declar'd his Successor.

ΑΔΩΑ,

At *Athens*, in the Month *Pofideon*, in Honour of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*,
by whose Blessing the Husbandmen receiv'd the Recompence of their
Toil and Labour; and therefore (z) their Oblations consisted of no-
thing but the Fruits of the Earth. Others say, this Festival was insti-
tuted as a Commemoration of the primitive *Greeks*, who lived *ἐν ταῖς*
ἀλωσι, i. e. in *Vine-yards* and *Corn-fields* (a). Hence *Ceres* was call'd
Ἀλωας, *Ἀλωίς*, and *Εὐαλωσία*.

ΑΔΩΤΙΑ,

To *Minerva* by the *Arcadians*, in Memory of a Victory, wherein
they took a great many of the *Lacedæmonians* Prisoners, which the
Greeks call'd *ἀλωτός* (b).

ΑΜΑΡΥΝΘΙΑ, or ΑΜΑΡΥΣΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated with Games in Honour of *Diana*, surnam'd

(t) *Pausanias* *Arcadic*. (u) *Ælianus*, lib. ii. cap. 28. (w) *Pindari* *Scholias*.
Olymp. Od. viii. (x) *Lib. xiv.* (y) *Pindari* *Scholias*. *Nem. v.* (z) *Demosthenes*
in *Neuram*. (a) *Harpocration*. *Eustath.* *Iliad. ω.* (b) *Pausan.* *Arcadicis*.

Amarynthia and *Amarysia*, from a Town in *Eubœa*. It was observ'd by the *Eubœans*, *Eritreans*, *Carystians*, and *Athmonians*, who were Inhabitants of a Borough in *Attica*.

ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΑ,

To *Bacchus* (b) the God of Wine, in the Month of *Lenæon*, in most of the Cities of *Greece*.

ΑΜΜΑΛΩ,

A Festival, of which nothing more is recorded, than that it belong'd to *Jupiter* (c).

ΑΜΜΩΝ,

An *Athenian* Festival (d).

ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΙΑ,

At *Oropus*, in Honour of *Amphiaræus* (e); of whom I have given a sufficient Account in another Place.

ΑΜΦΙΔΡΟΜΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd by private Families in *Athens*, upon the fifth Day after the Birth of every Child. It was so call'd ἀπὸ τῆ ἀμφοδραμῆς, i. e. from *Running round*; because it was customary to run round the Fire with the Infant in their Arms. Of this more hereafter.

ΑΝΑΓΩΓΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices (f) to *Venus* at *Eryx* in *Sicily*, where she was honour'd with a magnificent Temple. The Name of this Solemnity was derived ἀπὸ τῆ ἀνάγεσθαι, i. e. from *returning*; because the Goddess was said to leave *Sicily*, and return to *Africk* at that Time.

ΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, in Honour of the *Dioscuri*, who were call'd Ἀνάκτες, and honour'd with a Temple call'd Ἀνάκειον. The Sacrifices offer'd at that Time were nam'd *Ξενίσμοι*, because those Deities were ξένοι, or Strangers (g); and consisted of three Offerings (h), which were call'd *τετράαι*. *Athenæus* (i) also makes mention of Plays acted in Honour of these Deities.

ΑΝΑΚΛΗΤΗΡΙΑ,

Solemnities observ'd at the ἀνάκλησις, or *Proclamation*, of Kings and Princes, when they became of Age to take the Government into their own Hand (k).

(b) *Hesiodi Scholiast.* Oper. & Dier. lib. ii. (c) *Hesychius.* (d) *Idem.* (e) *Pindari Schol. Olymp. vii.* (f) *Ælianus Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 15.* (g) *Pindari Schol. Olymp. iii.* (h) *Pausanias.* (i) *Déipnos.* lib. ii. (k) *Polybii Hist. xviii. & Legat. Eclog. lxxxviii.*

ΑΝΑΚΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ,

A Festival (l) at *Amphissa*, the capital City of *Locris*, in Honour either of the *Dioscuri*, or *Curetes*, or *Gabiri*; for Authors are not agreed in this Matter.

ΑΝΑΞΑΤΟΡΕΙΑ,

Anaxagoras dying at *Lampsachus*, the Magistrates of that City asked, Whether he desired any Thing to be done for him? He reply'd, that on the Anniversary of his Death the Boys should have Leave to play. This Custom was observ'd in the Time of *Diogenes Laertius* (m).

ΑΝΔΡΟΓΕΩΝΙΑ, or Ἀγῶνες ἐν Ἐὐρυγύῃ,

Annual Games (n) celebrated in the *Ceramicus* at *Athens*, by the Command of *Minos* King of *Crete*, in Memory of his Son *Androgeos*, otherwise call'd *Eurygyas*, who was barbarously murder'd by some of the *Athenians* and *Megarensians* (o).

ΑΝΘΕΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, observ'd in Honour of *Bacchus* upon the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth Days of the Month *Anthesterion*.

The first Day was nam'd Πιθουρία, ἀπὸ τοῦ πίθου οἶνον, i. e. because they then tapp'd their Barrels. The same Day was by the *Chæroneans* call'd Ἀγαθὸν δαίμονον, i. e. the Day of Good Genius; because it was customary to make merry upon it.

The second Day was call'd Χόες, from the Measure χοῶν, because every Man drunk out of his own Vessel; in Memory of an Accident that happened in the Reign of *Pandion*, or (as others say) of *Demophoon*, under whom *Orestes*, having slain his Mother, fled to *Athens*, before he had undergone the customary Purification for Murder. The *Athenians* were at that Time busy in celebrating the Festival of *Bacchus*, surnam'd *Lenaus*, because he had the Care of *Wine-presses*, which are in Greek call'd Λύμαια. However, he was kindly receiv'd by *Demophoon*, who, to prevent the Contamination which might adhere to the Company by drinking with a polluted Person, and that *Orestes* might not take it unkindly to be forced to drink alone, ordered that every Man should have a distinct Vessel of Wine, and drink out of his own Cup. On the foregoing Day they only open'd their Vessels, and tasted the Wine; but now it was customary to drink plentifully, and the *longest Liver*, in Token of Victory, was rewarded with a Crown of Leaves, or, as some report (p), a Crown of Gold and a Vessel of Wine. It was usual also to ride in Chariots, out of which they jested upon all that pass'd by. The Professors of *Sophistry* feasted at Home with their Friends upon this Day, and had Presents sent them from all Hands: To which Custom *Eubulides* alludes in these Verses:

(l) *Pausanias Phocicis*. (m) *Laertius* sine *Anaxagoræ*. Conf. *Plutarchus* de *Præcept. Reipub. gerend.* p. 820. Edit. *Parif.* (n) *Hesychius*. (o) *Plutarch.* *Theseo*. (p) *Ælianus* Var. *Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 41.

Σοφῖας, κάκις, καὶ Χοῶν δὲ
τῶν μισθοδύρων, ἐκ ἀδείων ἐν τρυφῇ.

Ah! subtle Knave, you now the Sophist play,
And wish that bounteous Χοαὶ may approach,
Whose Presents fill your Belly and your Purse.

From this Day it was that *Bacchus* had the Sirname of Χοιπότης.

The third Day was call'd χύτροι, from χύτρα, i. e. a *Pot*, which was brought forth full of all Sorts of Seeds, which they accounted sacred to *Mercurius χθόνιος*, the *Infernal*, and therefore abstain'd from them. Upon this Day the *Comedians* used to act; and at *Sparta* *Lycurgus* order'd, that such of them as obtain'd the Victory should be enroll'd amongst the free Denisons.

During these Days the Slaves were allow'd to make merry, drink, and revel; and therefore, at the End of the Festival, it was usual to make Proclamation in this Manner: Θύραζι Κάρεις, ἐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθιστέρια i. e. Be gone, you *Carian Slaves*, the *Anthesteria* are ended.

ΑΝΘΕΣΦΟΡΙΑ,

A *Sicilian Festival* (p), so nam'd ἀπὸ τῆ φέρειν ἄνθια, i. e. from carrying *Flowers*; because it was instituted in Honour of *Proserpina*, whom *Pluto* is said to have stolen, as she was gathering *Flowers*.

Another Solemnity of this Name seems to have been observ'd at *Argos* in Honour of *Juno*, to whom a Temple was dedicated in that Place under the Name of Ἀθελία (q).

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΙΑ,

Sacrifices in Honour of *Antigonus* (r).

ΑΝΤΙΝΟΕΙΑ,

Annual Sacrifices and Quinquennial Games in Memory of *Antinous* the *Bithynian*: They were instituted at the Command of *Adrian* the *Roman Emperor*, at *Mantineia* in *Arcadia* (s), where *Antinous* was honour'd with a Temple and divine Worship.

ΑΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΑ,

A Festival (t) first instituted at *Athens*, and from thence deriv'd to the rest of the *Ionians*, except those of *Ephesus* and *Colophon*. It receiv'd its Name from ἀπάτη, which signifies Deceit; because it was first instituted in Memory of a *Stratagem*, by which *Melanthius* the *Athenian King* overcame *Xanthus King* of *Boeotia*. For a Controversy happening between the *Athenians* and *Boeotians*, about a Piece of Ground situated upon the Confines of *Attica* and *Boeotia*; *Xanthus*

(p) Pollux Onom. lib. i. cap. 1. (q) Pausanias Corinthiacis. (r) Plutarch. Agid. & Cleomen. (s) Pausan. Arcad. (t) Aristophan. Schol. Acharn. Hesych. Harpocration, Suid. Etymologici Auctor. Idem Auctores ubique sunt in hoc toto capite citati.

made a Proposal, that himself and the *Athenian King* should end the Quarrel by a single Combat. *Thymætes* reign'd at that Time in *Athens*, but declining the Fight, was depos'd: His Successor was *Melanthius* a *Messenian*, Son of *Nelus* and *Pereclymene*, who, having accepted the Challenge, met his Enemy at the appointed Place; where, as they were just going to begin the Fight, *Melanthius* thinking or pretending that he saw, at *Xanthius's* Back, a Person habited in a black Goat-skin, cry'd out, that the Articles were violated; upon this, *Xanthius* looking back was traiterously slain by *Melanthius*. In Memory of this Success, *Jupiter* was surnam'd *Ἀπατήνωρ*, i. e. *Deceiver*; and *Bacchus*, *Μελανανγίς*, i. e. *cloathed in a black Goat-skin*, and was farther honour'd with a new Temple, and the Institution of this Festival. Others are of Opinion, that *Ἀπατέρια* are so called, *γ. ἀπατόρια*, i. e. *ὁμοπατόρια*, because upon this Festival, Children accompanied their Fathers, to have their Names enter'd into the publick Register: After the same Manner *ἄλοχοι* is equivalent to *ὁμόλεκτροι* and *ἄκοιτις* to *ὁμόκοιτοι*. Others will have *Ἀπατέρια* to be so nam'd, because the Children were till that Time *ἀπάτορες*, i. e. *without Fathers*, in a Civil Sense; for that it was not till then publickly recorded, whose they were. For a like Reason, *Melchisedeck* is by some thought to be call'd *ἀπάτωρ*, *ἀμήτωρ* (*u*), i. e. *without Father, without Mother*; viz. because his Parentage was omitted in the sacred Genealogies. To return: This Festival was celebrated in the Month *Pyanepsion*, and lasted three Days.

The first Day was call'd *Δορπία*, from *δορπίζω*, i. e. *a Supper*; because on that Day at Evening, each Tribe had a separate Meeting; whereat a sumptuous Entertainment was provided.

The second Day was nam'd *Ἀνάξινσις*, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναίρειν, because on this Day Victims were offer'd to *Jupiter*, *Φαέτρις*, and *Ἀπατήνωρ*, and to *Minerva*, in whose Sacrifices (as in all that were offer'd to Celestial Gods) as it was usual *ἀναίρειν τὰς κεφαλὰς*, i. e. *to turn the Head of the Victim upwards* towards Heaven. At this Sacrifice the Children enroll'd amongst the Citizens were placed close to the Altar. It was usual also for Persons richly apparell'd, to take lighted Torches out of the Fire, and to run about, singing Hymns in Praise of *Vulcan*, who was the first that taught Men the Use of that Element: Which Custom is by *Meursius* referred to this Day, tho' *Harpocratio*, to whom we are indebted for the Mention of it, has left us in the Dark as to its Time.

The third Day was nam'd *Κερεῶτις*, from *κείρω*, i. e. *a Youth*; or *κείρω*, i. e. *Shaving*; because the young Men, who till that Time remain'd unshaved, had their Hair cut off, before they were presented to be register'd. Their Fathers at this Time were obliged to swear, that both themselves, and the Mothers of the young Men, were free-born *Athenians*. It was also usual to offer two Ewes and a She-goat in Sacrifice to *Diana*, which they call'd *Θύειν Φεατρίαν* the She-goat was term'd *αἷς Φεατρίς*, and the Ewe *αἷς Φεατῆς* (*u*). It was to be of a certain Weight; and because it once happen'd, that the Standers-by cry'd out in Jest, *Μεῖον, μεῖον*, i. e. *Too little, too little*, it was ever after call'd *Μεῖον*, and the Persons that offered it, *Μεταγωγοί*.

To these *Hesychius* adds a fourth Day, which he tells us was call'd *Ἐπὶ ἑσθῆς*; but that Name is not peculiar to this Festival, but generally apply'd to any Day, celebrated after the End of another Solemnity; being deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ ἑσθῆς, i. e. from *following*; because it was a Sort of Appendage to the great Festival.

This Festival was observed five Days by the *Proetibæ*, who began it a Day sooner than others. There was also a Decree made when *Cephesidorus* was chief *Archon*, whereby the Senate was forbidden to meet for five Days, during the Time of this Solemnity (*).

ΑΠΑΥΛΙΑ,

The second Day in Marriages, of which I shall have Opportunity to speak in another Place.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ,

To *Apollo*, at *Ægialea*, upon this Account: *Apollo*, having obtain'd a Victory over *Python*, went to *Ægialea*, accompanied with his Sister *Diana*; but being frighted from thence, fled into *Crete*. After this, the *Ægialeans* were infected with an Epidemical Distemper; and being advis'd by the Prophets to appease the two offended Deities, sent seven Boys and as many Virgins to entreat them to return. *Apollo* and *Diana* accepted their Piety, and came with them to the Citadel of *Ægialea*; in Memory of which, a Temple was dedicated to *Peitho*, the Goddess of *Persuasion*; and it became a Custom to appoint chosen Boys and Virgins, to make a solemn Procession, in shew as if they design'd to bring back *Apollo* and *Diana*; which Solemnity was continued till *Pausanias's* Time (y).

ΑΠΟΠΟΜΠΑΙΟΙ,

Certain Days (z), in which Sacrifices were offer'd to the Gods call'd *Πομπαιοι*. Who these were is doubtful. Certain it is, that *πομπαιος* denotes any Person that conducts another in his Way; and therefore was apply'd to *Mercury*, who was believed to be *Pluto's* Gentleman usher, and to conduct the Souls of the deceased Persons to the Shades below: Whence *Ajax*, in *Sophocles*, before he stabb'd himself, pray'd thus:

καὶ ὦ θ' ἄμ' α
Πομπάϊον Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον εὖ μὲ κομίσαι.

— Infernal *Mercury* I call
Safe to conduct me to the Shades below.

But I am rather inclin'd to think, these Days belong'd to the Gods call'd *Ἀποπομπαιοι*, i. e. ἀποτρέφοι, (for ἀποπομπή is by *Phavorinus* expounded ἀποτρέφω) otherwise nam'd *Ἄλσσι*, *ἀλεξιαχοι*, *ἀποτροπαίοι*, *φύξιοι*, and *averrunci*, because they were thought to avert Evils; such were *Jupiter*,

(x) *Albenæus* lib. iv.

(y) *Pausanias* *Corinthiacis*.

(z) *Hesychius*.

Hercules, and others; and therefore for πομπαίους, in *Hesychius*, I would read ἀποπομπαίους, except they may be used as synonymous Terms.

Α Π Α Τ Ε Ι Α,

A Festival at *Sicyon* (a), upon the Birth-day of *Aratus*, whom they honour'd with a Priest; who, for Distinction's Sake, wore a Ribband bespangled with white and purple Spots. It was celebrated with Musick; and the Choristers of *Bacchus* assisted in the Solemnity with Harps. There was also a solemn Procession, in which the publick School-master, accompanied with his Scholars, went first, and the Senators adorn'd with Garlands, with as many of the other Citizens as had a Mind, follow'd.

Α Ρ Γ Ε Ι Ω Ν Ε Ο Ρ Τ Α Ι,

Festivals at *Argos*, the Names of which are lost. One we find mention'd in *Parthenius* (b), upon which he tells us, there was a publick Entertainment.

Another is taken Notice of in *Plutarch* (c), upon which the Boys call'd one another in Jest Βαλλαχράδας, i. e. βάλλοντας ἀχράδας, by which Words are signified Persons that throw wild Figs. Which Custom perhaps was instituted in Memory of their ancient Diet in *Inachus's* Time, when they lived upon wild Figs.

A third we read of in *Aeneas* (d), in which great Numbers of the Citizens made a solemn Procession out of the City in Armour.

Α Ρ Ι Α Δ Ν Ε Ι Α,

Two Festivals (e) at *Naxos*, in Honour of two Women, who had one common Name of *Ariadne*. The former of them was thought to be of a gay and pleasant Temper, and therefore her Festival was observ'd with Musick, and many other Expressions of Joy and Mirth.

The latter being the same that was expos'd big with Child upon that Coast by *Theseus*, was suppos'd to be of a melancholy Disposition, and therefore the Solemnity dedicated to her had a Shew of Sorrow and Mourning; and in Memory of her being left by *Theseus* near the Time of Child-birth, it was usual for a young Man to lie down, and counterfeit all the Agonies of Women in Labour. This Festival is said to have been first instituted by *Theseus*, as a Recompence of his Ingratitude to her.

Α Ρ Ρ Η Φ Ο Ρ Ι Α,

At *Athens* (f), in the Month *Scirophorion*, in Honour of *Minerva* and *Erfa*, one of *Cecrops's* Daughters, upon which Account it is sometimes call'd Ἐρσηφόρια, or Ἐρρηφόρια. But the former Name is deriv'd ἀπὸ τῶ ἀρρητα φέρειν, i. e. because of certain mysterious Things, which were carried by four select noble Virgins, not under seven, nor above eleven

(a) *Plutarchus Arato*. (b) *Erotic*. xiii. (c) *Græc. Quæst.* (d) *Polioreet*. cap. 17. (e) *Plutarchus Theseo*. (f) *Harpocrat. Suidas. Etymolog.*

Years of Age, and hence call'd Ἀρρηφόροι. Their Apparel was white; and set off with Ornaments of Gold: Whence Ἀρρηφόροι is interpreted χρυσῶν ἱσθῆτα φορεῖν καὶ χρυσία (g). They had a particular Sort of Bread, which was term'd γασός (h), and Cakes call'd ἀνάστατοι (i). There was a certain σφαμίστριος Ball-court appropriated for their Use in the *Acropolis*, wherein stood a brazen Statue of *Isocrates* on Horseback (k). Out of these were chosen two, to weave (as the Custom was) a Πέπλος, or Garment, for *Minerva*; which Work they began upon the thirtieth of *Pyanepsion*.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑ,

A Festival in Honour of Ἄρτεμις, or *Diana*. It was celebrated in several Places of *Greece*, particularly at *Delphi*, where they offered a Mullet to the Goddess, as being thought to bear some Sort of Relation to her; because (l) it is said to hunt, and kill the Sea-hare. The Bread offered to the Goddess was termed λοχία (m); and the Women, who performed the sacred Rites, were called λούβαι (n).

Another Solemnity of this Name was observed three Days together, with Banquets and Sports, at *Syracuse* (o).

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΕΙΑ,

A Festival of *Æsculapius*, observ'd in several Parts of *Greece*; but no where with so much Solemnity, as by the *Epidaurians* (p), whom this God honoured with his more immediate Presence, giving Answers to them in an Oracular Way: Wherefore it was called Μεγαλασκήπεια, i. e. The great Festival of *Æsculapius* (q). One great Part of the Solemnity consisted of a Musical Entertainment, wherein the Poets and Musicians contended for Victory, and therefore was called ἱερὸς ἀγὼν, the Sacred Contention.

ΑΣΚΩΛΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Athenian* Husbandmen, in Honour of *Bacchus* (r), to whom they sacrificed a He-goat; because that Animal destroys the Vines, and therefore was supposed to be hated by *Bacchus*. Out of the Victim's Skin it was customary to make a Bottle, which being filled with Oil and Wine, they endeavoured to leap upon it with one Foot, and he that first fixed himself upon it, was declared Victor, and received the Bottle as a Reward. The doing this they called ἀσκολιάζειν, παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν ἄλλεσθαι, i. e. from *Leaping upon a Bottle*, whence this Festival has its Name.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ,

Festivals in Honour of Ἀφροδίτη, or *Venus*; several of which were observed in divers Parts of *Greece*: The most remarkable of them

(g) Etymologici Auctor. (h) *Athenæus*, lib. iii. (i) *Suidas*. (k) *Plutarchus* *Isocrate*. (l) *Athenæus*, lib. vii. (m) *Hesychius*. (n) *Idem*. (o) *Livius*, lib. xxiii. *Hesychius*. (p) *Plato* *Ione*. (q) *Inscript. vet.* (r) *Phurnutus* de *Baccho*, *Aristoptan. Scholiast.* *Pluto*, *Hesychius*.

was that at *Cyprus* (s) first instituted by *Cinyras*; out of whose Family certain Priests of *Venus* were elected, and for that Reason named *Kinyradae*. At this Solemnity several mysterious Rites were practised; all that were initiated into them offer'd a Piece of Money to *Venus*, as an Harlot, and receiv'd, as a Token of the Goddess's Favour, a Measure of Salt and a *Θαλλός*: The former, because Salt is a Concretion of Sea-water, to which *Venus* was thought to owe her Birth: The latter, because she was the Goddess of Wantonness.

At *Amathus*, a City of *Cyprus*, solemn Sacrifices were offer'd to *Venus*, and call'd *Καρπώσις* (t); which Word is deriv'd from *καρπός*, i.e. *Fruit*; perhaps because this Goddess presided over Generation.

At both the *Paphi Venus's* Festival was observ'd, not only by the Inhabitants of those Places, but Multitudes that thronged to it out of other Cities (u).

At *Corinth* it was celebrated by Harlots (x).

A X I A Δ E I A,

An anniversary Festival at *Sparta*, in Honour of *Achilles* (y).

B

B A K X E I A,

To *Bacchus* (z). See *Διονύσια*.

B A A Δ H T T E,

At *Eleusis* in *Attica*, to *Demophoon*, the Son of *Celeus* (a).

B A P A T P O N,

Solemn Games in *Thesprotia*, wherein the strongest obtained the Victory (b).

B A Σ I A E I A,

A Festival at *Lebadea*, in *Boeotia* (c).

B E N Δ I Δ E I A,

A *Thracian* Festival (d), in Honour of *Diana*, who was by the *Thracians* call'd *Béddē*. From *Thrace* it was carried to *Athens*, where it was celebrated in the *Piræus*, upon the nineteenth or twentieth of *Thargelion*.

(s) Clemens Protrept. Arnobius, lib. v. Hesychius. Pindari Scholiastes. (t) Hesychius. (u) Strabo, lib. xiv. (x) Athenæus, lib. xiii. (y) Pausanias Laconicus. (z) Hesychius. (a) Athenæus, lib. ix. Hesychius. (b) Hesychius. (c) Pindari Scholiastes Olymp. vii. (d) Strabo, lib. ix. Proclus in Timæum, Hesychius.

ΒΟΗΔΡΟΜΟΙ,

An *Athenian* Festival (*d*), so called ἀνὰ τὴν Βοηδρομιῶν, i. e. from coming to help; because it was instituted in Memory of *Ion*, the Son of *Xuthus*, who came to the Assistance of the *Athenians*, in the Reign of King *Eretheus*, when they were invaded by *Eumolpus*, the Son of *Neptune*. But *Plutarch* (*e*) reports, that it was observ'd in Memory of a Victory obtain'd by *Theseus* against the *Amazons*, in the Month *Boedromion*.

ΒΟΡΕΑΣΜΟΙ,

Another *Athenian* Festival (*f*) in Honour of *Boreas*; who had an Altar in *Attica*, and was thought to bear some Relation to the *Athenians*, having married *Orithyia*, the Daughter of *Eretheus*; for which Reason, when in a Sea-fight a great many of their Enemies Ships were destroy'd, by a North-wind, the *Athenians* imputed it to the Kindness *Boreas* had for his Wife's native Country, as *Pausanias* reports (*g*).

We are inform'd by the same Author (*h*), that solemn Sacrifices were offer'd to *Boreas* at *Megalopolis* in *Arcadia*, where he had a Temple and divine Honours.

ΒΟΤΤΙΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

The *Bottiaens* were an *Athenian* Colony; wherefore in Memory of their Original, they observed this Solemnity, in which the Virgins used to say ἵκετεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, i. e. Let us go to Athens (*i*).

ΒΡΑΣΙΔΕΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity at *Sparta*, in Memory of *Brasidas*, a *Lacedæmonian* Captain, famous for his Achievements at *Metbone*, *Pylus*, and *Amphipolis*. It was celebrated with Sacrifices and Games, wherein none were permitted to contend, but free-born *Spartans* (*k*). Whoever neglected to be present at the Solemnity was fined (*l*).

ΒΡΑΥΡΩΝΙΑ,

To *Diana*, surnamed *Brauronia*, from the Place in which this Festival was observ'd, viz. *Brauron*, an *Athenian* Borough, in which the famous Statue of this Goddess, brought from *Scythia Taurica* by *Iphigenia*, remained till the second *Persian* War, in which *Xerxes* took it away (*m*). It was celebrated once in five Years, being manag'd by ten Men, call'd, from their Office, ἱερότροι. The Victim offer'd in Sacrifice was a Goat; and it was customary for certain Men to sing one of *Homer's Iliads*. The most remarkable Persons at this Solemnity were young Virgins habited in yellow Gowns, and consecrated

(d) *Harpocration, Suidas.* (e) *Theseo.* (f) *Plato in Phædo, Hesychius.*
 (g) *Atticis.* (h) *Arcadicis.* (i) *Plutarchus Theseo, & Quæst. Græc.* (k) *Pausanias Laconicis, Thucydid. lib. v. Suidas.* (l) *Interpres Græcus in Aristotelis Ethic. ad Nicomach. lib. v. cap. 7.* (m) *Pausanias Atticis, & Arcadic. Pollux. lib. viii. cap. ix. Harpocration, Suidas.*

to *Diana*. These were usually about ten Years of Age, (it being unlawful for any of them to be above Ten, or under Five) and therefore to consecrate them was call'd *Δεκατύειν*, from *δέκα*, i. e. *Ten*: It was also call'd *ἀρκεύειν*, and the Virgins themselves were nam'd *Ἄρκετοι*, i. e. *Bears*, upon this Account: Amongst the *Phlauidæ*, Inhabitants of a Borough in *Attica*, there was a Bear, which was so far divested of its natural Fierceness, and become tame and tractable, that they usually admitted it to eat, and to play with them, and received no Harm thereby: But a young Maid once unluckily happening to be too familiar with it, the Beast tore her to Pieces, and was afterwards killed by the Virgin's Brethren: Upon this ensued a dreadful Pestilence, which proved very fatal to many of the Inhabitants of *Attica*; as a Remedy of which, they were advis'd by an Oracle to appease the Anger of *Diana* for the Bear, by consecrating Virgins to her in Memory of it. The *Athenians* punctually executed the divine Command, and enacted a Law, that no Virgin should be marry'd till she had undergone this Ceremony.

Γ

Γ Α Λ Α Ξ Ι Α,

A Festival in which they boil'd *τὴν γαλαξίαν*, i. e. a Mixture of *Barley-Pulse* and *Milk* (n). *Meursius* is of Opinion, that it belong'd to *Apollo*, who, from a Place in *Boeotia*, was firnam'd *Galaxius* (o).

Γ Α Λ Ι Ν Θ Ι Α Δ Ι Α,

A solemn Sacrifice at *Thebes*, offered to *Galinthias*, one of *Prætus's* Daughters, before the Festival of *Hercules*, by whose Order it was first instituted.

Γ Α Μ Η Α Ι Α, Γ Ε Ν Ε Θ Α Ι Α, Γ Ε Ν Ε Σ Ι Α,

Three private Solemnities, the first whereof was observ'd at Marriages; the second in Memory of the Birth; the last of the Death of any Person. But of all these I shall give you a more full Account in one of the following Books.

Γ Ε Ν Ε Τ Τ Α Α Ι Σ.

This Solemnity was celebrated by Women, in Honour of *Genetyllis* the Goddesses of that Sex (p), to whom they offer'd Dogs. This *Genetyllis* was *Venus*, ἡ ἐποπόδ' τῆς γενέσεως, the President of Generation (q).

Γ Ε Ρ Α Σ Τ Ι Α,

In Honour of *Neptune*, at *Geræstus*, a Village of *Eubœa*, where he was honour'd with a Temple (r).

(n) *Hesychius*. (o) *Proclus Chrestomath*. (p) *Hesychius*. (q) *Aristæthanas* interpretes ad *Nubes*. (r) *Stephanus, Pindari Schol. Olymp. xiii.*

ΓΕΡΟΝΘΡΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

An anniversary Festival in Honour of *Mars*, at *Geronthræ*, where there was a Temple dedicated to him. He had also a Grove in the same Place, into which it was unlawful for any Woman to enter, during the Time of this Solemnity (r).

ΓΕΦΥΡΙΣΜΟΙ,

A Solemnity mention'd by *Elian* (s); and perhaps the same with the γιφυρισμοί, at the Festival of *Ceres Eleusinia*; of which afterwards.

ΓΗΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

At *Athens*, in Honour of Mother *Earth*, to whom a Temple was dedicated in the Citadel of that Place (t). Solemn Games also were celebrated to her, as we learn from *Pindar* (u).

Ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις τε, καὶ βαθυκόλπῳ
Γᾶς αἶθλος. —————

At the *Olympick* Games and sacred Sports
Of the capacious *Earth*.

ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΙΑ, or ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ,

A solemn Dance (x), perform'd by *Spartan* Boys.

Δ

ΔΑΙΔΙΣ,

A Solemnity, which lasted three Days, during all which Time Torches (call'd in *Greek* δαῖδες) were burnt, which gave Occasion to the Name (y).

Upon the first Day they commemorated *Latona's* Labour, and *Apollo's* Birth.

The second was in Memory of *Glycon's* and the God's Nativity.

The third, of the Marriage of *Podalirius*, and the Mother of *Alexander*.

ΔΑΙΔΑΛΑ,

Two Festivals in *Boeotia* (z), one of which was observ'd by the *Platæans* at *Alalcomenos*, where was the largest Grove of any in *Boeotia*. In this they assembled, and exposing to the open Air Pieces of sodden

(r) *Pausanias* *Laconic.*

(s) *Histor. An. lib. iv. cap. 43.*

(t) *Téucyd.*

lib. ii. (u) *Pythion*, lib. ix.

(x) *Plutarch. Apophthegm.*

(y) *Lucianus*

Pseudomant.

(z) *Pausan. Boeotic.*

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Flesh, carefully observ'd whither the Crows, that came to prey upon them, directed their Flight; and then hew'd down all those Trees, upon which any of them alighted, and form'd them into Statues, which were by the ancient Greeks call'd *Δαίδαλα*, from the ingenious Artificer *Dædalus*.

The other Solemnity was by far the greatest and most remarkable, being celebrated not only by *Platæa*, but all the Cities of *Bæotia*, once in sixty Years; in Memory, and, as it were, in Recompence for the Intermision of the lesser Festival the same Number of Years, during which Time the *Platæans* had liv'd in Exile. In order to this Solemnity, there were always prepar'd fourteen *Δαίδαλα* at the other Festivals, to be distributed by Lots amongst the *Platæans*, *Coroneans*, *Thespians*, *Tanagræans*, *Chæroneans*, *Orchomenians*, *Lebadeans*, and *Thebans*; because they promoted a Reconciliation with the *Platæans*, and were desirous to have them recall'd from Banishment, and contributed Offerings towards the Celebration of the Festival, about the Time that *Thebes* was restor'd by *Cassander* the Son of *Antipater*. Nor did the fore-mention'd Cities only, but other Cities of lesser Notice, join in this Solemnity; the Manner of which was thus:

A Statue being adorn'd in Woman's Apparel upon the Banks of *Asophus*, a Woman in the Habit of a Bride-maid was appointed to accompany it, being follow'd by a long Train of *Bæotians*, who had Places assign'd them by Lots, to the Top of Mount *Cithæron*; upon which an Altar of square Pieces of Timber, cemented together in the Manner of Stones, was erected. Upon this large Quantities of combustible Matter being laid, each of the Cities, and such Men as were possess'd of plentiful Estates, offer'd a Bull to *Jupiter*, and an Ox, or Heifer, to *Juno*, with Plenty of Wine and Incense: The poorer Sort, and such as were not of Ability to purchase more costly Oblations, contributed small Sheep, all which, together with the *Δαίδαλα*, being thrown into one common Heap were set on Fire, and not extinguish'd, till the whole Fabrick, of which the Altar itself made a Part, was consum'd to Ashes. The first Occasion of these Customs was this: On a Time it happen'd that *Juno* had a Quarrel with *Jupiter*, whereby the Goddess was exasperated to such a Degree, that she departed from him, and retir'd into *Eubæa*: The God was very much troubled at this Desertion, and endeavour'd by all the Arts of Persuasion to engage her to return; but, finding her obstinate in her Resolution, went to advise with *Cithæron*, who reign'd at that Time over the *Platæans*, and had the greatest Reputation for Wisdom of any Man in that Age: The Expedient he advis'd to was this; that *Jupiter* should dress a Statue in Woman's Apparel, and place it in a Chariot, giving out that it was *Platæa*, the Daughter of *Asophus*, and that she was contracted to him in Marriage: The God approv'd his Counsel, and put it in Practice: And the Report had no sooner reach'd *Juno*, but she posted with all Haste to meet the Chariot; where having discover'd the Cheat, she was wonderfully taken with the Contrivance, and return'd into Favour with her Husband.

An entire Treatise was compos'd by *Plutarch* upon this Festival, some Fragments of which are still preserv'd in *Eusebius* (x), and confirm the Substance of the Relation now given out of *Pausanias*; from whom they differ only in this, that in them *Cithæron* is call'd *Alalcomenes*; and *Plataea*, *Dædala*.

Δ Α Ρ Ο Ν,

A Festival of which nothing remains besides the Name, which is preserv'd by *Hesychius*. If the Conjecture of *Meursius* deserves any Credit, it will not be improbable that it belong'd to one *Darron*, who, as the same Grammarian informs us, was worshipp'd by the *Macedonians*, and thought to restore Health to sick Persons.

Δ Α Τ Λ Ι Ε,

A Solemnity at *Argos*, in which was represented the Combat of *Prætus* and *Acrisius*.

Δ Α Φ Ν Η Φ Ο Ρ Ι Α,

A Novennial Festival (a), celebrated by the *Bæotians* in Honour of *Apollo*. The chief Solemnity was thus: They adorn'd an Olive-bough with Garlands of Laurel and various Sorts of Flowers: Upon the Top of it was placed a Globe of Brass, from which hung other lesser Globes: About the Middle were fix'd to it purple Crowns and a Globe of smaller Size than that at the Top: The Bottom was cover'd with a Garment of a Saffron-colour. The uppermost Globe was an Emblem of the Sun, by whom they meant *Apollo*. That placed diametrically under it signify'd the Moon; the lesser Globes represented the Stars; and the Crowns, being sixty-five in Number, were Types of the Sun's annual Revolution, which is compleated in about the same Number of Days. The Bough, thus adorn'd, was carry'd in Procession; the Chief in which was a Boy of a beautiful Countenance, and good Parentage, whose Father and Mother were both living: He was apparell'd in a sumptuous Garment, reaching down to his Ankles: His Hair hung loose and dishevell'd; on his Head was a Crown of Gold; and upon his Feet Shoes call'd *Iphicratidæ*, from *Iphicrates* an *Athenian*, the first Inventor of them. It was his Duty to execute at that Time the Priest's Office, and he was honour'd with the Title of *Δαφνιφόρος*, i. e. *Laurel-bearer*. Before him went one of his nearest Relations, bearing a Rod adorn'd with Garlands: After the Boy followed a Choir of Virgins with Branches in their Hands: And in this Order they proceeded as far as the Temple of *Apollo*, firnam'd *Ismenius* and *Galaxius*, where they sung supplicatory Hymns to the God. These Ceremonies were first practis'd upon this Account: The *Æolians* that inhabited *Arne*, and the adjacent Territory, being advis'd by an Oracle to relinquish their old Seats, and to seek their Fortunes, made an Invasion upon the *Thebans*, who at the same Time were besieg'd by the *Pelasgians*: It happened to be near the Time of *Apollo's* Festival, which was religiously observ'd by

(x) De-Præpar. Evangel. lib. iii. (a) *Pausanias Bæoticis*, *Proclus Chrestomathia*.

both Nations; wherefore a Cessation of Arms being granted on both Sides, one Party cut down Laurel-boughs in *Helicon*, the other near the River *Melas*; and, as the Custom was, carry'd them in their Hands, in Honour of *Apollo*. On the same Day there appear'd in a Dream to *Polematas*, General of the *Bæotian* Forces, a young Man, who presented him with a compleat Suit of Armour, and commanded that every ninth Year the *Bæotians* should make solemn Prayers to *Apollo*, with Laurel in their Hands: About three Days after this Vision, he made a Sally on the Besiegers with such Success, that they were forced to quit their Enterprize: Whereupon he caus'd this Festival to be instituted.

Δ Ε Λ Φ Ι Ν Ι Α,

A Festival at *Ægina* (b) in Honour of *Delphinian Apollo*.

Δ Η Λ Ι Α,

A Quinquennial Festival in the Isle of *Delos* (c) instituted by *Theseus*, at his Return from *Crete*, in Honour of *Venus*, whose Statue, given to him by *Ariadne*, he erected in that Place, having by her Assistance met with Success in his Expedition. The chief Ceremonies were these: They crown'd the Goddess's Statue with Garlands, appointed a Choir of Musick, and Horse-races; and perform'd a remarkable Dance, call'd *Γίγαντες*, i. e. the *Crane*; wherein they imitated by their Motions the various Windings of the *Cretan Labyrinth*, out of which *Theseus*, who was the Inventor of the Dance, made his Escape.

Another Solemnity was every Year celebrated in this Island, in Honour of *Apollo*, by the *Athenians*; but of this I have already given you an Account in one of the foregoing Chapters.

Δ Η Μ Η Τ Ρ Ι Α,

A Solemnity in Honour of *Ceres*, call'd by the *Greeks* *Δημόνη* (d), in which it was customary for the Worshippers to lash themselves with Whips, made of the Bark of Trees, and call'd *μύροντες*.

Another Festival of this Name was observed by the *Athenians* (e), in Honour of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, being the same with that which was before call'd *Dionysia*, and celebrated upon the thirteenth of *Monthion*, whose Name was chang'd into *Demetrium*; as also the Day of this Solemnity was nam'd *Demetrius*.

Δ Ι Α Μ Α Σ Τ Ι Γ Ω Σ Ι Σ,

A Solemnity at *Sparta* (f), in Honour of *Diana Orthia*, so nam'd *ἀπὸ τοῦ μαρτυρῆν*, i. e. from whipping, because it was usual to whip Boys upon the Goddess's Altar. These Boys were, at first, Free-born *Spartans*; but, in more delicate Ages, of meaner Birth, being fre-

(b) *Pindari Schol. Olymp. viii.* (c) *Thucydides, lib. iii. Callimachus Hymn. in Delum. Plutarch. Theseo.* (d) *Pollux Onom. lib. i. cap. i. Hesychius.* (e) *Plutarch Demetrio, Diodor. Sicul. l. xviii. Eustathius ll. i.* (f) *Plutarch. Lacon. Instit. & Aristide, Pausanias Laconicis, Themistius Orat. Cicero Tuscul. Quæst. ii. Hyginus Fab. cclxi.*

quently the Offspring of Slaves: They were call'd *Βυμονίαι*, from the *Exercise* they underwent at the *Altar*, and which was very severe and cruel; and lest the Officer should out of Compassion remit any Thing of the Rigour of it, *Diana's* Priestesses stood by all the Time, holding in her Hand the Goddess's Image, which of itself was very light and easy to be borne, but if the Boys were spar'd, became so ponderous, that the Priestesses was scarce able to support its Weight. And lest the Boys should faint under Correction, or do any Thing unworthy of *Laconian* Education, their Parents were usually present, to exhort them to bear whatever was inflicted upon them with Patience and Constancy. And so great was the Bravery and Resolution of the Boys, that though they were lash'd till the Blood gush'd out, and sometimes to Death, yet a Cry or Groan was seldom or never heard to proceed from any of them. Those of them that dy'd by this Means were buried with Garlands upon their Heads, in Token of Joy or Victory, and had the Honour of a publick Funeral.

Whence this Custom had its Origin is not agreed by ancient Writers. By some it is said to have been one of *Lycurgus's* Institutions, and design'd for no other End, than to accustom the Youth to endure Pain, thereby to render them fearless and insensible of Wounds. Others will have it done as a Mitigation of an Oracle, whereby it was commanded that human Blood should be shed upon *Diana's* Altar. By some it is reported to have been as ancient as *Orestes*, who (they say) transplanted out of *Scythia* into *Laconia* the Image of *Diana Taurica*, to whom the *Scythians* us'd to offer human Victims: This barbarous Sort of Worship the *Lacedæmonians* detested; but withal, fearing the Anger of the Goddess, made an Order, that every Year a Boy should be whipped upon her Altar till the Blood gushed out; and so, if nothing could satisfy her but human Blood, she might not be altogether destitute of it. Lastly, Some assign this Cause for it; *Pausanias*, the *Spartan* General, as he was offering Sacrifices and Prayers before the Fight with *Mardonius*, was set upon by a Company of *Lydians*, who plunder'd and scatter'd abroad the Sacrifice; but were at length repell'd with Whips and Staves, which were the only Arms the *Lacedæmonians* were at that Time furnish'd with: In Memory of this Victory, the Whipping of Boys at the Altar of *Sparta*, and after that, the *Lydian* Procession, *Plutarch* tells us, was perform'd till his Day.

ΔΙΑΝΤΙΝΙΑ,

A Festival at *Sparta*.

ΔΙΑΣΙΑ,

At *Athens* (g), in Honour of *Jupiter*, surnam'd *Μελιχρῶς*, i. e. the *Propitious*. It was so call'd ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ τῆς ἁσῆς, i. e. from *Jupiter* and *Misfortune*; because by making Supplications to *Jupiter*, they obtain'd Protection, and Deliverance from Dangers and Evils. It was celebrated about the latter End of *Anthesterion*, without the City, where

(g) *Thucydides*, lib. i. *Aristophanis Scholiast*. *Nub.* *Suidas*.

was a great Concourse of all the *Athenians*, feasting and offering Sacrifices; at the same Time there is said to have been a publick Mart, in which all Sorts of Vendibles were expos'd to Sale; whence *Strepsades* in *Aristophanes* (*b*) saith, he bought his Son *Phidippides* a little Chariot at this Festival:

Ὁν πρῶτον ὄσολον ἔλαβον Ἡλιαγίδην,
Τέτῳ περιάμην σοὶ Διασίῳις ἀμαξίδα.

Plutarch (*i*) maketh Mention of another Festival that belonged to *Jupiter*, wherein a solemn Procession was made by Men on Horseback.

ΔΙΙΠΟΛΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival (*k*) celebrated upon the fourteenth of *Scirrophorion*; so nam'd, because it was sacred τῷ Διὶ Πολιῷ, i. e. to *Jupiter* surnam'd *Polieus*, or Protector of the City. Sometimes it was call'd *Βεφόνια*, from killing an Ox: For it was customary upon this Day to place certain Cakes, of the same Sort with those us'd at Sacrifices, upon a Table of Brass; round this they drove a select Number of Oxen, of which he that eat any of the Cakes was presently slaughter'd. The Person that kill'd the Ox was call'd *βέρης*, or *Βεφόνος*. *Porphyrus* reports, that no less than three Families were employ'd in this Ceremony, and receiv'd different Names from their Offices therein: The Family, whose Duty it was to drive the Oxen, were call'd *Καρράδαι*, from *κίρρον*, i. e. a *Spur*: Those that knock'd him down, *Βετίποι*, being descended from *Thaulon*: Those that slaughter'd and cut him up, *Δαντοί*, Butchers or Cooks. The Original of the Custom was thus: On one of *Jupiter's* Festivals it happen'd, that a hungry Ox eat one of the consecrated Cakes; whereupon the Priest (some call him *Thaulon*, others *Diomus*, or *Sopater*) mov'd with a pious Zeal, kill'd the profane Beast. In those Days it was look'd upon as a capital Crime to kill an Ox; wherefore the guilty Priest was forced to secure himself by a timely Flight, and the *Athenians* in his stead took the bloody Ax, arraign'd it, and, according to *Pausanias*, brought it in not guilty. But *Ælian* is of another Opinion, and reports, that the Priest and People present at the Solemnity (for they also were accused, as being accessory to the Fact) were acquitted, but the Ax condemn'd, which seems to be most probable. In Memory of these Actions, it became ever after customary for the Priest to fly, and Judgment to be given about the Slaughter of the Ox.

ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΙΑ,

A *Spartan* Festival (*l*) in Honour of *Diana*, surnam'd *Dictynna*, from a City of *Crete*; or from a *Cretan* Nymph, one of her Companions in Hunting, who was call'd *Dictynna*, from her Invention of Hunting-nets, which are in *Greek* call'd *Δίκτυα*.

(b) Nubibus. (i) Phorione. (k) *Pausanias Atticus*, *Ælian* Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 3. *Porphyrus* de Abstin. ab Animal. *Heſychius*, *Suidas*. (l) *Pausanias Laconicus*.

ΔΙΟΚΛΕΙΑ,

In the Spring at *Megara*, in Memory of the *Athenian* Hero *Diocles* (m), who dy'd in the Defence of a certain Youth whom he lov'd: Whence there was a Contention at his Tomb, wherein a Garland was given to the Youth who gave the sweetest Kifs. The Solemnity is thus describ'd by *Theocritus* (n):

Νισαῖαι Μεγαρήες, ἀριτεύοντες ἑρετμοῖς
Ὀλδοὶ οἰκοῖντε, τὸν Ἀττικὸν ὡς περὶ ἄλλω
Ξείνων τιμήσασθε Διοκλέα τὸν φιλόπαιδα.
Αἰεὶ οἱ περὶ τύμβον ἀαλλῆες εἶασι πρῶτον
Κῆροι ἐριδμαίνουσι φιλήματος ἄκρα φέρεσθαι.
Ὅς δὲ καὶ προσμάξῃ γλυκερώτερᾳ χεῖλεσι χεῖλην,
Βριθόμενος στεφάνοισιν ἐὼν πρὸς μητέρ' ἀπῆνθεν.

ΔΙΟΜΕΙΑ,

In Honour of *Jupiter Diomeus*; or of *Diomus* (o), an *Athenian* Hero, the Son of *Colyttus*, from whom the Inhabitants of one of the *Athenian* Boroughs were nam'd Διομεῖς.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ,

Solemnities in Honour of Διόνυσος, or *Bacchus*, sometimes called by the general Name of Ὀργια, which Word, though sometimes apply'd to the Mysteries of other Gods, does more peculiarly belong to those of *Bacchus*. The Festivals of this God are said to have been instituted in *Egypt*, and afterwards taught the *Grecians* by one *Melampus* (p); and by *Plutarch* (q) we are inform'd, that the *Egyptian Isis* was the same with *Ceres*, and *Osiris* with *Bacchus*; and that the *Grecian Dionysia* were the same with the *Egyptian Pamyliæ*.

They were observ'd at *Athens* with greater Splendor, and more ceremonious Superstition, than in any other Part of *Greece*; for the Years were number'd by them (r), the chief *Archon* had a Part in the Management of them (s), and the Priests that officiated therein, were honour'd with the first Seats at publick Shews (t). But at first they (u) were without Splendor and Ornaments, being Days set apart for publick Mirth, and observ'd only with these Ceremonies: First a Vessel of Wine, adorned with a Vine-branch, was brought forth, after that follow'd a Goat, then was carry'd a Basket of Figs, and, after all, the *Phalli*.

At some of them it was usual for the Worshippers, in their Garments and Actions, to imitate the poetical Fictions concerning *Bac-*

(m) *Pindar. Schol. Pythion. Od. xiii.* (n) *Idyl. xii. vers. 27.* (o) *Etymolog. Eustath. Il. 8.* (p) *Herodotus, lib. ii.* (q) *De Iside & Osiride.* (r) *Suidas.* (s) *Pollux, lib. viii.* (t) *Aristophan. Schol. Ran.* (u) *Plutarch Περί φιλοπλουτ.*

ebus: They put on Fawn-skins, fine Linen, and Mitres; carry'd *Thyrſi*, Drums, Pipes, Flutes, and Rattles; and crown'd themselves with Garlands of Trees sacred to *Bacchus*, ſuch were the Ivy, Vine, Fir, &c. Some imitated *Silenus*, *Pan*, and the *Satyrs*, expoſing themſelves in comical Dreffes and antick Motions; ſome rode upon Aſſes, others drove Goats to the Slaughter. In this Manner Perſons of both Sexes ran about the Hills, Deſerts, and other Places, wagging their Heads, dancing in ridiculous Poſtures, filling the Air with hideous Noiſes and Yelling, perſonating Men diſtracted, and crying aloud, *Εὐοὶ σάβοι*, *Εὐοὶ Βάκχε*, or *ὦ Βάκχε*, or *ὦ Βάκχε*, or *ὦ Βάκχε*.

Such were the Rites us'd in moſt of *Bacchus's* Fetiſtivals throughout Greece, and particularly at *Athens*, where this frantick Rout was, upon one of the Solemnities of this God, follow'd by Perſons carrying certain ſacred Veſſels; the firſt of which was fill'd with Water; after theſe went a ſelect Number of honourable Virgins, call'd *Καμφοροί*, becauſe they carried little *Baskets* of Gold fill'd with all Sorts of Fruit: In theſe conſiſted the moſt myſterious Part of the Solemnity; and therefore, to amuſe the common People, Serpents were put into them, which, ſometimes crawling out of their Places, aſtoniſhed the Beholders. Next was the *Περιφαλλία*, being a Company of Men carrying *τὰς φαλλὰς*, which were Poles, to the Ends of which were fixed Things in the Form of a Man's Privities: Theſe Perſons were crown'd with Violets and Ivy, and had their Faces cover'd with other Herbs; they were call'd *Φαλλοφόροι*, and the Songs repeated by them, *Φαλλικά ᾠσματα*. After theſe follow'd the *ἱθὺφαλλοί* in Women's Apparel, with Garments ſtrip'd with white, and reaching to their Ankles, Garlands on their Heads, Gloves compos'd of Flowers on their Hands, and in their Geſtures imitating drunken Men. There were alſo certain Perſons call'd *Αικνοφόροι*, whoſe Office it was to carry the *Αἶκνον*, or myſtical Fan of *Bacchus*; a Thing ſo eſſential to this, and other Solemnities and Sacrifices of this God, that few of them could be duly celebrated without it; whence he is ſometimes call'd *Αἰκνύτης*. At this Time alſo publick Shews, Plays, and Sports were frequented, and the whole City was fill'd with Revelling and Licentiousneſs.

The Fetiſtivals of *Bacchus* were almoſt innumerable; the Names of ſome of the moſt remarkable of them are as follow:

Διονύσια ἀρχαῖοτερα (x), celebrated on the Twelfth of *Anthefterion*, at *Limnæ* in *Attica*, where was a Temple of *Bacchus*. The chief Perſons that officiated were fourteen Women, appointed by the *Βασιλεὺς*, who was one of the *Archons*, and provided Neceſſaries for the Solemnity: They were call'd *Γεραραι*, i. e. *Venerable*, and could not enter upon their Office, till they had taken an Oath in Preſence of the *Βασιλιſſα*, or the Wife of the *Βασιλεὺς*, that they were free from all Manner of Pollution.

Διονύσια νεώτερα, are mention'd by *Thucydides* (y), but perhaps are not diſtinct from ſome of the following.

Διονύσια μεγάλα (z), or the *Greater*, ſometimes call'd *Ἀγνὰ*, or *τὰ κατ' ἄγν*, as being celebrated within the City, in the Month *Elaphebolion*:

(x) *Thucyd.* lib. ii. *Hefychius*, *Demofthen.* Orat. in *Nearam*, *Pollux* lib. viii.
(y) *Loc. citat.* (z) *Demofthen.* Orat. in *Leptin.*

It is sometimes by way of Eminence call'd Διονύσια, without any distinguishing Epithet, because it was the most celebrated of all Bacchus's Festivals at Athens. And it seems to be the same with the Διονύσια ἀρχαιότερα, and the following to be the same with the Διονύσια νεώτερα.

Διονύσια μικρά, or the *Less*, sometimes call'd τὰ κατ' ἀγρὸς, because it was observed in the Country. It was a Sort of Preparation to the former and Greater Festival, and was celebrated in Autumn (a): Some place it in the Month *Posideon*, others in *Gamelion*; others will have it to be the same with Διονύσια λήνια, so nam'd from λῆνος, i. e. a *Wine-press*; and agreeably to this Opinion *Hesychius* telleth us, it was celebrated in the Month *Lenæon*.

Διονύσια Βραυρώνια (b), observed at *Brauron*, a Borough of *Attica*; where the *Votaries* gave themselves over to all Manner of Excess and Lewdness.

Διονύσια Νυκτήλια (c), Mysteries unlawful to be reveal'd, and observ'd by the *Athenians* in Honour of Bacchus *Nyctelius*, to whom also they erected a Temple.

Θιόνια, to Bacchus, firnam'd Θίον, i. e. the God of Wine.

Ὠμοφάγια, to Bacchus, firnam'd Ὠμοφάγ and Ὠμης, because human Sacrifices were offer'd to him at that Time (d); or from Eating raw Flesh, which Action the Priests used to imitate upon this Solemnity: It was also customary for them to put Serpents in their Hair, and in all their Behaviour to counterfeit Madness and Distraction.

Διονύσια Ἀρκαδικά was an anniversary Day in *Arcadia*, where the Children, having been instructed in the Musick of *Philoxenus* and *Timotheus*, were brought yearly to the Theatre, where they celebrated the Feast of Bacchus with Songs, Dances, and Games (e).

Several other Festivals were observ'd in Honour of this God, as the triennial Solemnity, call'd from the Time of its Celebration Διονύσια τριετηνικά (f), which is said to have been first instituted by Bacchus himself, in Memory of his Expedition into *India*, in which he spent three Years. Another also is mentioned by the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* (g), and said to be observ'd every fifth Year. And beside these we find frequent Mention of Bacchus's Festivals in most of the ancient Authors, some of which are describ'd in other Places.

ΔΙΟΣΚΟΤΡΙΑ,

In Honour of Διόσκουροι, or *Castor* and *Pollux*, who were reputed to be the Sons of *Jupiter*. It was observed by the *Cyrenæans* (h), but more especially by the *Spartans* (i), whose Country was honoured by the Birth of these Heroes. The Solemnity was full of Mirth, being a Time wherein they shared plentifully of the Gifts of Bacchus, and diverted themselves with Sports, of which Wrestling matches always made a Part.

(a) *Aristophanis* Scholiast. *Acharn.* (b) *Idem* in *Pace.* (c) *Pausanias* *Attic.* (d) *Plutarchus* *Themistocle.* (e) *Polybius*, lib. iv. (f) *Virgil.* *Æneid.* iv. (g) In *Pace.* (h) *Pindari* Schol. *Pythion.* Od. v. (i) *Pausanias* *Messeniacis*, *Sidonius* *Carm.* 12.

ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΣ,

A *Melesian* Festival, wherein an Ox was offer'd to *Jupiter* (k), as the Name imports.

ΔΡΥΟΠΕΙΑ,

An anniversary Day observ'd in Memory of *Dryops*, one of *Apollo's* Sons at *Asine*, which was a Maritime Town of *Argos*, and inhabited by the *Dryopians* (l).

ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΗ,

A Festival so call'd, because it was celebrated upon the *Twelfth* Day of *Anthesterion* (m). See *Ἀνθεστήρια*.

E

ΕΒΔΟΜΗ,

On the *Seventh* Day (n) of every Lunar Month, in Honour of *Apollo*, to whom all *Seventh* Days were sacred; because one of them was his Birth-day, whence he was sometimes call'd *Ἐβδομάγενης* (o). The Story we have in *Hesiod* (p).

————— κ' ἑβδομή, ἱερὸν ἡμερ,
Τῇ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γένετο Λητώ.

————— The *Seventh* Day is sacred,
'Cause *Phæbus* then was of *Latona* born.

At this Solemnity the *Athenians* sung Hymns to *Apollo*, and carry'd in their Hands Branches of Laurel, with which also they adorn'd their Dishes.

Another Festival there was of this Name, which private Families observ'd upon the *Seventh* Day after the Birth of a Child; but of this I shall give an Account in its own Place.

ΕΙΣΗΤΗΡΙΑ,

The Day in which the Magistrates at *Athens* entered upon their Offices (q); upon which it was customary for them to offer a solemn Sacrifice, praying for the Preservation and Prosperity of the Commonwealth, in the Temple or Hall of *Jupiter* Βαλαῖος, and *Minerva* Βαλαία, i. e. the *Counsellors* (r).

ΕΚΑΛΗΣΙΑ,

To *Jupiter*, firnam'd *Hecalus*, or *Hecaleus*, from *Hecale*, one of

(k) *Hesychius*. (l) *Pausanias Messenicis*. (m) *Hesychius*. (n) *Suidas*, *Proclus* in *Hesiodi Dies*. (o) *Plutarch*. *Sympos.* lib. viii. *Quæst.* i. (p) *Diebus*. (q) *Suidas*, *aliquæ Lexicographi*. (r) *Antiphon*, *Orat.* pro *Choreut*.

the Borough-Towns of the *Leontian* Tribe in *Attica* (s); or from an old Woman call'd *Hecale*, by whom he had a Statue erected. This *Hecale* (as *Plutarch* (t) reports) when *Theseus* was upon his Expedition against the *Marathonian* Bull, entertain'd him with all possible Expressions of Kindness and Respect, making Prayers and Vows to the Gods for his safe Return. *Theseus* came off with Victory and Honour; but at his Return, finding old *Hecale* dead, and being thereby prevented from expressing his Thankfulness to her, he order'd that her Memory should be held sacred, and honour'd at this Solemnity, in which she was call'd, by a Diminution of her Name, *Hecale*; because she had accoll'd *Theseus* after that Manner, calling him *Θεσπιδον*, which is a very usual Mode of Speech, when aged Persons design to express their Love and Tendernefs to the younger Sort: So *Strepshades* in *Aristophanes* (u) calls his Son *Phidippides*, by the diminutive Name of *Φιδιππίδον*.

E K A T H Σ I A,

An anniversary Solemnity observ'd in Honour of *Hecate*, by the *Stratonicensians*, who were wont to assemble at this Time in great Numbers (x).

The *Athenians* also had a great Veneration for this Goddess, believing that she was the Overseer of their Families, and protected their Children; whence it was customary to erect Statues to her before the Doors of their Houses, which from the Goddess's Name were call'd *Ἐκαταῖα* (y). Every New Moon there was a publick (*δῆπνον*) Supper provided at the Charge of the richer Sort, which was no sooner brought to the accustomed Place, but the poor People carry'd all off, giving out that *Hecate* had devour'd it (z); whence it was call'd *Ἐκάρης δῆπνον*, or *Hecate's* Supper. This was done in a Place where three Ways met, because this Goddess was supposed to have a threefold Nature, or three Offices, in Allusion to which she was known by *Σελήνη*, or the *Moon*; and upon Earth, *Ἀγριμυς*, or *Diana*: Whence it is, that we find a great many Names attributed to her, deriv'd from the Number *Three*, or bearing some Relation to it; as *Τριγύνη*, *Τριγλῆς*, *Τριγυβήνη*, *Τριόβη*, *Trivica*, *Tergemina*, *Tritonia*, with several others. The Reason why *Hecate* was placed in the publick Ways, rather than other Deities, was *ὅτι ἐν τῶν καθαγμάτων καὶ μισμάτων δεῖα*, because she presided over *piacular* Pollutions, as we learn from the *Scholias*t on *Theocritus* (a): And the abovemention'd Sacrifices or Suppers (*δῆπνα*) ἀποτροπαίων καὶ καθαγμάτων ἐπέχει μίαν, were *expiatory* Offerings to move this Goddess to avert any Evils, which might impend by Reason of *Piacular* Crimes committed in the Highways, as we are inform'd by *Plutarch*.

E K A T O M B O I A,

A Festival (b) celebrated in Honour of *Juno*, by the *Argives*, and

(s) *Stephan. Byzantin.* (t) *Theseo.* (u) *Nulibus.* (x) *Strabo*, lib. xiv. (y) *Aristophan.* etique *Scholias*t. in *Vesp.* (z) *Idem* in *Pluto.* (a) *Idyll.* ii. (b) *Plutarchi Scholias*t. *Olymp.* vii, viii.

Æginetians, who were a Colony from *Argos*. It was so call'd from *ἑκατόμῳ*, which signifies a Sacrifice consisting of an *hundred Oxen*; it being usual upon the first Day of this Solemnity to offer so many to *Juno*, the Reliques of all which were distributed amongst the Citizens. There were also at this Time publick Sports, first instituted by *Archibius*, one of the Kings of *Argos*: The Prize was a Brazen Shield and a Crown of Myrtle.

There was also an anniversary Sacrifice call'd by this Name in *Laconia*, and offer'd for the Preservation of the hundred Cities which flourish'd at one Time in that Country (b).

E K A T O M Φ O N I A,

A solemn Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, offer'd by the *Messenians*, when any of them kill'd an hundred Enemies (c).

E K Δ Τ Σ Ι Α,

A Festival observ'd by the *Phæstians*, in Honour of *Latona*, upon this Account, as it is deliver'd by *Antoninus Liberalis* (d): *Galatea*, the Daughter of *Eurytus*, was married to *Lamprus* the Son of *Pandion*, a Citizen of *Phæstus* in *Crete*; who being of an honourable Family, but wanting an Estate answerable to his Birth, and being unable to provide competent Fortunes for his Daughters, had commanded his Wife, that if she was brought to Bed of a Daughter, she should immediately put her to Death. This done, he went to look after his Flock, and, before his Return, *Galatea* was deliver'd of a Daughter, but being overcome by maternal Affection, resolv'd to disobey her Husband's cruel Command; wherefore to secure the Infant she call'd it *Leucippus*, telling her Husband it was a Boy: At length, being no longer able to conceal the Artifice, she fled for Succour to *Latona's* Temple, where with Abundance of Earnestness she entreated the Goddess, that, if it was possible, her Virgin might be transform'd into a Boy; *Latona*, mov'd with Compassion, granted her Request, and was thence by the *Phæstians* call'd *Φότια*, διὰ τὸ φέρει μῆδεα τῇ κόρῃ, i. e. because the Maid chang'd her Sex; and *Ἐκδυσία*, διὰ τὴν αὐτὰ ἐκδύει τὸν αἶπλον, i. e. because she put off her Woman's Apparel.

E Λ Α Φ Η Β Ο Λ Ι Α,

In Honour of *Diana*, firnam'd *Ἐλαφεβόλη*, i. e. the *Huntress*, for which Reason a Cake made in the Form of a *Deer*, and upon that Account call'd *ἔλαφος*, was offer'd to her (e). This Festival was instituted upon this Occasion: The *Phœcians* being reduced to the last Extremity by the *Thessalians*, and disdaining to submit to them, *Dæiphantus* propos'd that a vast Pile of combustible Matter should be erected, upon which they should place their Wives, Children, and their whole Substance; and, in case they were defeated, set all on Fire together, that nothing might come into the Hands of their Enemies. But

(b) *Eustath.* *Iliad.* β. (c) *Pausanias* *Messenicis.* (d) *Metamorph.* xvii.
(e) *Athenæus* *Deipnosoph.* lib. xiv.

it being judg'd by no Means reasonable so to dispose of the Women without their Consent, they summon'd them to the publick Assembly; where being met in a full Body, the Proposal was no sooner offer'd to them, than with unanimous Consent they gave their Approbation of it, applauding *Daiphantus*, and decreeing him a Crown, in Reward of so generous and noble a Contrivance; the Boys also are said to have met, and consented to it. Things being in this Posture, they went to meet their Enemies, whom they engag'd with such Fury and Resolution, that those, by whom they had just before been reduced to extreme Despair, were entirely defeated by them (f). In Memory of which Victory, this Festival was instituted, and observ'd with more Solemnity, and frequented by greater Numbers of Worshippers, than any other in that Country. Here you may take Notice of the Proverb *Φονταρ ἀπόνοια*, i. e. *Phocensian Despair*, which is apply'd to Persons lost beyond all Hopes of Recovery, and is said to have taken its Original from this Story.

E A E N I A,

A Festival instituted by the *Laconians*, in Memory of *Helena* (g), to whom they gave the Honour of a Temple, and Divine Worship. It was celebrated by Virgins riding upon Mules, or in certain Chariots compos'd of Reeds or Bull-rushes, and call'd *Καὶάβαν*.

E A E T O E P I A,

At *Plataeæ* (h), to *Jupiter Eleutherius*, or the Assertor of Liberty, by Delegates from almost all the Cities of Greece. It was instituted upon this Account: *Mardonius*, the *Persian* General, being defeated in the Territories of *Plataeæ*, by the *Grecians* under the Conduct of *Pausanias* the *Spartan*, the *Plataeans* erected an Altar, and a Statue of white Marble to *Jupiter Eleutherius*, by whose Assistance they suppos'd the *Grecians* had asserted the Liberties of Greece, against the Force of the *Barbarians*: And a general Assembly being summon'd from all Parts of Greece, *Aristides* the *Athenian* propos'd, that Deputies might be sent every fifth Year from the Cities of Greece, to celebrate *Ἐλευθερία*, i. e. the Games of Liberty; which was agreed upon, and great Prizes appointed to be contended for.

The *Plataeans* also kept an anniversary Solemnity, in Memory of those that had valiantly lost their Lives in Defence of their Country's Liberty, of which the Manner was thus: On the sixteenth of the Month *Mamacterion*, which with the *Bæotians* is *Alalcomenius*, a Procession was made, beginning about Break of Day; it was led by a Trumpeter sounding a Point of War; then follow'd certain Chariots loaden with Myrrh, Garlands, and a black Bull; after these came young Men free-born, it not being permitted any People of servile Condition to assist at any Part of this Solemnity, because the Men, in whose Memory it was instituted, dy'd in Defence of the Liberty of

(f) *Plutarchus de Virtute Mulierum.* (g) *Hesychius.* (h) *Pausanias Bæoticæ Plutarch. Aristide.*

Greece; these carried Libations of Wine and Milk, in large two-ear'd Vessels and Jars of Oil and precious Ointments: Last of all came the chief Magistrate, for whom though it was unlawful at other Times to touch any Thing of Iron, or wear Garments of any Colour but White, yet he was then clad in a Purple Robe, and taking a Water-pot out of the City-Chamber, proceeded with a Sword in his Hand through the Middle of the Town to the Sepulchres: Then he drew Water out of a neighbouring Spring, and wash'd, and anointed the Monuments; then sacrificed the Bull upon a Pile of Wood, making Supplication to *Infernal Mercury*, and *Jupiter*, and invited the Souls of those valiant Heroes that lost their Lives in Defence of their Country, to the Entertainment; then filling a Bowl with Wine, said, *I drink to those that lost their Lives for the Liberty of Greece.* These Solemnities, *Plutarch* telleth us, were observ'd till his Days.

Another Festival of this Name was observ'd by the *Samians*, in Honour of the God of Love (*i*).

It was also customary for Slaves to keep a Holiday call'd by this Name, when they obtain'd Liberty. To which Custom there is an Allusion in *Plautus* (*k*), who introduces a Slave nam'd *Toxilus*, rejoicing that his Master was gone from Home, and promising himself as much Pleasure as if he had obtain'd his Freedom; whence he makes him to say,

Basilice agito Eleutheria.————

E Λ Ε Τ Σ Ι Ν Ι Α.

This Solemnity was observed by the *Celeans* and *Phliasiens* every fourth Year; by the *Pheneatæ* also, the *Lacedæmonians*, *Parrhasians* and *Cretans*; but more especially by the *Athenians* every fifth Year, at *Eleusis* a Borough-Town in *Attica*, from whence it was translated to *Rome* by *Adrian* the Emperor, and never totally abolish'd till the Reign of the Elder *Theodosius*. It was the most celebrated and mysterious Solemnity of any in *Greece*, whence it is often call'd, by Way of Eminence, *Mystery*, i. e. *the Mysteries*, without any other Note of Distinction; and so superstitiously careful were they to conceal the sacred Rites, that if any Person divulg'd any Part of them, he was thought to have call'd down some divine Judgment upon his Head, and it was accounted unsafe to abide in the same House with him; wherefore he was apprehended as a publick Offender, and suffered Death. Every Thing contain'd a Mystery; *Ceres* herself (to whom with her Daughter *Proserpina* this Solemnity was sacred) was not call'd by her own Name, but by the unusual Title of *Ἀχθεία*, which seems to be deriv'd from *ἄχθος*, i. e. *Grief* or *Heaviness*, because of her Sorrow for the Loss of her Daughter, when she was stolen by *Pluto*. This Secrecy was strictly enjoin'd, not only in *Attica*, but in all other Places of *Greece* where this Festival was observ'd, except *Crete*; in-somuch that if any Person, that was not lawfully initiated, did but through Ignorance or Mistake chance to be present at the mysterious

(i) *Athenæus* Δείπνιστος. lib. iii.

(k) *Perf. Act. i. Scen. i.*

Rites, he was put to Death. It is said by some to have been first instituted by *Ceres* herself, when she had supply'd the *Athenians* with Corn in a Time of Famine. Others attribute both those Facts to King *Eretheus*: Some will have it to have been instituted by *Museus*, the Father of *Eumolpus*; others by *Eumolpus* himself.

Persons of both Sexes and all Ages were initiated at this Solemnity. Nor was it a Thing indifferent whether they would be so or not, for the Neglect of it was looked upon as a Crime of a very heinous Nature; insomuch that it was one Part of the Accusation, for which *Socrates* was condemn'd to Death. All Persons initiated were thought to live in a State of greater Happiness and Security than other Men, being under the more immediate Care and Protection of the Goddesses: Nor did the Benefit of it extend only to this Life, but after Death too they enjoy'd (as was believ'd) far greater Degrees of Felicity than others, and were honour'd with the first Places in the *Elysian* Shades; whereas others were forced to wallow in perpetual Dirt, Stink, and Nastiness.

But since the Benefits of Initiation were so vastly great, no Wonder if they were very cautious what Persons they admitted to it: Therefore such as were convicted of Witchcraft, or any other heinous Crime, or had committed Murder, though against their Wills, were debarr'd from these Mysteries; and though in latter Ages all Persons, *Barbarians* excepted, were admitted to them, yet in the primitive Times the *Athenians* excluded all Strangers, that is, all that were not Members of their own Commonwealth. Hence when *Hercules*, *Castor* and *Pollux* desir'd to be initiated, they were first made Citizens of *Athens*, as we learn from *Plutarch* (l). Nor were they admitted to the *Μυστήρια μεγάληα*, or *Greater Mysteries*, but only to the *μικρά*, or *Less*, which are sacred to *Proserpina*, and first instituted on this Account: On a Time when the *Athenians* were celebrating the accusom'd Solemnity, *Hercules*, happening to go that Way, desir'd he might be initiated; but it being unlawful for any Stranger to enjoy that Privilege, and yet *Hercules* being a Person, who, by Reason of his great Power, and the extraordinary Services he had done for them, could not be deny'd; *Eumolpus* thought of an Expedient, whereby to satisfy the Hero's Request, without violating the Laws; which he did, by instituting another Solemnity, which was call'd *Μικρά μυστήρια*, or the *Lesser Mysteries*; which were afterwards solemnly observ'd in the Month *Anthesterion*, at *Agræ*, a Place near the River *Ilissus*; whereas the *Greater* were celebrated in the Month *Boedromion* at *Eleusis*, an *Attick* Borough, from which *Ceres* was call'd *Eleusinia*. In latter Times the *Lesser* Festival was used as a Preparative to the *Greater*; for no Persons were initiated in the *Greater*, unless they had been purified at the *Lesser*; the Manner of which Purification was thus: Having kept themselves chaste and unpolluted nine Days, they came and offer'd Sacrifices and Prayers, wearing Crowns and Garlands of Flowers, which were call'd *ἱσμίνα*, or *ἱμῖνα*; they had also under their Feet *Διὸς κάδινον*, i. e. *Jupiter's Skin*, which was the Skin of a Victim offer'd to that

(l) *Thesco.*

God. The Person that assisted them herein, was call'd ὕδαρς, from ὕδωρ, i. e. *Water*, which was us'd at most Purifications: Themselves were nam'd Μύσαι, i. e. Persons *initiated*.

About a Year after, having sacrificed a Sow to *Ceres*, they were admitted to the *Greater Mysteries*, the secret Rites of which (some few excepted, to which none but Priests were conscious) were frankly reveal'd to them; whence they were call'd ἐφορος, and ἐπόπτας, i. e. *Inspectors*. The Manner of Initiation was thus: The Candidates being crown'd with Myrtle, had Admittance by Night into a Place call'd Μυσικὸς οἶκος, i. e. the *Mystical Temple*, which was an Edifice so vast and capacious, that the most ample Theatre did scarce exceed it. At their Entrance, they purify'd themselves by washing their Hands in Holy-water, and at the same Time were admonished, to present themselves with Minds pure and undefil'd, without which the external Cleanness of the Body would by no Means be accepted. After this the Holy Mysteries were read to them out of a Book, call'd Πέτρα, which Word is deriv'd from πέτρα, i. e. a *Stone*, because the Book was nothing else but two Stones fitly cemented together. Then the Priest that initiated them, call'd Ἱεροφάντης, propos'd certain Questions, as, Whether they were fasting, &c. to which they return'd Answers in a set Form, as may be seen in *Meursius's* Treatise on this Festival, to which I refer the Reader. This done, strange and amazing Objects presented themselves sometimes; the Place they were in seem'd to shake round them, sometimes appear'd bright and resplendent with Light and radiant Fire, and then again cover'd with black Darkness and Horror; sometimes Thunder and Lightning, sometimes frightful Noises, and Bellowings, sometimes terrible Apparitions astonish'd the trembling Spectators: The being present at these Sightings was call'd Αἰνείδω, i. e. *Intuition*. After this, they were dismiss'd in these Words, Κόγξ, Ὀυμαξ. The Garments in which they were initiated, were accounted sacred, and of no less Efficacy to avert Evils, than Charms and Incantations: And therefore were never cast off, till they were torn and tatter'd; nor was it then usual to throw them away, but they made Swaddling-clothes of them for their Children, or consecrated them to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*.

The same Person that attended at the Initiation was call'd Ἱεροφάντης, i. e. a *Revealer of holy Things*: He was a Citizen of *Athens*, and held his Office during Life (tho' amongst the *Celeans* and *Pbliasians* it was necessary for him to resign his Place every fourth Year, which was the Time of this Festival) he was farther oblig'd to devote himself wholly to Divine Service, and to live a chaste and single Life; to which End, it was usual for him to anoint himself with the Juice of Hemlock, which by its extreme Coldness is said to extinguish, in a great Measure, the natural Heat. The *Hierophantes* had three Assistants, the first of which was call'd from his Office Δαδῆχος, i. e. *Torch-bearer*, and to him it was permitted to marry. The second was call'd Κόγξ, of whose Office I have already given an Account. The third ministr'd at the *Altar*, and was for that Reason nam'd Ὁ ἐνὶ Βωμῷ. *Hierophantes* is said to have been a Type of the great Creator of all

Things; $\Delta\alpha\delta\epsilon\chi\theta$, of the Sun; Κῆρυξ , of Mercury; and Ὁ ἐν τῷ βωμῷ , of the Moon.

There were also certain publick Officers, whose Business it was to take Care that all Things were perform'd according to Custom. First, Βασιλεὺς , i. e. the King, who was one of the Archons, and was oblig'd at this Solemnity to offer Prayers and Sacrifices, to see that no Indecency or Irregularity was committed, and the Day following the Mysteries, to assemble the Senate, to take Cognizance of all Offenders in that kind. Beside the King, there were four Ἐπιμεληταί , i. e. Curators, elected by the People; one of them was appointed out of the sacred Family of the *Eumolpidae*, another out of the *Ceryces*, and the remaining two out of the other Citizens. There were also ten Persons that assisted at this, and some other Solemnities, who were call'd Ἱεροποιοί , because it was their Business to offer Sacrifices.

This Festival was celebrated in the Month *Boedromion*, and continu'd nine Days, beginning upon the fifteenth, and ending upon the twenty-third Day of that Month; during which Time, it was unlawful to arrest any Man, or present any Petition; and such as were found guilty of these Practices were fin'd a thousand Drachms, or (as others report) put to Death. It was also unlawful for those that were initiated to sit upon the Covering of a Well, or to eat Beans, Mulletts, or Weazles. If any Woman rode in a Chariot to *Eleusis*, she was by an Edict of *Lycurgus* oblig'd to pay six thousand Drachms. The Design of which Order was to prevent the richer Women from distinguishing themselves from those that were poor.

1. The first Day was call'd Ἀγυρμός , i. e. an Assembly; because, it may be, then the Worshipers first met together.

2. The second was nam'd Ἀλα δὲ Μύσαι , i. e. to the Sea, you that are initiated; because (I suppose) they were commanded to purify themselves by washing in the Sea.

3. Upon the third they offer'd Sacrifices, which consisted chiefly of an *Æxonian* Mullet, in Greek πύλον , and Barley out of *Rharianum*, a Field of *Eleusis*, in which that Sort of Corn was first sown. These Oblations were call'd Θύα , and accounted so sacred, that the Priests themselves were not (as was usual in other Offerings) allow'd to partake of them.

4. Upon the fourth they made a solemn Procession, wherein the *Kαθάριον*, or holy Basket of *Ceres*, was carry'd in a consecrated Cart; Crowds of People shouting, as they went along, Χαίρε Δημήτριε , i. e. Hail to *Ceres*. After these follow'd certain Women call'd Κεκοφόραι , who (as the Name implies) carry'd certain Baskets: In these were contain'd Sesamin, carded Wool, some Grains of Salt, a Serpent, Pomegranates, Reeds, Ivy-boughs, a Sort of Cakes call'd φθῆς , Poppies, &c.

5. The fifth was call'd $\text{Ἡ τῶν λαμπάδων ἡμέρα}$, i. e. the Torch-day; because the Night following it, the Men and Women ran about with Torches in their Hands. It was also customary to dedicate Torches to *Ceres*, and to contend who should present the biggest; which was done in Memory of *Ceres's* Journey, wherein she sought *Proserpina*, being conducted by the Light of a Torch, kindled in the Flames of *Ætna*.

6. The

6. The sixth was call'd *Ἰαχχος*, from *Iacchus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Ceres*, who accompany'd the Goddess in her Search after *Proserpina*, with a Torch in his Hand; whence in is, that his Statue held a Torch. This Statue was carry'd from the *Ceramicus* to *Eleusis* in a solemn Procession, call'd, after the Hero's Name, *Ἰαχχος*. The Statue and the Persons that accompanied it had their Heads crowned with Myrtle: These were nam'd *Ἰαχχογάγοι*, and all the Way danced and sung, and beat brazen Kettles. The Way by which they issued out of the City was call'd *Ἱερὰ ὁδός*, i. e. the *Sacred Way*: The Resting-place *Ἱερὰ σπηῆ*, from a *Fig-tree* which grew there, and was (like all other Things concerned in this Solemnity) accounted *Sacred*. It was also customary to rest upon a Bridge built over the River *Cephissus*, where they made themselves merry by jesting on those that pass'd by; whence *γεφύρων* being deriv'd from *γέφυρα*, i. e. a *Bridge*, is by *Suidas* expounded *χλευάζων*, i. e. *mocking* or *jeering*; and *γεφυρισαί* are by *Hesychius* interpreted *σπώπιας*, i. e. *Scoffers*. Having pass'd this Bridge, they went to *Eleusis*, the Way into which was call'd *Μυστικὴ εἰσοδός*, i. e. the *Mystical Entrance*.

7. Upon the seventh Day were Sports, in which the Victors were rewarded with a Measure of Barley, that Grain being first sown in *Eleusis*.

8. The eighth was call'd *Ἐποδαυρίων ἡμέρα*, because it once happen'd that *Æsculapius*, coming from *Epidaurus* to *Athens*, and desiring to be initiated, had the *Lesser Mysteries* repeated: Whence it became customary to celebrate them a second Time upon this Day, and admit to Initiation such Persons as had not before enjoy'd that Privilege.

9. The ninth and last Day of the Festival was call'd *Πηλομορβία*, i. e. *Earthen Vessels*: Because it was usual to fill two such Vessels with Wine, one of which being placed towards the East, and the other towards the West, after the Repetition of certain mystical Words, they were both thrown down, and the Wine, being spilt upon the Ground, was offer'd as a Libation.

ΕΛΕΝΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

An *Athenian Festival* (*o*), so call'd from *Ἑλέαι*, i. e. Vessels made of Bull-rushes, with Ears of Willow, in which certain mysterious Things were carried upon this Day.

ΕΛΛΩΤΙΑ,

Two Festivals (*p*), one of which was celebrated in *Crete*, in Honour of *Europa*, call'd *Ἑλλωτία*, which was either a *Phœnician* Name, or derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλσθαι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ ταύρῳ, i. e. from *Europa's Ravishment* by *Jupiter* in the Form of a *Bull*. At this Time *Europa's* Bones were carried in Procession, with a Myrtle Garland call'd *Ἑλλωτίς*, or *Ἑλλώτις*, which was no less than twenty Cubits in Circumference.

The other Festival was celebrated by the *Corinthians* with solemn Games and Races, wherein young Men contended, running with lighted Torches in their Hands. It was instituted in Honour of *Minerva*, surnamed *Ἑλλωτίς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἑλᾶς*, i. e. from a certain Pond in *Marathon*, where one of her Statues was erected: Or, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑλᾶν τὸν

(o) *Pellux Onom.* lib. x. cap. 53. *Hesychius.* (p) *Hesychius, Etymologicū Ἀυδὸρ, Athenæus Δείπνοσφ.* lib. xv. *Pindari Scholiastes Olympion.* Od. xiii.

ἵππον τὸν Πήγασον, i. e. because by her Assistance *Bellophoron* caught *Pegasus*, the wing'd Horse, and brought him under Command, which some take to be the first Reason of the Celebration of this Festival. Others are of Opinion, that this Name was given to the Goddess from one *Helotis*, a *Corinthian* Woman; the Story runs thus: The *Dorians*, being assisted by the Posterity of *Hercules*, made an Invasion upon *Peloponnesus*, where they took and burned *Corinth*; most of the Women took Care to secure themselves by an early Flight, only some few, amongst whom were *Helotis* and *Eurytione*, betook themselves to *Minerva's* Temple, hoping that the Sanctity of the Place would be a sufficient Protection for them. No sooner had this reached the *Dorians* Ears, but they set Fire to the Temple, and all the rest making a Shift to escape, *Helotis* and *Eurytione* perish'd in the Flames. Upon this ensued a dreadful Plague, which prov'd very fatal to the *Dorians*; and the Remedy prescribed by the Goddess, was to appease the Ghosts of the two deceased Sisters; whereupon they instituted this Festival in Memory of them, and erected a Temple to *Minerva*, firnamed, from one of them, *Helotis*.

ΕΛΩΡΙΑ,

Games in *Sicily*, near the River *Helorus* (q).

ΕΜΠΛΟΚΙΑ,

At *Athens* (r).

ΕΝΗΑΙΑΕΙΣ,

Or rather (according to *Meursius's* Conjecture) *Ἐνναίαει*, was a Festival in Honour of *Enyalios* (s), whom some will have to be the same with *Mars*; others, only one of his Ministers.

ΕΞΙΤΗΡΙΑ,

Oblations or Prayers to any of the Gods ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξόδου, for prosperous *Egress*. These were offer'd by Generals before they went out to the Wars, by Men who were going from Home, and such as were about to make their *Exit* out of the World by Death (t).

ΕΠΑΧΘΗΣ,

To *Ceres*, nam'd *Ἀχθία* (u), from ἀχθῶς, i. e. *Grief*, in Memory of her Sorrow, when she had lost her Daughter *Proserpina*.

ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ,

Private Festivals, and Times of rejoicing, when a Friend or Relation had returned from a Journey (x).

ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ,

A *Delphian* Festival, in Memory of a Journey of *Apollo* (y).

(q) *Hesychius*. (r) *Idem*. (s) *Idem*. (t) *Suidas*, *Etymologici* *Auctor*.
(u) *Plutarch. de Iside & Osiride*. (x) *Himerius in Propempt. Flavian*. (y) *Proser-*
pina in Epistola ad Zachariam.

ΕΠΙΘΡΙΚΑΔΙΑ,

In Honour of *Apollo* (α).

ΕΠΙΚΑΕΙΔΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival in Honour of *Ceres* (α).

ΕΠΙΚΡΗΝΙΑ,

Another of *Ceres's* Festivals observ'd by the *Laconians* (b).

ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑ, ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Day of Rejoicing after *Victory*. *Ἐπινικία* *Stew*, signifies to sacrifice for a *Victory* obtain'd.

ΕΠΙΣΚΑΦΙΑ,

A *Rhodian* Festival (c).

ΕΠΙΣΚΗΝΑ,

A *Spartan* Festival (d).

ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΑ, ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΩΣΙΣ,

At *Scira* in *Attica*, in Honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpina* (e).

ΕΡΩΤΤΙΑΔΙΑ,

By the *Thebians*, in Honour of *Ἔρως*, i. e. *Cupid* the God of Love (f).

ΕΡΩΤΙΑ,

This Festival seems to be the same with the former, for it was observ'd by the *Thebians* in Honour of *Cupid* (g); being celebrated every fifth Year with Sports and Games, wherein Musicians and others contended. If any Quarrels had happened amongst the People, it was usual at this Time to offer Sacrifices and Prayers to the Gods, that he would put an End to them.

ΕΡΓΑΤΙΑ,

A *Laconian* Festival in Honour of *Hercules* (b); being, I suppose, instituted in Memory of the *Labours*, for Labour is by the *Greeks* called *Ἔργον*.

ΕΡΚΗΝΙΑ,

I would rather call it *Ἐρκύμια*, for this Festival belonged to *Ce-*

(α) *Hesychius*. (a) *Idem*. (b) *Idem*. (c) *Idem*. (d) *Idem*. (e) *Strabo Geogr.* lib. ix. *Stephanus* v. *Σκίρος*. (f) *Eusebius* sub finem *Iliad.* 6. (g) *Plutarchus* *Erotic.* *Pausanias* *Boeoticis*. (b) *Hesychius*.

res (i), whom we find firnamed *Hercynna* in *Lycophron* (k); which Title was given her from *Hercynna*, the Daughter of *Trophonius*, and Play-fellow of *Proserpina* (l).

E P M A I A,

A Festival observed in Honour of Ἑρμῆς, i. e. *Mercury*, by the *Pheneata* in *Arcadia* (m), and the *Cyllenians* in *Elis* (n).

Another we find observ'd by the *Tanagræans* in *Bœotia* (o), where *Mercury* was call'd Κριοφόρος, i. e. the *Ram-bearer*, and represented with a *Ram* upon his Shoulder, because he is said, in a Time of Plague, to have walk'd about the City in that Posture, and cured the Sick; in Memory of which Action, it was customary for one of the most beautiful Youths in the City to walk round the City-Walls with a Lamb or *Ram* upon his Shoulders.

A Festival of the same Name was also observed in *Crete*, where it was usual for the Servants to sit down to the Table, while their Masters stood by and waited (p); which Custom was also practised at the *Roman Saturnalia*.

Another of *Mercury's* Festivals was observ'd by Boys in the Schools of Exercise at *Athens* (q); at which no adult Persons were allow'd to be present, beside the *Gymnasiarch*; who, if convicted of having admitted any, underwent the same Punishment with those that corrupted free-born Youth: The Occasion of this Law seems to have been the foul and not to be nam'd Lust and Wantonness, which were practised in former Times at this Solemnity.

E Σ Τ Ι Α Ι Α,

Solemn Sacrifices to *Vesta* (r), call'd in *Greek* Ἑστία, of which it was unlawful to carry away, or communicate any Part to any beside the Worshippers; whence Ἑστία δέειν, i. e. to sacrifice to *Vesta*, is proverbially apply'd to such as do any Thing in private without Spectators (s); or rather to covetous Misers, that will not part with any Thing they are once possessed of (t).

E Υ Μ Ε Ν Ι Δ Ε Ι Α, or Σ Ε Μ Ν Ω Ν Ε Ο Ρ Τ Η,

To the *Furies* (u), who were by the *Athenians* call'd Σεμναι Δεαι, i. e. *Venerable Goddesses*; by the *Sicyonians* and others, Εὐμενίδες, i. e. *Favourable* or *Propitious*; out of an Opinion, that their true Names were unlucky Omens. This Festival was observ'd once every Year with Sacrifices, wherein pregnant Ewes, Cakes made by the most eminent of the young Men, and a Libation of Honey and Wine were offer'd to the Goddesses, the Worshippers being deck'd with Flowers. At *Athens* none had Admission to these Solemnities but free-born Denizens; and of them, those only that were of known Virtue and Integrity, for such alone could be acceptable to these Deities, whose peculiar Office it was to revenge and punish all Sorts of Wickedness.

(i) Idem. (k) *Cassandra*, v. 153. (l) *Pausanias Bœoticis*. (m) Idem *Arcadicis*. (n) Idem *Eliacis*. (o) Idem *Bœoticis*. (p) *Athenæus* Δειπνοσοφ. xiv. (q) *Æschylus* in *Timarchum*. (r) *Hesychias*. (s) *Diogenianus*. (t) *Tarrhæus*. (u) *Philo*, *Pausanias Bœoticis*.

ΕΤΡΥΘΙΩΝΙΟΝ,

To *Ceres* (1).

ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙΑ,

A *Spartan* Festival, mention'd in an old Inscription.

ΕΤΡΥΝΟΜΕΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity observ'd by the *Phigaleans* in *Arcadia* (u), who offer'd Sacrifices, both in Publick and Private, to *Eurynome*, who had in this Place a Temple, which was never open'd but upon this Day. This *Eurynome* was (as some are of Opinion) the same with *Diana*; or (according to others) one of *Oceanus's* Daughters, mention'd in *Homer*, where she is said to have assisted in entertaining *Vulcan*.

ΕΦΙΠΠΟΣ,

Horse-races in *Laconia* (x).

Η

ΗΛΑΚΑΤΑΙΑ,

A *Laconian* Festival in Honour of *Helacatus* (y), who was a Boy lov'd by *Hercules*.

ΗΡΑΙΑ,

A Festival at *Argos*, in Honour of *Juno*, who was the Protectress of that City, and call'd in *Greek* *Ἥρα*. The same was kept by the Colonies from *Argos*, which inhabited the Islands *Ægina* and *Samos*. There were two Processions to the Goddess's Temple without the City: One by the Men in Armour: Another, in which *Juno's* Priestess, who was always a Matron of the first Quality, was drawn in a Chariot by white Oxen: From her Priesthood the *Argians* accounted their Years, as the *Athenians* did by the Government of their *Archons*. Being arriv'd at the Temple, they offer'd an *Hecatomb* of Oxen, whence this Festival is named *Ἡρατόμεια*; that Sacrifice is also sometimes called *Λεχέια* which Name may, perhaps, be derived from *λέχη*, i. e. a *Bed*, because it was *Juno's* Care to preside over Marriages, Births, &c. There were also certain Games, wherein the Victory consisted in pulling down a Shield, that was strongly fix'd upon the Theatre: The Reward was a Crown of Myrtle, and a brazen Shield; whence the Game was sometimes called *Χάλκειον ἀγών*, i. e. the *Brazen Contention*. See *Ἡρατόμεια*.

Another Festival of this Name we find celebrated every fifth Year in *Elis*, where sixteen Matrons were appointed to weave a Garment for the Goddess. There were Games also, which are said to have been first instituted by *Hippodamia*, in Honour of *Juno*, by whose Assistance

(1) Hesychius. (u) Pausanias *Arcad.* (x) H. y. b. & Pavorinus. (y) Hesychius.

she was marry'd to *Peleus*. The Presidents were sixteen Matrons, every one of which was attended by a Maid: The Contenders were Virgins, who, being distinguish'd into several Classes, according to their Ages, ran Races in their Order, beginning from the Youngest. The Habit of all was the same; their Hair was dishevell'd, their Right Shoulders bare to their Breasts, and their Coats reached no lower than their Knees. They had a second Race in the *Olympick Stadium*, which was at that Time shorten'd about a sixth Part. Such as obtain'd a Victory were rewarded with Crowns of Olive, a Share of the Ox that was offer'd in Sacrifice, and were permitted to dedicate their own Pictures to the Goddess.

This Name was also given to a solemn Day of Mourning at *Corinth* for *Medea's* Children, who were buried in the Temple of *Juno Arca* in that Place, and, as some say, slain by the *Corinthians*, who, to remove the Scandal of so barbarous a Murder from themselves, are said to have given *Euripides* a large Sum to invent the Fable, wherein it is attributed to *Medea*, which before that Time no Man ever dreamed of (z).

Another Festival of this Name was celebrated by the *Pelleneans* with Games, wherein the Victor was rewarded with a rich Garment, call'd from the Place's Name, Πεληϊκὴ χλαῖνα.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, celebrated every fifth Year in Honour of *Hercules* (a).

The *Thisbians* also, and *Thebans* in *Bœotia*, observ'd a solemn Festival in Honour of *Hercules*, surnam'd Μῆλον, because τὰ μῆλα, i. e. Apples, were offer'd to him (b): The Original of which Custom was thus: It being usual in former Times to offer a Sheep at this Solemnity, it happen'd once that the River *Asopus* had so far overflow'd its Banks, that it could not be forded, whereby the Coming of the Victim was hindered: The Word μῆλον is ambiguous in *Greek*, signifying sometimes a Sheep, sometimes an Apple; which some of the Boys being aware of, for Want of other Employment, performed the holy Rites in Sport, offering instead of the Ram an Apple, which they supported with four Sticks, in Imitation of Feet, placing two more upon the Top of it, to branch out like Horns: *Hercules* was mightily taken with the jest, and the Custom was continued from that Time to my Author's Age, who flourish'd under *Commodus* the Roman Emperor.

At *Sicyon* *Hercules* was honour'd with a Festival, which lasted two Days, the former of which was call'd Ὀνοματίας, the latter Ἡρακλεία.

At *Lindus* there was a Solemnity in Honour of *Hercules*, at which nothing was heard but Execrations, and ill-boding Words; inasmuch that if any Person happen'd to let fall a lucky Speech, he was thought to have profan'd the holy Rites; the Original of which Custom is accounted for by *Lactantius*.

There was another Festival of *Hercules* at *Coos*, wherein the Priest officiated with a Mitre on his Head, and in Woman's Apparel.

(z) *Lycophron*, Scholiast. (a) *Pollux*, lib. viii. cap. 9. (b) *Idem*, lib. i. cap. 1.

ΗΡΟΣΑΝΘΕΙΑ,

A *Peloponnesian* Festival, wherein the Women met together, and gather'd Flowers (c), as the Name reports, being deriv'd from ἥαρ, i. e. the Spring, and ἄνθος, i. e. a Flower.

ΗΡΟΧΙΑ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΗΡΩΙΣ,

A Festival celebrated every ninth Year by the *Delphians*, in Honour of some *Heroine*, as may be learn'd from the Name. We are told by *Plutarch* (d), that there were in it a great many mysterious Rites; wherein was a Representation of something like *Semele's* Resurrection.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival in Honour of Ἥφαιστος, i. e. *Vulcan*. At this Time there was a Race with Torches, called Ἀγὼν λαμπαδῶν, in the Academy; the Manner of which was thus (e): The Antagonists were three young Men, one of which, being appointed by Lots to take his Turn first, took a lighted Torch in his Hand, and began his Course; he deliver'd it to the second, and he in like Manner to the third: The Victory was his, that carry'd the Torch lighted to the Race's End, who was call'd λαμπαδηφόρος, or πυρροφόρος: But if none could perform that, the Victory was not adjudg'd to any of them. If any of the Contenders, for Fear of extinguishing the Torch by too violent a Motion, slacken'd his Course, the Spectators us'd to strike him with the Palms of their Hands; for which Reason those Blows were call'd πλῆγαι πλατεῖαι, broad Stripes; as also Κεραμικαί, because they were inflicted in the Ceramicus (f), of which the Academy was a Part. To the successive Delivering of the Torches from one to another, there are frequent Allusions in Authors, who usually compare it to the Turns and Vicissitudes of human Affairs, and the various Changes and Successions that happen in the World; of which I will only mention one Instance out of *Lucretius* (g).

*Inque brevi spatio mutantur secla animantum,
Et quasi Cursores vitai Lampada tradunt.*

So Things by Turns increase, by Turns decay,
Like Racers, bear the Lamp of Life, and live:
And, their Race done, their Lamps to others give.

Mr. Creech.

(c) *Hesych.* (d) *Quaest. Græc.* (e) *Pausanias, Persii vetus Scholiastes, Hesychius.*
(f) *Aristophan. ejusque Scholiast. in Ranis.* (g) *Lib. ii.*



Θ Α Λ Υ Σ Ι Α,

A Sacrifice offer'd to the Husbandmen after Harvest *ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐλείας τῶν καρπῶν*, i. e. in Gratitude to the Gods, by whose Blessing they enjoy'd the *Fruits* of the Ground. The whole Festival was call'd *Ἀλῶα*, of which in another Place; as also *Συκομισήρια*, ἀπὸ τῆς Συκομιδὸς τῶν καρπῶν, i. e. from the *Gathering of Fruits*. Some will have it to be offer'd in Honour of *Ceres* and *Bacchus* (*b*), they being the two Deities, who had a peculiar Care of the Fruits of the Earth. But *Eustathius* (*i*) telleth us, that there was also a solemn Procession at this Time in Honour of *Neptune*; and addeth farther, that all the Gods had a Share in the Offerings at this Festival; as appears also from *Homer's* own Words, who tells us, that *Diana's* Anger against *Oeneus* was caus'd by his Neglect of sacrificing to her at this Festival, wherein all the rest of the Gods had been feasted by him;

Καὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κακὸν χρυσόθετος Ἄρτεμις ὤρεσ
Χάσσα μένη' ὅτ' οἱ ἔτι θαλίαια γενῆ ἀλωῆς
Οἶνός γε' ἔξ', ἄλλαι δὲ θεοὶ δαίνυνθ' ἐκατόμοις,
Οἷον δὲ ἐκ ἑξῆς Διὸς κέρη μεγάλοιο.

Diana, much incens'd, that *Oeneus* had
To all the other Gods Oblations made
And not to her his grateful First-fruits paid,
Sent down this Evil to revenge his Crime.

H. H.

Hence comes *Θαλίσιον ἄρτον*, sometimes call'd *Θάγγηλον* (*k*), which was the first Bread made of the new Corn. Some there are, that will have *θαλίαια* to be a general Name for all the Festivals, wherein they carry'd τὰς θαλλὰς, i. e. *green Boughs*.

Θ Α Ρ Η Α Ι Α,

An *Athenian* Festival in Honour of the *Sun*, and his Attendants the *Hours*; or, as others think, of *Delian Apollo*, and *Diana*. It was celebrated upon the sixth and seventh Days of *Thargelion*; and received its Name from *θαγγήλια*, which is a general Word for all the *Fruits of the Earth*, because one of the chief Ceremonies was the carrying about their First-fruits in Pots call'd *θάγγηλοι*, which Name was also apply'd to the *Εἰσισιῶναι*, which were carry'd about the City at this Time, and shall be describ'd in the Festival call'd *Πυανέσια*. The chief Solemnity was upon the latter Day, the former being wholly taken up in making Preparations for it; at which Time it was customary to lustrate the City, which was done by two Persons, call'd by the general Name of *Φαρμακοὶ*, which is apply'd to all that purify'd Cities; or the more pe-

(b) *Menander Rhetor.* cap. περὶ λαλιάς. (i) *Iliad.* i. (k) *Athenæus*, lib. iii. culiar

cular one of Σύμβολοι. They were both Men; or, according to others, a Man and Woman; one of which represented the Maie, the other the Female Sex, and offer'd a Sacrifice for each of them: It was usual for the Man to carry about his Neck Figs, call'd ισχάδας, of a blackish Colour; and the Woman white. The ordinary Rites in purifying Cities are thus describ'd by John Tzetzes (1).

Ὁ Φαρμακός, τὸ καθαῖμα, τοῖσ' ἢ τὸ πάλαι
 Ἀν' ἀμφοῖν κατέλαθε πόλιν διομνία,
 Εἴτεν λοιμὸς, εἴτε λιμὸς, εἴτε καὶ βλάβος ἄλλο
 Τῶν πάντων ἀμορφότερον, ἦγον ὡς πρὸς δυσίαν,
 Εἰς καθαμὸν καὶ φαρμακὸν πόλεως τῆς νοσήσης.
 Εἰς τόπον δὲ τὸν πρόσφορον γήσαντες τὴν δυσίαν,
 Τυρὸν τε δύντες τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ μάζαν, καὶ ισχάδας,
 Ἑπτὰκι καὶ ῥαπίσαντες ἐκείνον εἰς τὸ τότε
 Σκύλλαν, σκαῖς ἀγρίας τε, καὶ ἄλλας τῶν ἀγρίων,
 Τέλος πυρὶ κατέκαιον ἐν ξύλοις τοῖς ἀγρίοις,
 Καὶ τὸν σποδὸν εἰς θάλατταν ἐρράνουν εἰς ἀνέμους,
 Εἰς καθαμὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἔφην, τῆς νοσήσης.

Thus was in ancient Times Lustration made:
 When any City groan'd beneath the Weight
 Of Famine, Plague, or worse Calamity,
 Forthwith a grateful Victim is prepar'd,
 Which at the holy Altar when they've plac'd,
 They cast upon the Pile, Cheese, Cakes, and Figs;
 Then striking seven Times its Privities
 With Sea-leeks, and wild Figs, and other Fruits,
 Rude Nature's Product without Help of Art,
 Burn it with Wood cut from unplanted Trees,
 Then tow'rd's the Wind the sportive Athes cast
 Upon the Sea: Thus they the dreadful Ills,
 With which the City labour'd, drive away.

H. H.

Poetical Fictions tells us, that the φαρμακός was so called from one Pharmacus, that stole some of the consecrated Vessels of Apollo, and being apprehended in the Fact by Achilles's Soldiers, suffer'd Death; of which Crime and Punishment the Athenians had always a Representation at this Festival. The φαρμακός was called Κραδοστής, from a Sort of Figs, called κραδάκι, and us'd in Lustrations; whence also κραδὸς νόμος was a Tune upon the Flute, which was play'd as he went to perform his Office. It was farther customary for a Choir of Singing-men to contend for Victory, and the Conqueror to dedicate a Tripus in the Pytheum, a Temple of Apollo, built by Pisistratus. At this Festival the Athenians enroll'd their adopted Sons in the publick Register, as they did their natural at Apaturia. During the Solemnity, it was un-

lawful to give or receive Pledges, and Offenders in this kind were arraign'd at an *Assembly* held in *Bacchus's Theatre*.

The *Milefians* had a Festival of the same Name, which they celebrated with many Expressions of Mirth and Jollity, feasting and entertaining one another.

ΘΕΟΓΑΜΙΑ,

i. e. The *Marriage of the Gods*. It was a *Sicilian Festival*, in Honour of *Proserpina* (m); and seems to have been instituted in Memory of her Marriage with *Pluto*; the chief Part of the Solemnity being nothing else but an Imitation of nuptial Rites.

ΘΕΟΝΙΑ,

See *Διονύσια*.

ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΑ,

A Festival common to all the Gods (n), and celebrated in many Cities of Greece, but especially at *Athens*.

The *Pellenæans* instituted solemn Games, call'd by this Name, in Honour of *Apollo*, Θεοξένιος, i. e. the God of Hospitality, according to *Pausanias* (o); or, as the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* reports (p), of *Apollo* and *Mercury*: The Victors, according to *Pausanias*, were rewarded with a Piece of Plate; according to the foremention'd *Scholiast*, with a Garment call'd *Χλαίνα*.

The same *Scholiast* (q) reports, that the *Dioscuri* instituted a Festival of this Name, in Memory of an Honour the Gods did them, by coming to one of their Entertainments.

ΘΕΟΦΑΝΑΙΑ, or ΘΕΟΦΑΝΙΑ,

i. e. The *Appearance of God*. It was a Festival observ'd by the *Delphians* (r), upon the Day whereon *Apollo* first manifested himself to them.

ΘΕΡΑΠΝΑΤΙΑ,

A *Laconian Festival* (s).

ΘΕΡΜΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A publick Festival, Mart, and Assembly of the *Ætolians*, held at a Town in that Country called *Thermi* (t).

ΘΕΡΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*.

(m) Pollux, lib. i. cap. 1. (n) Hesychius. (o) Achaicis. (p) Olympion. xi.
(q) Olymp. iii. (r) Herodotus, lib. i. Suidas. (s) Hesych. (t) Polyb. lib. v.

Θ Ε Σ Μ Ο Φ Ο Ρ Ι Α,

A Festival in Honour of *Ceres*, firnam'd *Θεσμοφορίαι*, i. e. *Legifera* (u), the *Lawgiver*, because she was the first that taught Mankind the Use of Laws. The first Institution of it is by some attributed to *Triptolemus*, by others to *Orpheus*, and by others to the Daughters of *Danais*. It was celebrated in many of the Grecian Cities; by the *Spartans* and *Milefians*, amongst whom the Solemnity lasted three Days: By the *Drymeans* in *Phocis*, the *Thebians* in *Beotia*, the *Megarians*: By the *Syracusians*, where, towards the End of the Solemnity, they carried in Procession the Secrets of a Woman, compos'd of *Jasmin* and *Honey*, and call'd in *Sicily* *μύσθαι*: By the *Eretrians* in *Eubœa*, where it was customary on this Occasion to roast their Meat by the Heat of the Sun: By the *Delians*, who used to bake Loaves of a large Size, call'd *Ἀγῆλαι*, which they usher'd in with great Solemnity, the Bearers of them crying,

Ἀγῆλαι ἔλατ' ἡμῶν τράγοι.

Hence the Festival is sometimes called *Μεγαλαῖα*.

But the *Athenians* observ'd this Festival with the greatest Shew of Devotion: The Worshipers were free-born Women, (it being unlawful for any of servile Condition to be present) whose Husbands were wont to defray the Charges of the Solemnity; and were obliged to do so, if their Wives Portion amounted to three Talents. These Women were assisted by a Priest, call'd *Ἐπιθαινόχης*, because his Head was adorn'd with a Crown, whilst he executed his Office; as also by certain Virgins, who were strictly confin'd, and kept under severe Discipline, being maintain'd at the publick Charge, in a Place call'd *Θεσμοφορίον*. The Women were clad in white Apparel, to intimate their spotless Innocence, and were obliged to the strictest Chastity for five or three Days before, and during the whole Time of the Solemnity, which lasted four Days: For which Ends they used to strew upon their Beds such Herbs, as were thought to destroy all Appetite to *Venerual* Pleasures; such were *Agnus-castus*, *Flea-bane*, and (which were made Use of by the *Milefian* Women) *Vine-branches*, &c. It was held unlawful to eat the Kernels of *Pomegranates*, or to adorn themselves with Garlands; every Thing being carry'd on with the greatest Appearance of Seriousness and Gravity, and nothing tolerated, that bore the least Shew of Wantonness and Immodesty, or even of Mirth and Jollity, the Custom of jesting upon one another excepted, which was constantly done in Memory of *Iambe*, that by a taunting jest extorted a Smile from *Ceres*, when she was in a pensive and melancholy Humour. Three Days, at least, were spent in making Preparations for the Festival. Upon the eleventh of *Pyanestion*, the Women carrying Books upon their Heads, wherein the Laws were contain'd in Memory of *Ceres's* Invention, went to *Eleusis*, where the Solemnity was kept; whence this Day was call'd *Ἀνάθης*, i. e. the *Ascent*. Upon the fourteenth the Festival began, and lasted till the seventeenth:

(u) *Virgilius Æneid. iv.*

Upon the sixteenth they kept a Fast, sitting upon the Ground, in Token of Humiliation; whence the Day was call'd *Νηστεία*, i. e. a *Fast*. It was usual at this Solemnity to pray to *Ceres*, *Proserpina*, *Pluto*, and *Calligenia*: This *Calligenia* some will have to have been *Ceres's* Nurse, others her Priestess, others her Waiting-maid; and some there are who make her the same with *Ceres*; but these seem to be sufficiently refuted by the Testimony of *Aristophanes*, who mentions her as distinct from that Goddess (x);

Εὐχισθε ταῖν Θεσμοφόροι,
Τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τῇ Κόρη,
Τῷ Πλούτῳ, καὶ τῇ Καλλιγενείᾳ.

To the two *Legislators* make your Prayers,
To *Ceres*, and to Goddess *Proserpine*;
To *Pluto* too, and *Calligenia*.

And this Custom was omitted by the *Eretrians* alone of all the *Grecians*. There was likewise a mysterious Sacrifice, call'd *Δίωσμα*, or *Ἀποδίωσμα*, ἀπὸ τῆ διακίεσθαι ἐκείθι τὰς ἀνδράς, i. e. because all *Men* were excluded, and banished from it; or, ἀπὸ τῆ διαχθῆναι τὰς πολεμίους, i. e. because in a dangerous War, the *Women's* Prayers were so prevalent with the Gods, that their *Enemies* were defeated, and put to Flight as far as *Chalcis*; whence it is sometimes call'd *Χαλκιδικὸν δίωσμα*. There was another Sacrifice called *Ζημία*, i. e. a *Mulct*, which was offer'd as an Expiation of any Irregularities which happen'd during the Solemnity. At the Beginning of all this Festival, Prisoners committed to Gaol for smaller Faults, that is, such as did make them incapable of communicating in the Sacrifices, and other Parts of Divine Worship, were released (y).

Θ Η Σ Ε Ι Α,

An *Athenian* Festival in Memory of *Theseus*: It was celebrated upon the eighth Day of every Month, because he was the reputed Son of *Neptune*, to whom those Days were held sacred; or because in his first Journey from *Træzen*, he arrived at *Athens* upon the eighth of *Hecatombæon*; or in Memory of his safe Return from *Crete* (z), which happen'd upon the eighth of *Pyanepsion*, for which Reason the Festival was observ'd with greater Solemnity upon that Day, than at any other Times. Some also there are, that will have it to have been first instituted in Memory of *Theseus's* uniting the *Athenians* into one Body, who before lay disper'd in little Hamlets up and down in *Attica*. It was celebrated with Sports and Games, with Mirth and Banquets; and such as were poor and unable to contribute to them, were entertained upon free Cost at the publick Tables, as we learn from *Aristophanes* (a). The Sacrifices were call'd *Ὀγδοῖα*, from *Ὀδοῖς*, i. e. the *Eighth*, as being offer'd upon the eighth Day of the Month (b).

(x) *Thesmophor.* (y) *Sopater* De divisione questionis. (z) *Plutarchus* *These.*
Aristophanis *Scholiastes* *Pluto.* (a) *Pluto.* (b) *Hesychius.*

Θ Π Ι Ω,

A Festival in Honour of *Apollo* (c). The Name seems to be deriv'd from *Apollo's* three Nurses, who were call'd *Thriæ*.

Θ Υ Ι Α,

A Festival in Honour of *Bacchus* (d), observed by the *Eleans*, in a Place distant about eight *Stadia* from *Elis*, where it was confidently reported, that the God himself was present in Person; the Ground of which Story was this: There was a certain Chapel, into which the Priests convey'd three empty Vessels in Presence of the whole Assembly, which consisted as well of Foreigners as Natives; this done, they retir'd, and the Doors being shut, themselves, and as many others as pleased, sealed them with their own Signets: On the Morrow the Company returned, and after every Man had look'd upon his own Seal, and seen that it was unbroken, the Doors being open'd, the Vessels were found full of Wine.

Θ Υ Α Α Α,

In Honour of *Venus* (e).

Θ Υ Ν Ν Α Ι Α,

A Sacrifice so called from *Θύνος*, i. e. a *Tunny*, which Fishermen offer'd to *Neptune*, after a plentiful Draught (f).

Ι

Ι Ε Ρ Ο Σ Γ Α Μ Ο Σ,

i. e. The *Sacred Marriage*. It was a Festival in Honour of *Jupiter* and *Juno* (g), being (I suppose) a Commemoration of the Marriage of those two Deities.

Ι Θ Ω Μ Α Ι Α,

A Festival wherein Musicians contended; It was celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter* (h), firnamed *Ἰθωμήνης*, from *Ithome*, a City in *Thessaly* or *Messene* (i), where that God is said to have been nursed by the two Nymphs *Ithome* and *Neda*, who gave Names, the former to a Town, the latter to a River.

Ι Ν Α Χ Ι Α,

One of *Leucothea's* Festivals in *Crete*, being deriv'd from *Inachus*, according to *Hesychius*; or rather from *Ino*, who is the same with *Leu-*

(c) Idem. (d) Pausanias *Eliac* β'. (e) *Hesychius*. (f) *Atbenæus*, lib. vii.
(g) *Hesychius*. (h) *Stephanus Byzantinus*. (i) Pausanias *Messenicis*.

cothea and ἀχθῶ, i. e. Grief; being perhaps a Commemoration of *Ino's* Misfortunes.

ΙΝΥΝΙΑ,

A Festival in *Lemnos*.

ΙΝΩΑ,

Festivals in Memory of *Ino*, one of which was celebrated every Year with Sports and Sacrifices at *Corinth*, being instituted by King *Sisyphus* (k).

An anniversary Sacrifice was offer'd to *Ino* by the *Megarians*, where she was first called *Leucothea*, being cast upon the Coast by the Waves, and interr'd by *Clefo* and *Taurapoli* (l).

Ino had another Festival in *Laconia*, where there was a Pond consecrated to her: Into this it was usual at this Solemnity to cast Cakes of Flour, which, if they sunk, were Presages of Prosperity; but if they stay'd upon the Surface of the Water, were ill-boding Omens (m).

ΙΟΒΑΚΧΕΙΑ,

In Honour of *Bacchus* surnamed *Iobacchus*, from the Exclamations used in some of his Festivals, where they cried *Ιὸ Βάκχῃ*, &c. See *Διονυσια*.

ΙΟΑΑΙΑ,

A *Theban* Festival, the very same with *Ἡρακλεία* (n). It was instituted in Honour of *Hercules*, and his Companion *Iolaüs*, who assisted him against the *Hydra*. It lasted several Days, on the first of which were offered solemn Sacrifices: On the next Day Horse-races, and the Exercises of the *πίστανος* were performed: The following Day was set apart for Wrestling. The Victors were crown'd with Garlands of Myrtle, which were used as Funeral Solemnities, of which Sort this Festival was one. They were also sometimes rewarded with Tripods of Brass. The Place of these Exercises was called *Ἰολαῖον*, from *Iolaüs*. In the same Place stood the Sepulchre of *Amphitryon*, and the Cenotaphium, or honorary Monument of *Iolaüs*, who was buried in *Sardinia*: Both these at this Solemnity were bestrew'd with Garlands and Flowers (o).

ΙΣΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity observed by several Cities in Honour of *Ise* (p), who is said by some, to have been the first that taught Men the Use of Corn; in Memory of which Benefit, it was customary at some Places, for the Worshipers at this Festival, to carry Vessels full of Wheat and Barley.

(k) *Tacitus* in *Lycophronem*.
(n) *Pindari Scholiast*. *Olymp.* vii.
(p) *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. i.

(l) *Pausan.* *Atticis*.

(m) *Pausan.* *Laconicis*.

(o) *Pindari Scholiast.* in *Isthm.* & *Nemem.*

Ι Ξ Ε Ν Ι Α,

Anniversary Sports celebrated at *Olympia* in Memory of *Ischenus*, the Grandson of *Mercury* and *Hiereu*; who, in a Time of Famine, devoted himself to be a Sacrifice for his Country, and was honour'd with a Monument near the *Olympian Stadium* (q).

Κ

Κ Α Β Ε Ι Π Ι Α,

Mysterious Observances at *Thebes* and *Lemnos*, but more especially at *Imbrus* and *Samothrace*, which Islands were consecrated to the *Cabiri*, whom some will have to be *Phœnician* Deities; others the Sons of *Vulcan*; others are of a different Opinion from both; for nothing can be certainly determined concerning the Original, Names, or Number of them: Such as desire farther Satisfaction, may consult *Cælius Rhodiginus*, *Lilius Gyraldus*, and other *Mythologists*. All that were initiated into these Mysteries were thought effectually secured from Storms at Sea, and all other Dangers (r). The chief Ceremony was thus: The Person that offer'd himself being crowned with Olive-branches, and girded about his Loins with a Purple Ribband, was placed upon a Throne, around which the Priests and Persons before initiated danced and sported: This was called *Σπόγων*, or *Σπονσμός*, i. e. *Enthronization* (s).

Κ Α Α Α Ο Ι Δ Ι Α,

Solemn Sports celebrated by the *Laconians*, in Honour of *Diana* (t).

Κ Α Α Λ Ι Σ Τ Ε Ι Α,

i. e. *Beauty's Rewards*. It was a *Lesbian* Festival, wherein the Women presented themselves in *Juno's* Temple, and the Prize was assigned to the fairest (u).

Another of these Contentions there was at the Festival of *Ceres Eleusinia* amongst the *Parrhasians*, first instituted by *Cypselus*, whose Wife *Herodice* was honoured with the first Prize (x).

Another of the same Nature we find amongst the *Eleans* (y), where the most beautiful Man was presented with a complete Suit of Armour, which he consecrated to *Minerva*, to whose Temple he walked in Procession, being accompanied with his Friends, who adorned him with Ribbands, and crown'd him with a Garland of Myrtle.

Κ Α Α Α Τ Ν Θ Π Ι Α,

An *Athenian* Festival.

(q) *Isacius Tzetzet* in *Lycophronis Cassandr.* v. 42. (r) *Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. lib. v.*
 (s) *Plato Erbydemo, Hesychius.* (t) *Homeri Scholiast. Iliad. i.* (u) *Athenæus*
Deinosoph. lib. xii. (x) *Idem, ibid.* (y) *Etymolog. Auctor.*

K A P N Ē I A,

A Festival observ'd in most of the Cities of Greece; but especially at *Sparta*, where it was first instituted about the Time of the XXVth Olympiad, in Honour, not of *Jupiter*, as some are of Opinion, but of *Apollo*, surnamed *Carneus*, either from one *Carneus* a *Trojan* (a); or from a beautiful Youth called *Carnus*, who was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa* (b), and beloved by *Apollo* (c): Or from *Carnus*, an *Acar-nanian*, who was instructed by this God in the Art of Divination, but afterwards murdered by the *Dorians*: This Fact *Apollo* revenged upon them by a dreadful Plague; to avert which, they instituted this Festival, as *Pausanias* reports: ἀπὸ τῆς κερνείας, i. e. from the *Cornel-Tree*, by transposing the Letter ρ, as the same Author intimates: For 'tis reported by some, that the Festival was instituted by the *Grecians*, who had incurr'd *Apollo's* Displeasure, by cutting down a Number of *Cornel-Trees* in a Grove consecrated to him upon Mount *Ida*, which they used in building the *Wooden horse*: Or, ἀπὸ τῆς κερνείας, i. e. from accomplishing the Request of *Menelaus* (d), who, when he undertook his Expedition against *Troy*, made a Vow to *Apollo*, wherein he promised to pay him some signal Honour, if his Undertaking met with Success. This Festival lasted nine Days, beginning upon the thirteenth of the Month *Carneus*, which answered to the *Athenian Metagitnion* (e): It was an Imitation of the Method of living, and Discipline used in Camps; for nine κερνείαι, i. e. *Tents*, were erected, in every one of which nine Men of three different Tribes, three being chosen out of a Tribe, lived for the Space of nine Days, during which Time they were obedient to a publick *Crier*, and did nothing without express Order from him (f). *Hesychius* tells us, that the Priest, whose Office it was to attend at this Solemnity, was named Ἀγνῆς; and adds in another Place, that out of every Tribe five other Ministers were elected, and call'd κερνείαι, and obliged to continue in their Function four Years, during which Time they remained Batchelors. At this Festival the Musical Numbers, call'd κερνείαι νόμοι, were sung by Musicians, who contended for Victory. The first Prize was won by *Terpander*.

K A P Y A, or K A P Y A T I Σ,

A Festival in Honour of *Diana* (g), surnamed *Caryatidis*, from *Caryum* in *Laconia*, where this Solemnity was kept. It was usual for Virgins to meet at the Celebration, and join in a certain Dance, said to be invented by *Castor* and *Pollux*, which they called κερνείαν (h): In the Time of *Xerxes's* Invasion, when the *Laconians* durst not shew their Heads for fear of the Enemy, lest the Goddess's Anger should be incurr'd by the Intermision of this Solemnity, the neighbouring Swains assembled in the accustom'd Place, and sung Pastorals, which were call'd βουκόλια, from βουκόλος, i. e. a *Neat-herd*. Hence some are of Opinion, that *Bucolicks* came first to be in Use.

(a) *Alaman*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Theocriti Scholiast*. (d) *Demetrius*. (e) *Plutarchi Nicias*. (f) *Athenaeus*, lib. iv. *Callimachi Hymn. in Apoll.* *Pindarus Pythion*. (g) *Pausanias Laconicis*. (h) *Lucianus Περὶ ὀρχήσεως*.

ΚΙΣΣΟΤΟΜΟΙ,

A Festival in Honour of *Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth (i).

ΚΛΑΔΕΥΤΗΡΙΑ, or ΒΙΣΒΑΙΑ,

This Festival is mention'd by *Hesychius*, and seems to have been solemnized at the Time when Vines were prun'd; for κλαδευτήριον, and βίβην, signify *Pruning-hooks*.

ΚΝΑΚΑΛΗΣΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity celebrated upon Mount *Cnacolas*, by the *Caphyatae*, in Honour of *Diana*, who had from that Place the Sirname of *Cnacalefia* (k).

ΚΟΝΝΙΑΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity upon the Day before *Theseus's* Festival, in which a Ram was sacrificed to *Connidas*, *Theseus's* Tutor (l).

ΚΟΡΕΙΑ,

In Honour of *Proserpina*, named *Kōen* (m), which in the *Molossian* Dialect signifies a beautiful Woman.

ΚΟΡΥΒΑΝΤΙΚΑ,

A Festival held at *Cnossus* in *Crete*, in Memory of the *Corybantes*, who educated *Jupiter*, when he was conceal'd in that Island, from his Father *Saturn*, who intended to devour him.

ΚΟΤΥΤΤΙΑ, or ΚΟΤΥΤΤΙΣ,

A Nocturnal Festival in Honour of *Cotys*, or *Cotyto*, the Goddess of Wantonness (n): It was observed by the *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, *Chians*, *Thracians*, with others, and celebrated with such Rites as were most acceptable to the Goddess, who was thought to be delighted with nothing so much, as Lewdness and Debauchery. Her Priests were called *Βάνται*, which Name we find in *Juvenal*; it seems to have been derived ἀπὸ τοῦ βάνειν, i. e. from *Dying* or *Painting* themselves; for they were wont to practise all Sorts of effeminate and meretricious Arts; whence *Κόρυς Διασώτης*, i. e. the *Votary of Cotys*, is proverbially applied to Men that spend their Time in Dressing and Perfuming themselves.

Another Festival of this Name (o) was celebrated in *Sicily*, where the Worshipers carried Boughs hung about with Cakes and Fruit, which it was lawful for any Person to pluck off; in Memory (as *Gy-*

(i) *Pausanias Corinthiacis*. (k) *Idem Arcadicis*. (l) *Plutarch. Theseo*. (m) *Hesychius*. (n) *Synefius in Encomio calvitici, Suidas Juvenalis Satir. ii.* (o) *Plutarch. Proverb.*

raldus was of Opinion) of *Proserpina's* Ravishment, who is by some thought to have been the same with *Coryto*.

K P O N I A,

An *Athenian* Festival in Honour of *Saturn*, who is call'd in *Greek* *Κρόνος* (p). It was celebrated in the Month *Hecatombeon*, which was formerly called *Cronius*.

Another of *Saturn's* Festivals was celebrated (q) upon the sixteenth of *Metagitnion* at *Rhodes*; when they offer'd in Sacrifice a condemned Criminal.

Κ Υ Β Ε Ρ Ν Η Σ Ι Α,

A Festival instituted by *Theseus*, in Memory of *Naufitheus* and *Phæax*, who were his κυβερνήται, i. e. *Pilots* in his Voyage to *Crete* (r).

Κ Υ Ν Ο Φ Ο Ν Τ Ι Σ,

A Festival observed in Dog-days at *Argos* (s), and so call'd *κύνος* *φόνος*, i. e. from killing *Dogs*; because it was usual upon this Day to kill all the *Dogs* they met with.

Λ

Λ Α Κ Ε Δ Α Ι Μ Ο Ν Ι Ω Ν Ε Ο Ρ Τ Α Ι,

Some Festivals there were at *Lacedæmon*, the Names whereof are forgotten: One of these is mention'd by *Plutarch* in his *Love Stories*, at which the married Women, Maidens, Children, and Servants, feasted all together promiscuously; only the Ladies, whose Husbands were Magistrates, watch'd all Night in a large Room by themselves.

Another we find in *Athenæus* (t), at which the Women took all the old Bachelors, and dragg'd them round an Altar, beating them all the Time with their Fists; to the End, that if no other Motives would induce them to marry, the Shame and Ignominy they were expos'd to at these Times might compel them to it.

Λ Α Μ Π Η Ρ Ι Α,

A Festival at *Pellene* (u) in *Achaia*, in Honour of *Bacchus*, surnamed *λάμπερ*, from *λάμπω*, i. e. to shine; for this Solemnity being in the Night, the Worshipers went to *Bacchus's* Temple with lighted Torches in their Hands. It was customary at this Time to place Vessels full of Wine in several Parts of every Street of the City.

Λ Α Ρ Ι Σ Σ Α Ι Ω Ν Ε Ο Ρ Τ Η,

Games at *Larissa* (x), wherein the Combatants perform'd their Ex-

(p) *Aristophanis* Scholiast. *Nubibus*, *Hesychius*. (q) *Porphyrius* apud *Theodoretum*, lib. vii. *Græc. affect.* (r) *Plutarchus* *Theseo*. (s) *Arbenæus*, lib. iii. (t) *Δειν-ισοφ.* lib. xiii. (u) *Pausanias* *Achaicis*. (x) *Apollonii* Scholiast. lib. iv.

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 ercises singly, before the *Μισθός*, or *Combat*, consisting of *five Exercises*, was invented.

Λ Α Ρ Τ Σ Ι Α,

A Festival of *Bacchus*, celebrated at *Larysum*, a Mountain in *Laconia*, about the Beginning of Spring (r).

Λ Α Φ Ρ Ι Α,

An anniversary Festival at *Patræ* in *Achaia*, in Honour of *Diana* (u), surnamed *Laphria*, either from *ἀπὸ τῆς λαφύρας*, i. e. from *Spoils*, which she took from wild Beasts, because she was the Goddess of Hunting, and her Statue, which was compos'd of Gold and Ivory, represented her in an hunting Posture: Or because she desisted from her Anger, and became every Year *ἰλασσομένη*, i. e. more favourable and propitious to *Oeneus*, King of the *Calydonians*: Or, from one *Laphrius* a *Phoenician*, by whom her Statue was erected in *Calydonia*; for this Title was first given to *Diana* in *Calydonia*, and thence, together with her Statue, translated to *Patræ*. The Customs at this Festival are thus describ'd by *Pausanias*: At the Approach of the Festival, they made an Ascent to the Altar, heaping up soft Earth in the Manner of Stairs; round the Altar they placed in Order Pieces of green Wood, every one of which was in Length sixteen Cubits; upon it was laid the driest Wood they could get. The Solemnity lasted two Days; on the former of which there was a solemn Procession follow'd by *Diana's* Priestesses, who was a Virgin, and rode in a Chariot drawn by Bucks. On the Day following they assembled to offer Sacrifices, which consisted of Birds, Bears, Bucks, Lions, Wolves, with all Sorts of Animals, and Garden-fruits, which were cast upon the Altar, in Part by private Persons, and partly at the publick Charge; then the Fire being kindled, it sometimes happened, that the wild Beasts, having their Fetters loosed by the Flames, leaped off the Altar, which fell out when my Author was present; yet neither then, nor at any other Time before, did any Person receive the least Harm thereby.

Λ Ε Ο Ν Ι Δ Ε Ι Α,

An anniversary Day at *Sparta* (x), in Memory of *Leonidas*, King of that City, who, with a small Number of Men, put a Stop to the whole Army of *Xerxes* at *Thermopylae*, and maintain'd the Passage of those Straights two whole Days together. Upon this there was an Oration pronounced on that Hero, and Sports, in which none were allow'd to contend, but free-born *Spartans*.

Λ Ε Ο Ν Τ Ι Κ Α,

Who was the Author, what the Occasion of this Festival, is not known: Thus much however we find of it in *Porphyry* (y): That all

(r) *Pausanias Laconicis.* (u) *Pausan. Achaicis.* (x) *Idem Laconicis.* (y) *De Antro Nympharum.*

that were admitted to it, wash'd their Hands with Honey, which was pour'd upon them instead of Water, in Token that they were pure from all Things hurtful and malicious.

ΛΕΡΝΑΙΑ,

A Festival at *Lerna*, instituted by *Philammon* (c) in Honour of *Bacchus*, *Proserpina* and *Ceres*. In the primitive Times the *Argives* used to carry Fire to this Solemnity from a Temple upon Mount *Crathis*, dedicated to *Diana*, surnamed (perhaps from *πῦρ*, i. e. Fire) *Πρωία*.

ΛΗΝΑΙΑ,

A Festival of *Bacchus* (d) surnam'd *Lenæus*, from *ληνός*, i. e. *Winepress*. It was celebrated in the Month *Lenæon*, with several Ceremonies used at other Festivals of this God; but what more especially recommended it, was the poetical Contention, wherein Poets strove for Victory, and the Tragedies acted at this Time.

ΛΙΘΟΒΟΛΙΑ,

i. e. *Lapidation*. This Festival was celebrated by the *Træzenians*, in Memory of *Lamia* and *Auxesia*, who were two Virgins, that, coming from *Crete* to *Træzen* in a Time of Tumult and Sedition, became a Sacrifice to the Fury of the People, by whom they were stoned to Death (e).

ΛΙΜΝΑΤΙΑΙΑ,

A Festival in Honour of *Diana* (f), surnamed *Limnatis* from *Limne*, a School of Exercise at *Træzen*, in which she was worshipped; or, according to *Artemidorus*, from *λίμναι*, i. e. *Ponds*, because she had the Care of Fishermen.

ΛΙΝΕΙΑ,

A Festival in Memory of *Linus*, an old Poet, who had a Statue in Mount *Helicon*, to which κατὰ ἑκάστην ἐκαστον πρὸ τῆς θυσιᾶς τῶν Μουσῶν ἐπαγίγεται, Yearly Parentations were made before they sacrificed to the *Muses* (g).

ΛΥΚΑΙΑ,

An *Arcadian* (h) Festival, resembling the *Roman Lupercalia*: It was celebrated with Games, in which the Conqueror was rewarded with a Suit of brazen Armour. An human Sacrifice was offer'd at this Time. It was first observ'd by *Lycaon*, in Honour of *Jupiter*, surnamed *Lycaeus*, either from *Lycaon*'s own Name, or the *Arcadian* Mountain *Lycaeus*, which the *Arcadians* pretend is the true *Olympus*, whence they call it

(c) Pausan. Corinthiac. Arcad. Inscriptio Vetus. (d) Aristopban. Scholiast. Equitibus, D'ogenes Laertius Platone. (e) Pausan. Corinthiac. (f) Idem Acbaic. (g) Pausan. Boeotic. p. 584. Edit. Hanov. (h) Plutarch. Cæsar, Pausan. Arcadic. Porphyrius Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψυχ. Hyginus, Fab. clxxiii.

ἱερὸν κορυφῆν, i. e. the Sacred Hill, because Jupiter was feigned to have had his Education there; in Memory of which there was an Altar, wherein a certain mysterious Worship was paid to that God, and a Plot of Ground consecrated to him, upon which it was unlawful for any Person to set his Foot.

ΛΥΚΕΙΑ,

A Festival held at Argos to Apollo Λύκειος. This Name, as also that other Λύκοκτορος, was derived from his delivering the Argives from Wolves (λύκος) which wasted their Country. In Memory of which Benefit they dedicated a Temple to Apollo Lyceus, and call'd one of their publick Fora ἀγορὰ Λύκειος, the Lycean Forum. Several other Reasons are assign'd, why the foremention'd Names were given to Apollo: As that he defended the Flock of Admetus, King of Thessaly, from Wolves; or, that he was born in Lycia, whence he is call'd Λυκηγενής by Homer; to mention no more (i).

ΛΥΚΟΤΡΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the Spartans, in Memory of Lycurgus their Lawgiver (k), whom they honour'd with a Temple, and an anniversary Sacrifice.

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΙΑ,

A Samian Festival celebrated (l) with Sacrifices and Games in Honour of Lysander, the Lacedæmonian Admiral. It was anciently called Ηρεια, which Name was abolished by a Decree of the Samians.

M

ΜΑΙΜΕΚΤΗΡΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices offer'd by the Athenians in Maimectirion, which was a Winter-month, to Jupiter Μαιμάκτης, to induce him to send mild and temperate Weather, because he was usually taken for the Air or Heavens, and therefore thought to preside over the Seasons. There are various Reasons assign'd for his Surname, for μαιμάκτης is by Harpocratio expounded ἰσχυρώδης καὶ ταρακτινός, i. e. outrageous, and furious; being deriv'd from μαμάσσειν, which is, according to Suidas, κλονίσθαι, κυματῆσθαι, i. e. to trouble, or raise Cominations. But Hesychius affixeth a quite different Signification to it, for, according to him, μαιμάκτης is the same with μελίχιος, i. e. favourable and propitious; and herein Plutarch agrees with him, who tells us (m), "That 'twas his Opinion, "that by the Name of Μαιμάκτης, which was given by the Athenians "to the King of the Gods, was meant μελίχιος." Neither of these Significations are at all disagreeable to the Design of this Festival; for, since it was to procure good Weather, it might either be instituted as

(i) Pindari Scholiastes in Pythion. Sophoclis uterque Schol. initio Electra. (k) Plutarch. Lycurgo. Strabo, lib. viii. (l) Plutarch. Lysandro, Hesychius. (m) Libro Περὶ ἀρχοντίας.

a Means to appease the Deity, who was thought to cause Storms and intemperate Seasons; or to entreat the same Person, as being of a mild and gentle Disposition, and willing to grant the Request of his Votaries.

ΜΕΓΑΛΑΡΤΙΑ,

See Ουροφώγία.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΕΙΑ,

A Festival in Honour of Menelaus (n), at Therapne in Laconia, where a Temple was consecrated to him, in which he was worshipped, together with Helena, not as an Hero, or inferior Deity, but as one of the supreme Gods.

ΜΕΣΟΣΤΡΟΦΝΙΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ,

Certain Days upon which the Lesbians offer'd publick Sacrifices (o).

ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΑ,

A Festival in the Month Metagition (p), in Honour of Apollo Metagiton, being celebrated by the Inhabitants of Melite, that left their Habitations, and settled among the Diomians in Attica; whence these Names seem to have been derived, for they import a Removal from one Neighbourhood to another.

ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΕΙΑ,

Sacrifices with Horse-races and other Games, celebrated by the Chersonesians in Memory of Miltiades, the Athenian General (q).

ΜΙΝΥΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the Orchomenians (r), who were call'd Minya, and the River, upon which the City was founded, Minya, from Minyas, King of that Place, in Memory of whom this Solemnity seems to have been instituted.

ΜΙΤΥΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Festival celebrated by all the Inhabitants of Mytilene, in a Place without the City, in Honour of Apollo Madaeus (s), which Surname we find mentioned also in Hesychius.

ΜΟΥΝΥΧΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity at Athens (t), upon the sixteenth of Munychion, in Honour of Diana, surnam'd Munychia, from King Munychus, the

(n) Isocrates in Helenæ Encomio, Pausanias Laconicis. (o) Hesychius. (p) Plutarchus de Exilio. Harpocration, Suidas. (q) Herodotus, lib. vi. (r) Pindari Scholiastæ lib. vi. Od. i. (s) Thucydides initio lib. iii. (t) Plutarch. de Gloria Atheniens. Harpocration, Etymologici Auctor. Suid. Eustatbius II. 6.

Son of *Pentacleus*; or from a Part of the *Piræus*, call'd *Manychia*, where this Goddess had a Temple, to which the *Athenians* allow'd the Privilege of being a Sanctuary to such as fled to it for Refuge. At this Solemnity they offer'd certain Cakes call'd *ἀμφιπῶλες*, which Name is derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμφιπῶν, i. e. from *shining on every Side*, either because lighted Torches hung round them when they were carried into the Temple; or because they were offer'd at full Moon, that being the Time of this Festival; for it was instituted in Honour of *Diæa*, who was reputed to be the same with the Moon, because it was full Moon, when *Themistocles* overthrew the *Persian Fleet* at *Salamis*.

ΜΟΥΣΕΙΑ,

Festivals (α) in Honour of the *Muses*, at several Places of *Greece*, especially amongst the *Thebians*, where solemn Games were celebrated every fifth Year.

The *Macedonians* had also a Festival in Honour of *Jupiter* and the *Muses*, which being first instituted by King *Achelaus*, was celebrated with Stage-Plays, and Games, and lasted nine Days, according to the Number of the *Muses*.

ΜΥΣΙΑ,

A Festival (α) in Honour of *Ceres*, surnam'd *Myfia*, from *Myfius*, an *Argian*, who dedicated a Temple to her, in a Place about X *Stadia* distant from *Pellene* in *Acbaia*; or, according to *Phurnutus*, from *μυῖα*, i. e. to *cloy*, to *satisfy*, or to *be well fed*, because *Ceres* was the first that taught Men how to use Corn. The Festival continued seven Days, upon the third of which all the Men and Dogs being shut out of the Temple, the Women, together with the Bitches, remain'd within, and having that Night perform'd the accusom'd Rites, on the Day following return'd to the Men, with whom they pass'd away their Time in jesting and laughing at one another.

ΜΩΑΕΙΑ,

An *Arcadian* (γ) Festival, so nam'd from *Μωο*, i. e. a *Fight*; being instituted in Memory of a Battle, wherein *Lycorgus* slew *Brentalion*.

N

ΝΕΚΥΕΙΑ,

In Memory of *deceased Persons*. Of this and the following Solemnities I shall give a more full Account, when I come to treat of the Honours paid to the Dead.

ΝΕΜΕΣΙΑ, or ΝΕΜΕΖΙΑ,

A Solemnity in Memory of *deceas'd Persons*; so call'd from the God-

(α) Pollux, lib. i. cap. 1. *Eschines* in *Timarchum*, *Pausanias* *Bæoticis*, *Diodorus Sic.* lib. xvii. *Plutarch.* *Eratido*. (α) *Pausan.* *hæc.* *Acbaicorum*. (γ) *Apollonii* *Rhodii* *Scholiast.* lib. i. v. 164.

deus *Nemesis*, who was thought to defend the Relicks and Memories of the Dead from Injuries. Hence in *Sophocles* (x), when *Clytemnestra* insults over the Ashes of her Son *Orestes*, *Electra* thus invokes *Nemesis*:

"Αἰεὶ, Νέμεσις, τὴν Σαρύρην ἀγέλας.

NEOINIA,

A Festival celebrated to *Bacchus* (a), when the new Wine was first tasted, as the Name signifies.

NEOPTOLEMEIA,

A Festival celebrated by the *Delphians* (b) with much Pomp and Splendor, in Memory of *Neoptolemus*, the Son of *Achilles*, who was slain in an Attempt to sack *Apollo's* Temple, which he undertook in Revenge of his Father's Death, to which that God was accessory.

NHATHIA,

A *Milesian* Festival (c) in Honour of *Diana*, firnam'd *Neleis*, from *Neleus*, an Inhabitant of *Miletus* (d).

NIKH H EN MAPAΘΩNI,

An anniversary Solemnity observ'd by the *Athenians* upon the sixth of *Boedromion*, in Memory of that famous Victory, which *Miltiades* obtain'd against the *Persians* at *Marathon* (e).

NIKHTHPIA AΘHNAΣ,

An *Athenian* Solemnity in Memory of *Minerva's* Victory over *Neptune*, when they contended which of them should have the Honour of giving a Name to the City afterwards call'd *Athens* (f).

NOTMHNIA, or NEOMHNIA,

A Festival observ'd at the Beginning of every Lunar Month (g), which was (as the Name imports) upon the New Moon, in Honour of all the Gods, but especially *Apollo*, who was call'd *Neomēnion*, because the Sun is the first Author of all Light; and whatever Distinction of Times and Seasons may be taken from other Planets, yet they are all owing to him, as the Original and Fountain of all those borrow'd Rays, which the rest have only by Participation from him. To observe this Festival was called *νεμναζειν*, certain Cakes offer'd therein *νεμνα*, and the Worshipers *νεμνασαι*. It was observ'd with Games and publick En-

(x) *Electra*, ver. 793. Conf. ibi *Triclinius*, item *Demosthenes* Orat. adv. *Spudium*, p. 650. *Suidas* v. *Νεμίσσια*. (a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Heliodorus* *Æthiopie*, initio. lib. iii. (c) *Plutarchus* de Virtut. Mulierum. (d) *Lycebron*. *Cassandra*. (e) *Plutarchus* de Gloria *Atheniensium*. (f) *Proclus* in *Timæum* Comment. i. (g) *Homeri* *Scholastes* *Od. v.* *Eustatius* *Od. v.* & φ'. *Demosthenes* in *Aristogit.* *Theophrastus* *Ethic.* *Charact.* *Etymologici* Auctor, *Hesychius*, *Herodotus*, lib. viii. & *Vit. Homeri*.

tertainties, which were made by the richer Sort, to whose Tables the Poor flock'd in great Numbers. The *Athenians* at these Times, offer'd solemn Prayers and Sacrifices for the Prosperity of their Commonwealth the ensuing Month, in *Erechtheus's* Temple in the Citadel, which was kept by a Dragon, to which they gave (as was usual also in *Trophonius's* Cave) a *Honey-cake* call'd *μελιτήρα*. Neither were the Gods only worshipp'd at this Solemnity, but also the *Demi-Gods* and *Heroes*: *Plutarch* (b) relates that the *Greeks* on their *New Moons* first worshipp'd (Θεοὶ) the Gods, afterwards (Ἡρώας καὶ Δαίμονας) the *Heroes* and *Dæmons*. These Sacrifices, because they were offer'd every Month, were call'd *ἐμμήνια ἱερά*, or *ἐπιμήνια*, and those that perform'd them *ἐπιμήνιοι*, as also *ἀγγεμόνες*.

Ξ

ΞΑΝΘΙΚΑ,

A *Macedonian* Festival (i), so call'd because it was observ'd in the Month *Xanthus*, which, as *Suidas* tells us, was the same with *April*. At this Time the Army was purify'd by a solemn Lustration, the Manner of which was thus: They divided a Bitch into two Halves, one of which, together with the Entrails, was placed upon the Right-hand, the other upon the Left; between these the Army march'd in this Order: After the Arms of the *Macedonian* Kings, came the first Part of the Army, consisting (I suppose) of Horse; these were followed by the King and his Children, after whom went the Life-guards; then follow'd the rest of the Army: This done, the Army was divided into two Parts, one of which being set in Array against the other, then follow'd a short Encounter in Imitation of a Fight.

ΕΥΝΟΙΚΙΑ, or ΜΕΤΟΙΚΙΑ,

An anniversary Day observ'd by the *Athenians* (k) to *Minerva*; upon the sixteenth of *Hecatombæon*, in Memory that by the Persuasion of *Theseus* they left their Country-seats, in which they lay dispers'd here and there in *Attica*, and united together in one Body.

Ο

ΟΓΧΗΣΤΙΑ,

A *Bæotian* Festival (l) in Honour of *Neptune*, firnam'd *Onchestus*, from *Onchestus*, a Town in *Bæotia*.

ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated in Honour of *Olympian* *Jupiter*, by the *Athenians*, *Smyrnæans*, *Macedonians*, but especially by the *Eleans*, of whose Solemnity I shall give an Account afterwards.

(b) *Græc. Quæst.* (i) *Hesychius, Livius xl. Curtius, lib. x.* (k) *Thucydides, lib. ii. Plutarchus Theseo.* (l) *Pausanias Bæoticis.*

Ο Μ Ο Λ Ω Ι Α,

A *Theban* Festival in Honour of *Jupiter Homolœus*, or *Ceres Homolœia* (m), who were so call'd from *Homole* in *Boeotia*, or the Prophetess *Homolœia*, or from ὁμολῶ, which in the *Æolian* Dialect signifies *peaceable*.

Ο Σ Χ Ο Φ Ο Ρ Ι Α, or Ω Σ Χ Ο Φ Ο Ρ Ι Α,

An *Athenian* Festival, so call'd ἀπὸ τῆ φέρειν τὰς ὄσχας, i. e. from carrying Boughs hung with Grapes, which were term'd ὄσχα (n). The Institution and Manner of it are describ'd at large by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theseus*. His Words run thus: "*Theseus* at his Return from *Crete* forgot to hang out the white Sail, which should have been the Token of their Safety to *Ægeus*, who, knowing nothing of their Success, for Grief threw himself headlong from a Rock, and perish'd in the Sea. But *Theseus*, being arriv'd at the Port *Phalerus*, paid there the Sacrifices which he had vow'd to the Gods at his setting out to Sea, and sent a Herald to the City to carry the News of his safe Return. At his Entrance into the City, the Herald found the People for the most Part full of Grief for the Loss of their King; others, as may be well believ'd, as full of Joy for the Message that he had brought, and wholly bent to make much of him, and crown him with Garlands for so acceptable News; these indeed he accepted of, but hung them upon his Herald's Staff, and thus returning to the Sea-side, before *Theseus* had finish'd his Libation to the Gods, stay'd without for fear of disturbing the holy Rites; but as soon as the Sacrifice was ended, he entered and related the whole Story of the King's Death; upon the hearing of which, with great Lamentations, and a confus'd Tumult of Grief, they run with all Haste to the City: Whence, they say, it comes, that at this Feast *Oschophoria*, not the Herald, but his Staff is crown'd; and that the People then present still break out at the Sacrifice into this Shout, ὄσχα, ὄσχα, ὄσχα, of which confus'd Sounds the first was wont to be us'd by Men in Haste, or at Triumph; the others are proper to Men in any Trouble or Consternation." It is probable that these are the ὄσχοφορικὰ μέλε, which are mention'd by *Proclus* (o).

A little after my Author proceeds thus: "The Festival call'd *Oschophoria*, which to this Day the *Athenians* celebrate, was then first instituted by *Theseus*; for he took not with him the full Number of Virgins, which were chosen by Lots to be carry'd away, but selected two Youths, with whom he had an intimate Familiarity, of fair and Womanish Faces, but of manly and courageous Spirits, and having by frequent Bathings, and avoiding the Heat and Scorching of the Sun, with a constant Use of the Ointments, Washes and Dresses, that serve to adorn the Head, smooth the Skin, or improve the Complexion, chang'd them, in a Manner, from what

(m) *Theocriti Scholiastes*, Idyll. viii. (n) *Harpocration*, *Hesychius*. (o) *Chrestomathia*.

" they

“ they were before; and having taught them farther to counterfeit
 “ the very Voice, Gesture, and Gait of Virgins, so that there could
 “ not be the least Difference perceiv’d; he, undiscover’d by any, put
 “ them into the Number of the *Athenian* Maids design’d for *Crète*. At
 “ his Return, he and these two Youths led up a solemn Procession
 “ with Boughs and Vine-branches in their Hands, in the same Habit
 “ that is now worn at the Celebration of the *Oschophoria*: These
 “ Branches they carry’d in Honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, in Me-
 “ mory of the Fable related of them; or rather, because they hap-
 “ pen’d to return in *Autumn*, the Time of gathering Grapes. The
 “ Women call’d *Δειπνοφόροι*, i. e. *Supper-Carriers*, were taken into these
 “ Ceremonies, and assisted at the Sacrifice in Remembrance and Imita-
 “ tion of the Mothers of the young Men and Virgins, upon whom
 “ the Lot fell; for thus busily did they run about, bringing Banquets
 “ and Refreshments to their Children: And because the good Women
 “ then told their Sons and Daughters a great many fine Tales and
 “ Stories, to comfort and encourage them under the Danger they
 “ were going upon, it has therefore still continu’d a Custom, that at
 “ this Festival old Tales and Fables should be the chief Discourse.
 “ For all these Particularities we are beholden to the History of *De-*
 “ *mon*.” Besides the Rites already described out of *Plutarch*, there
 was always a Race at this Festival (p); the Contenders were young
 Men elected out of every Tribe, whose Parents were both living;
 they ran from *Bacchus’s* Temple to that of *Minerva Sciras* in the *Pha-*
lerian Haven; the Place where the Race ended was called *Ὀσχοφόριον*,
 from the *ῥοχαί*, *Boughs*, which the Runners carried in their Hands,
 and deposited there. The Conqueror’s Reward was a Cup call’d
Πενταπλόα, or *Πενταπλή*, i. e. *Five-fold*, because it contain’d a Mixture
 of five Things, viz. Wine, Honey, Cheese, Meal, and a little Oil.

Π

ΠΑΓΚΛΑΔΙΑ,

A Festival so call’d ἀπὸ πάντων κλάδων, i. e. from all Sorts of *Boughs*:
 It was celebrated by the *Rhodians*, when they prun’d their Vines (q).

ΠΑΜΒΟΙΩΤΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated (as the Name imports) by all the *Bæotians* (r),
 who assembled near *Coronea*, at the Temple of *Minerva*, firnam’d
Itonia, from *Itonius*, the Son of *Amphyction*.

ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival in Honour of *Minerva*, the Protectress of *A-*
thens. It was first instituted by *Erichthonius* or *Orpheus*, and called
Ἀθήναια, but afterwards renew’d and amplify’d by *Theseus*, when he
 had united into one City the whole *Athenian* Nation, and call’d *Πανα-*

(p) *Pausanias Atticis, Athenæus*, lib. xi. *Hesychius*. *Nicandri Schol. Alexipharmacis*.
 (q) *Hesychius*. (r) *Strabo*, lib. ix. *Pausanias*, *Bæoticis*.

ἑκατομβαια. Some are of Opinion, that it was much the same with the Roman *Quinquatria*, whence it is usual to call it by that Name in Latin. At the first it continued only one Day, but afterwards was prolong'd several Days, and celebrated with greater Preparations and Magnificence, than was usual in the primitive Times.

There were two Solemnities of this Name, one of which was call'd *Μεγάλη Παναθηναία*, i. e. the great *Panathenæa*, and was celebrated once in five Years, beginning upon the XXIII^d of *Hecatombæon*. The other was call'd *Μικρά Παναθηναία*, i. e. the lesser *Panathenæa*, and was kept every third Year; or rather, as some think, every Year, beginning upon the XXIst, or XXth of *Thargelion*. In the latter of these there were three Games manag'd by ten Presidents, elected out of all the ten Tribes of *Athens*, who continu'd in Office four Years. On the first Day at Even, there was a Race with Torches, wherein first Footmen, and afterwards Horsemen contended: The same Custom was likewise observ'd in the greater Festival. The second Contention was *εὐαγγελίας ἀγών*, i. e. a Gymnical Exercise, so call'd because the Combatants therein gave a Proof of their *Strength*, or *Manhood*. The Place of these Games was near the River, and call'd from this Festival *παναθηναϊκόν*: The *Stadium* being decay'd by Time, was rebuilt of white *Pentelick* Marble by *Herodes*, a Native of *Athens*, with such Splendor and Magnificence, that the most stately Theatres could not compare with it. The last was a Musical Contention, first instituted by *Pericles*: In the Songs us'd at this Time, they rehears'd the generous Undertakings of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, who oppos'd the Tyranny of *Pisistratus's* Sons; as of *Thrasylbulus* also, who deliver'd the *Athenians* from the thirty Tyrants, imposed on them by the *Lacedæmonians*. The first that obtain'd the Victory, by playing upon the Harp, was *Phrynis* a *Mitylænæan*: Other musical Instruments were also made use of, especially Flutes, on which they play'd in Concert: There was also a Dance perform'd by a *Circular Chorus*, of which hereafter: And the Poets contended in four Plays, the last whereof was a Satyr, and all together were nam'd from their Number *τετραλογία*. Beside these, there was a Contention at *Sunium*, in Imitation of a Sea-fight: The Conqueror in any of these Games was rewarded with a Vessel of Oil, which he was permitted to dispose of, how, and where he pleas'd, whereas it was unlawful for any other to transport that Commodity: Farther he receiv'd a Crown of those Olives which grew in the *Academy*, and were sacred to *Minerva*, and call'd *Μόριαι*, from *μός*, i. e. *Death*, in Remembrance of the Misfortune of *Halirrothius*, the Son of *Neptune*, who, in a Rage at his Father's Defeat by *Minerva*, in their Contention about the Name of *Athens*, offering to cut down the Olive-tree, by the Production of which *Minerva* obtain'd the Victory, miss'd his Aim, and gave himself a fatal Blow: Others derive the Name from *μός*, i. e. *a Part*, because, according to some, these Olives were given by Contribution, all Persons that possess'd Olive-trees being oblig'd to contribute their Proportions towards the Celebration of this Festival. Beside these, there was a certain Dance call'd *Pyrrhichia*, perform'd by young Boys in Armour, in Imitation of *Minerva*, who, in Triumph over the vanquish'd Sons of *Titan*, danced in that Manner. It was usual

usual also, when *Athens* was brought under the Dominion of the *Romans*, for Gladiators to contend after the *Roman* Fashion. No Man was permitted to be present at any of these Games in dy'd Garments, and the Punishment of such Offenders was left to the Discretion of the *Ἀγωνοθέτης*, or *President* of the Game. Lastly, they offer'd a sumptuous Sacrifice, towards which every one of the *Athenian* Boroughs contributed an Ox; and of the Flesh that remain'd, a publick Entertainment was made for the whole Assembly.

In the greater Festival most of the same Rites and Ceremonies were practis'd, but were (I suppose) perform'd with greater Splendor and Magnificence, and the Addition of some others, not observ'd in the Lesser, as particularly the Procession in which *Minerva's* sacred *πέπλος*, or *Garment*, was carry'd: This *πέπλος* was woven by a select Number of Virgins call'd *Ἐργασίαι*, from *ἔργον*, i. e. *Work*; these were superintended by two of the *Ἀγῶνηφόροι*, (of whom I have spoken before) and enter'd upon their Employment at the Festival *Χαλμαῖα*, which was upon the thirtieth Day of *Pyanepsion*: It was of a white Colour without Sleeves, and embroider'd with Gold: Upon it were describ'd the Achievements of *Minerva*, especially those against the Giants; *Jupiter* also, and the Heroes, with all such as were famous for valiant and noble Exploits, had their Effigies in it; whence Men of true Courage and Bravery are said to be *ἄξιοι πέπλου*, i. e. worthy to be pourtray'd in *Minerva's* sacred *Garment*, as in *Aristophanes* (s):

Εὐλογῆσαι βηλόμεθα τὰς πατέρας ἡμῶν, ὅτι
Ἄνδρες ἦσαν τῆς δὲ γῆς ἄξιοι, καὶ τὸ πέπλου.

We will our Fathers treat with high Esteem,
Whose brave Exploits are worthy *Attica*,
Fit to be pourtray'd in *Minerva's* Vest.

With this *πέπλος* they made a solemn Procession, the Ceremonies of which were thus: In the *Ceramicus* without the City, there was an Engine built in the Form of a Ship, on Purpose for this Solemnity; upon this the *πέπλος* was hung in the Manner of a Sail, and the whole was convey'd, not by the Beasts, as some have imagin'd, but by subterraneous Machines, to the Temple of *Ceres Eleusinia*, and from thence to the Citadel, where the *πέπλος* was put upon *Minerva's* Statue, which seems to have been laid upon a Bed strew'd with, or rather compos'd of Flowers, and call'd *πλαχμή*. This Procession was made by Persons of all Ages, Sexes, and Qualities: It was led up by old Men together (as some say) with old Women, carrying Olive-branches in their Hands; whence they are call'd *ἑλαιοφόροι*, i. e. *Bearers of Green Boughs*: After these came the Men of full Age with Shields and Spears, being attended by the *Μέτοικοι*, or *Sojourners*, who carry'd little Boats as a Token of their being Foreigners, and were upon that Account call'd *πλοηφόροι*, i. e. *Boat-bearers*: Then follow'd the Women, attended by the *Sojourners* Wives, who were nam'd *ὕδατοφόροι*, from *bearing Water-pots*: These were follow'd by young

Men singing Hymns to the Goddess; they were crown'd with Millet: Next to these came select Virgins of the first Quality, call'd *Καθηφόροι*, i. e. *Basket-bearers*, because they carry'd certain Baskets which contain'd some Necessaries for the Celebration of the holy Rites, which (as also other Utensils requir'd at the Solemnity) were in the Custody of one, who, because he was *chief* Manager of the publick Pomps, Processions, or Embassies to the Gods, was call'd *Ἀρχιθεωρῶς*, and were distributed by him as Occasion requir'd; these Virgins were attended by the Sojourners Daughters, who carry'd Umbrellas and little Seats, whence they were call'd *Διφερφόροι*, i. e. *Seat-carriers*: Lastly, it is probable that the Boys bore up the Rear; they walk'd in a Sort of Coats worn at Processions, and call'd *Πανδάμικοι*. The Necessaries for this, as for all other Processions, were prepar'd in a publick Hall erected for that Use between the *Piræan* Gate and *Ceres's* Temple; and the Management and Care of the whole Business belong'd to the *Νομοφύλακες*, which Name denotes Officers appointed to see that the *Laws*, ancient *Rites*, and *Customs* be observ'd. It was farther usual at this Solemnity to make a *Gaol-delivery*, to present golden Crowns to such as had done any remarkable Service for the Commonwealth, and to appoint Men to sing some of *Homer's* Poems, which Custom was first introduced by *Hipparchus*, the Son of *Pisistratus*. Lastly, in the Sacrifices at this, and other Quinquennial Solemnities, it was customary to pray for the Prosperity of the *Platæans*, on Account of the Service they had done the *Athenians* at the Battle of *Marathon*, wherein they behav'd themselves with extraordinary Courage and Resolution.

ΠΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ,

In Honour of *Panace* (t).

ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟΝ,

The same with the *Ἀθήναια*, and *Χαλκῆα*, and so called from the great Concourse of *People* that us'd to meet at the Solemnity (u).

ΠΑΝΔΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival (x), so called from *Pandion*, by whom it was first instituted; or because it was celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter*, who does *τὰ πάντα διαύειν*, i. e. move and turn all Things which Way he pleaseth. Others are of Opinion, that it belong'd to the *Moon*, and receiv'd its Name, because she does *πάντοτε ἵεται*, i. e. move incessantly, for that the *Moon* appears both in the Night and Day; whereas the *Sun* shews himself by Day only, and was suppos'd to rest all Night. It was celebrated after the *Διονύσια*, or Festival of *Bacchus*, because that God is sometimes put for the *Sun*, or *Apollo*, and was by some reputed to be the Brother, by others the Son of the *Moon*.

(t) *Theodoretus* vii. *Therap.*

(u) *Suidas.*

(x) *Etymologici* Auctor *Suidas.*

ΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΣ,

An *Athenian* (y) Festival in Memory of *Pandrosus*, the Daughter of King *Cecrops*.

ΠΑΝΔΥΣΙΑ,

Publick Rejoicings (z), when the Season through its Coldness and Intemperance forced the Mariners to stay at Home.

ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ,

A publick Festival celebrated (as the Name imports) by an Assembly of People from all Parts of Greece (a).

ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated (as the Name signifies) by a Concourse of People from all the Cities of *Ionia* (b). The Place or Temple in which it was kept, was call'd *Πανώνιον*. It was instituted in Honour of *Neptune*, firnam'd *Heliconius*, from *Helice* a City of *Achaia*, which afterwards perish'd by an Earthquake. One Thing there was remarkable in this Festival, viz That, if the Bull offer'd in Sacrifice happen'd to bellow, it was accounted an Omen of divine Favour, because that Sound was thought to be acceptable to *Neptune*: To this *Homer* is thought to allude in these Verses (c).

Αἰτὰρ ὁ θυμὸν αἶσθε κ' ἤρυνεν, ὥς ὅτε ταῦρος
ἤρυνεν ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα.

Dying he roar'd, as when a Bull is drawn
About the King of sacred *Helice*.

ΠΑΝΟΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

An anniversary Solemnity (d) in Honour of *Pan* at *Athens*, where he had a Temple near the *Acropolis*, the Dedication of which and the Institution of this Festival were upon this Account: When *Darius* the *Persian* invaded *Attica*, one *Phidippides* was dispatch'd on an Embassy to the *Spartans*, to desire their Assistance; and, as he was in his Journey about Mount *Parthenius* near *Tegæa*, *Pan* met him, and calling him by his Name, bid him ask the *Athenians*, What was the Reason why they had no Regard of him, who was their Friend, and had often been serviceable to them, and should continue so to be? *Phidippides*, at his Return to *Athens*, related this Vision, which obtain'd so great Credit with the *Athenians*, that they made a Decree that divine Honours should be paid to that God also.

(y) *Athenagoras* in *Apologia*, *Hesychius*. (z) *Aeneas Tacticus* Poliorcet. cap. xvii. *Proclus* in *Hesiod.* *Eg.* β'. (a) *Eustathius* *Iliad.* β'. (b) *Herodotus*, lib. i. *Strabo*, lib. v. *Eustathius* *Iliad.* δ. (c) *Iliad.* xx. (d) *Herodotus*, lib. vi. cap. 106.

Pan had likewise a Festival in *Arcadia* (e), the Country he was believ'd most to frequent and delight in, at which they used to beat his Statue with *Σκίλλαι*, i. e. *Sea-onions*: The same was done when they miss'd of their Prey in Hunting, in Anger (as should seem) at the God, whom they reputed to be President of that Sport; to which Custom *Theocritus* seems to allude in these Verses,

Καὶ ἦν ταῦτ' ἔρδοις, ὦ Πᾶν φίλε, μὴ τὸ τι παῖδες
Ἀρκάδιοι σκίλλαισιν ὑπὸ πλειράς τε, καὶ ὤμους
Τανίκα μαρσίσοιεν ὃ τε κρέα τυτθὰ παρῆν.

Kind *Pan*, if you propitious to my Prayer
Grant these my Wishes, you no more shall fear
The rig'rous Usage of *Arcadian* Boys,
When disappointed of their lovely Prize.

H. H.

Farther, it was customary to offer a scanty Sacrifice, the Reliques of which were not sufficient to entertain those that were present; because, perhaps, they thought the God had frustrated their Hopes of Prey in Hunting; on the contrary, when they had good Success, they were more liberal in paying Honours to him.

ΠΑΝΟΨΙΑ,

See Παναΐψια.

ΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ,

A Commemoration-day in Honour of an ancient Hero, whose Name was *Paralus* (f).

ΠΑΤΣΑΝΕΙΑ,

A Festival in which were solemn Games, wherein free-born *Spartans* only contended: Also an Oration in Praise of *Pausanias*, the *Spartan* General, under whose Conduct the *Grecians* overcame *Mardonius* in the famous Battle at *Plataeæ* (g).

ΠΕΛΟΠΕΙΑ,

A Festival held by the *Eleans* to *Pelops*, whom that Nation honour'd more than any other Hero. It was kept in Imitation of *Hercules*, who sacrificed to *Pelops* in a Trench, as was usually done to the *Manes* and *Infernal* Gods. We are inform'd by *Pausanias* (b), that the Magistrates of the *Eleans* sacrificed every Year a Ram in the same Manner; and that the Priest had no Share in the Victim, nor any of the *Eleans*, or other Worshipers were permitted to eat any Part of it; whoever adventur'd to transgress this Rule was excluded from *Jupiter's* Temple; only the Neck was allotted to one of *Jupiter's* Of-

(e) *Theocriti Scholiastes*, Idyll. vii. (f) *Eusebius Odyss.* (g) *Pausanias Laconicus*.
(b) *Eliac. lib. i. pag. 407. Edit. Lips. 310. Edit. Hanov.*

Officers, who was call'd ξυλαὺς from his Office, which was to provide the customary *Wood* for Sacrifices, it being held unlawful in that Country to employ any other Tree, beside the (λευκή) *White Poplar*, to that Use.

Π Ε Λ Ω Ρ Ι Α,

A *Theffalian* Festival, not unlike the *Roman Saturnalia*. It is thus describ'd by *Athenæus* (b): *Baton*, the *Sinopensian* Rhetorician, in his Description of *Theffaly* and *Hæmonia*, declares that the *Saturnalia* are a *Grecian* Festival, and call'd by the *Theffalians* *Peloria*; his Words are these: "On a Time when the *Pelasgians* were offering publick Sacrifices, one *Pelorus* came in, and told one of them, That the Mountains of *Tempe* in *Hæmonia* were torn asunder by an Earthquake, and the Lake, which had before cover'd the adjacent Valley, making its Way thro' the Breach, and falling into the Stream of *Peneus*, had left behind a vast, but most pleasant and delightful Plain: The *Pelasgians* hugg'd *Pelorus* for his News, and invited him to an Entertainment, where he was treated with all Sorts of Dainties: The rest of the *Pelasgians* also brought the best Provisions they had, and presented them to him; and his Landlord, with others of the best Quality, waited on him by Turns: In Memory of this, when the *Pelasgians* had seated themselves in the new discover'd Country, they instituted a Festival, wherein they offer'd Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, firnam'd *Pelor*, and made sumptuous Entertainments, whereto they invited not only all the Foreigners amongst them, but Prisoners also, whom they releas'd from Bonds and Confinement, and Slaves, all whom they permitted to sit down, and waited upon them: This Festival is to this Day observ'd with great Solemnity by the *Theffalians*, and call'd Πελωρία."

Π Ε Ρ Ι Π Ε Τ Ε Ι Α,

A *Macedonian* Solemnity (i).

Π Ε Ρ Ι Φ Α Λ Λ Ι Α,

The same with Φαλλαγώγια, being deriv'd from φαλλός, of which see more in Διονύσια.

Π Ι Τ Α Ν Α Τ Ω Ν Ε Ο Ρ Τ Η,

Gymnical Exercises at *Pitana* (k).

Π Α Υ Ν Τ Η Ρ Ι Α,

A Festival in Honour of *Aglaurus*, King *Cecrops*'s Daughter; or rather of *Minerva*, who had, from that Lady, the Name of *Aglaurus* (l). At this Time they undress'd *Minerva*'s Statue, and wash'd it, whence the Solemnity was call'd πλουτήρια, from πλένειν, which signifies to wash. It was accounted an unfortunate or inauspicious Day, and

(b) Lib. xiv. (i) *Hesychius*. (k) *Idem*. (l) *Hesychius*, *Plutarchus Alcibiades*, *Athenæus*, lib. iii. *Pollux*, lib. viii. cap. 12.

therefore the Temples (as upon all such Days) were surrounded with Ropes, so that no Man could have Admission: The Reason of which Custom, with a farther Account of this Solemnity, we have in *Plutarch's Alcibiades*; "The Festival (saith he) of the Goddess *Minerva*, call'd *Πλυντήρια*, was celebrated on the twenty-sixth of *Thargelion*, "with certain mysterious Observances unlawful to be reveal'd, which "were perform'd by Persons call'd *Πραξιγυῖδαι*, who divested the Goddess's Image of all its Ornaments, and kept it close cover'd: "Whence it is, that the *Athenians* esteem this Day most inauspicious, "and never go about any Thing of Importance upon it: And therefore, it falling out that *Alcibiades's* Return from Exile happening "upon this Day, many were much concern'd at it, looking upon "the Time of his Arrival to be a dangerous Omen, and imagining "that the Goddess did not graciously receive him, but, in Token of "Displeasure, hid her Face from him: But, for all this, Things "went on prosperously and succeeded according to his Wish." Farther, it was customary at this Festival, to bear in Procession a Cluster of Figs, which was call'd *Ἠγυρία* or *Ἠγύρεια*, from *ἡγέομαι*, which signifies to lead the Way, because Figs were *ἡγέμονες τῆ καθαρῆς βίης*, i. e. Leaders to Humanity, and a civil Course of Life: For when Men left off their ancient and barbarous Diet of Acorns, the next Thing they us'd for Food was Figs.

Π Ο Λ Ι Ε Ι Α,

A Solemnity at *Thebes* (m) in Honour of *Apollo*, surnam'd *Πολιός*, i. e. Gray, because he was represented in this City (contrary to the Practice of all other Places) with gray Hairs. The Victim was a Bull, but it once happening that no Bulls could be procur'd, an Ox was taken from the Cart and sacrificed; whence the Custom of killing labouring Oxen, which till that Time was looked on as a capital Crime, first commenced.

Π Ο Μ Π Ε Ω Ν Δ Α Ι Μ Ο Ν Ο Σ Ε Ο Ρ Τ Η,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*. There was an Image at this Solemnity, call'd by a peculiar Name *Στεμματιαῖον*.

Π Ο Σ Ε Ι Δ Ι Α, or Π Ο Σ Ε Ι Δ Ω Ν Ι Α,

In Honour of *Ποσειδών*, i. e. *Neptune*, to whom also they offer'd a solemn Sacrifice call'd *Ὀνείλιον* (n).

Π Ρ Ι Α Π Ε Ι Α,

A Festival in Honour of *Priapus*.

Π Ρ Ο Η Ρ Ο Σ Ι Α, or Π Ρ Η Ρ Ο Σ Ι Α,

Sacrifices (o) offer'd πρὸ τῆς ἀρόσεως, i. e. before Seed-time, to *Ceres*,

(m) *Pausanias Bæoticis*. (n) *Hesychius*. (o) *Hesychius, Suidas, Aristophanes Schol. Equitibus*.

who was hence firnam'd Προποσία. They were call'd by the common People Προακλήσια, from ἀκλή, which sometimes signifies the same with σῖτος, i. e. *Bread Corn*; whence comes Δημήτηρ ἀκλή, i. e. *Ceres's Corn* in *Homer* (p). The first Institution of these Sacrifices was by the Command of one *Autbias* a Prophet, who gave out that this was the only Method to appease the incens'd Goddesses, who had at that Time afflicted not *Athens* only, where this Solemnity was observ'd, but all the other Parts of *Greece*, with a grievous Famine.

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the Inhabitants of *Laconia*, before they gather'd their Fruits (q).

ΠΡΟΜΑΧΙΑ,

A Festival, in which the *Lacedaemonians* crown'd themselves with Reeds (r).

ΠΡΟΜΕΘΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Solemnity celebrated in Honour of *Prometheus* (s), with Torch-races, in Remembrance that it was he that first taught Men the Use of Fire.

ΠΡΟΣΧΑΙΡΗΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Day of *Rejoicing*, when a new-married Wife went to cohabit with her Husband (t).

ΠΡΟΤΕΛΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity before Marriage, of which afterwards.

ΠΡΟΤΡΥΓΕΙΑ,

A Festival in Honour of *Neptune* and of *Bacchus* (u), firnam'd Προτρύγης, or Προτρυγαῖα, ἀπὸ τῆς τρυγῆς, i. e. *from new Wine*.

ΠΡΟΦΘΑΣΙΑ,

A Festival so call'd ἀπὸ τοῦ προφθάνειν, *from preventing*, or coming before. It was observ'd by the *Clazomenians*, in Remembrance that they made themselves Masters of *Leuca*, by coming to the Celebration of a Sacrifice before the *Cumæans* (x).

ΠΡΟΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

A solemn Sacrifice which the *Athenian* Magistrates yearly offer'd to *Minerva*, when the Spring began first to appear (y).

(p) Vide Annotationes nostras in *Plutarchum De Audiendis Poetis*. (q) *Hesychius*. (r) *Athenæus*, lib. xv. (s) *Aristophanis Scholiast. Ranis*. (t) *Harpocration, Suidas*. (u) *Hesychius*. (x) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv*. (y) *Suidas*.

ΠΡΩΤΕΣΙΑΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Chersonesians* and *Thessalians* (x), in Memory of *Protesilaus*, who was the first *Grecian* slain by *Hector*.

ΠΥΑΝΕΨΙΑ,

An *Athenian* (a) Festival, sometimes call'd *πυανοψία*, or *πυανψία*, ὅτι πάντας εἶδον καρπὸς τῇ ὄψει, i. e. because *Theseus* and his Companions were entertain'd with all Manner of *Fruits*; the former and more usual Name is deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆ ἔψιν πύανα, i. e. from *boiling Pulse*, as was usual upon that Day; the Reason of which Custom, with a farther Account of this Solemnity, I will give you in the Words of *Plutarch*: "*Theseus*, after the Funeral of his Father, pay'd his Vows to *Apollo* upon the seventh of *Pyanepsion*; for, on that Day, the Youths that return'd with him safe from *Crete*, made their Entry into the City. They say also, that the Custom of boiling Pulse was deriv'd from hence, because the young Men that escap'd, put all that was left of their Provision together, and boiling it in one common Pot, feasted themselves with it, and with great Rejoicing did eat all together. Hence also they carry about an Olive-branch bound about with Wool (such as they then made use of in their Supplications) which was call'd *Εἰρεσιώμη*, (from *εἶρε*, i. e. *Wool*) and crown'd with all Sorts of First-fruits, to signify that Scarcity and Barrenness were ceas'd, singing in their Procession this Song:

Εἰρεσιώμη, σῦκα φέρειν, καὶ πύνας ἄρτας,
Καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ, καὶ ἔλαιον ἀναψήσασθαι,
Καὶ κύλικ' εὐζῶρον, ὡς ἂν μεθύσῃ καθεύδης.

Eiresione, Figs produce,
And wholesome Bread, and chearful Oil,
And Honey, labouring Bees sweet Toil,
But above all Wine's noble Juice;
Then Cares thou in the Cup shalt steep,
And full of Joy receive soft Sleep.

Mr. Duke.

"Tho' some are of Opinion, that this Custom is retain'd in Memory of the *Heraclidæ*, who were thus entertain'd, and brought up by the *Athenians*: But the former Account is more generally receiv'd." It may be added farther, that the *Εἰρεσιώμη*, when it was carried about in Honour of *Apollo*, was of Laurel; when of *Minerva*, of Olive; because those Trees were believ'd to be most acceptable to these Deities: When the Solemnity was ended, it was customary for them to erect it before their House-doors, thinking it an Amulet, whereby Scarcity and Want were prevented.

(x) *Pindari Scholiastes* *Isthm. Od. i.* *Lucianus*, *Deor. Concil.* *Plutarchus* *Theseo*, *Hesychius*.

(a) *Harpocration*,

ΠΥΛΑΙΑ,

A Festival at *Pylæ* (c), otherwise call'd *Thermopylæ*, in Honour of *Ceres*, firnam'd from that Place *Pylæa*.

ΠΥΡΣΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

i. e. *The Festival of Torches*: It was observ'd at *Argos*, and instituted in Memory of the Torches lighted by *Lyneus* and *Hypermnestra*, to signify to each other, that they had both escap'd out of Danger (d).

Ρ

ΡΑΒΔΟΥ, ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΣ,

i. e. *The Reception or Elevation of the Rod*. It was an anniversary Day in the Island of *Cos*, at which the Priests carry'd a Cypress-tree (e).

ΡΑΨΩΔΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Part of the *Διονύσια*, or Festival of *Bacchus*, at which they repeated Scraps of Songs or Poems, as they walk'd by the God's Statue (f).

Σ

ΣΑΒΑΖΙΑ,

Nocturnal Mysteries in Honour of *Jupiter Sabazius* (g), into which all that were initiated, had a golden Serpent put in at their Breasts, and taken out at the lower Parts of their Garments; in Memory of *Jupiter's* ravishing *Proserpina*, in the Form of a Serpent. Others (h) are of Opinion, that this Solemnity was in Honour of *Bacchus* firnam'd *Sabazius*, from the *Sabæ*, who were a People of *Thrace*; and 'tis probable this Festival was not first instituted by the *Grecians*, but deriv'd to them from the *Barbarians* (such were the *Thracians* reputed) amongst whom, *Suidas* tells us, *σαβάζειν* was the same with *εὐάζειν*, i. e. to shout, *εὐοῖ*, as was usual in the Festival of *Bacchus*: Add to this, that *Bacchus's* Priests were by the *Thracians* call'd *Σαβοῖ*.

ΣΑΡΩΝΙΑ,

A Festival in Honour of *Diana* (i) firnam'd *Saronia*, from *Saro*, the third King of *Træzen*, by whom a Temple was erected, and this Festival instituted to her.

(c) *Strabo*, lib. ix. (d) *Pausanias Corinthiacis*. (e) *Hippocratis Epistola ad S. P. Q. Abderitan*. (f) *Athenæus* init. lib. vii. (g) *Clemens Protrept. Arnobius*, lib. v. (h) *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. iv. *Aristophan, Scholiast. Vespis, Harpocraton*. (i) *Pausanias Corinthiacis*.

ΣΕΙΣΑΧΘΕΙΑ,

i. e. *A Shaking off the Burthen*. It was a publick Sacrifice at *Athens*, in Memory of *Solon's* Ordinance, whereby the Debts of poor People were either entirely remitted, or at least the Interest due upon them lessen'd, and Creditors hinder'd from seizing upon the Persons of their Debtors, as had been customary before that Time (l).

ΣΕΜΕΛΗ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*; and observ'd, it may be, in Memory of *Semele*, *Bacchus's* Mother.

ΣΕΠΤΗΡION,

A *Delphian* Festival, celebrated every ninth Year, in Memory of *Apollo's* Victory over *Python*. The chief Part of the Solemnity was a Representation of *Python*, pursu'd by *Apollo* (m).

ΣΘΕΝΙΑ,

At *Argos* (n). It might perhaps be celebrated in Honour of *Minerva*, who was firnam'd *Θηνᾶς*, from *θεῖον*, i. e. *Strength*.

ΣΚΕΙΡΑ, or ΣΚΙΡΑ, or ΣΚΙΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity at *Athens* (o), upon the twelfth Day of *Scirophorion*, in Honour of *Minerva*, or, as some say, of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. The Name is derived from *Sciras*, a Borough between *Athens* and *Eleusis*, where there was a Temple dedicated to *Minerva*, firnam'd *Sciras*, from that Place: Or from one *Scirus*, an Inhabitant of *Eleusis*; or from *Sciron* of *Salamis*; or from *σκίρον*, i. e. *Chalk*, or white Plaister, of which the Statue dedicated to *Minerva* by *Theseus*, when he return'd from *Crete*, was compos'd: Or from *σκίρον*, i. e. an *Umbrella*, which was at this Time carry'd in Procession by *Eretheus's* Priest, or some of the sacred Family of *Butas*, who, to distinguish them from others that made false Pretensions to that Kindred, were call'd *Ἐπιθεράδαι*, i. e. the genuine Offspring of *Butas*: Those that order'd this Procession were wont to make use of *Διὸς κώδια*, i. e. the Skins of Beasts sacrificed to *Jupiter*, firnam'd *Μελίχιον*, and *Κτήσιον*, of which Titles I have spoken before. Farther, there was at this Festival a Race call'd *Ὀσχοφόρια*, because the young Men that contended therein, did φέρειν τὰς ὄσχας, i. e. carry in their Hands *Vine-branches* full of Grapes.

ΣΚΙΕΡΙΑ, or ΣΚΙΕΡΑ,

At *Alea* in *Arcadia* (p), in Honour of *Bacchus*, whose Image was expos'd ὑπὸ τῇ σκιάδι, i. e. under an *Umbrella*, whence it is probable

(l) *Plutarch. Solone.* (m) *Plutarch. Græc. Quæst.* (n) *Hesychius.* (o) *Aristophan. Scholiast. Concionat. Harpocration, Suidas.* (p) *Pausanias Arcadicis, Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 33.*

the Name of this Festival was deriv'd. At this Time the Women were beaten with Scourges, in the same Manner with the *Spartan* Boys at the Altar of *Dianna Orthia*, which they underwent in Obedience to a Command of the *Delphian* Oracle.

ΣΚΙΑΛΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

i. e. The *Festival of Sea-onions*. It was observ'd in *Sicily*; the chief Part of it was a Combat, wherein Youths beat one another with Sea-onions: He that obtain'd the Victory was rewarded by the *Gymnastarch* with a Bull (q).

ΣΠΟΡΤΙΑ,

Mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΣΤΗΝΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Solemnity (r), wherein the Women made Jests and Lampoons upon one another; whence *στηνώσαι* signifies to abuse, ridicule, or speak Evil of one another.

ΣΤΟΦΕΙΑ,

At *Eretria*, in Honour of *Diana Stopea* (s).

ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΑ,

At *Stymphalius* in *Arcadia*, in Honour of *Diana*, nam'd from that Place *Stymphalia* (t).

ΣΤΥΚΟΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

See *Θαύσια*.

ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΑ,

See *Ευβοία*.

ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ,

Syracusan Festivals, one of which *Plato* (u) mentions; it continu'd ten Days, during which Time the Women were employ'd in offering Sacrifices.

Another we read of in *Tully* (x), which was celebrated every Year by vast Numbers of Men and Women, at the Lake near *Syracuse*, through which *Pluto* was said to have descended with *Proserpina*.

ΣΥΡΜΑΙΑ,

Games at *Sparta* (y), the Prize of which was *συρμαία*, i. e. a Mixture of Fat and Honey.

(q) *Theocriti Scholiast*. Idyll. vii. (r) *Hesychius*, *Suidas*. (s) *Atbenæus*, lib. vi. (t) *Pausanias* *Arcadicis*. (u) *Epistola ad Dionis propinquos*. (x) *Orat. in Verrem* vi. (y) *Hesychius*.

Σ Ω Τ Η Ρ Ι Α,

Sacrifices and Thanksgivings for *Deliverances* out of Dangers. One of these Festivals was kept at *Sicyon* on the fifth of *Anthesterion* to *Jupiter Σωτήρ*, the *Saviour*; that City having been on that Day deliver'd by *Aratus* from the *Macedonian Tyranny* (z).

Τ

Τ Α Ι Ν Α Ρ Ι Α,

In Honour of *Neptune* surnam'd *Tenarius* from *Tenarus*, a Promontory in *Laconia*, where there was a Temple dedicated to him. The Worshipers were call'd *Ταινάρια* (a).

Τ Α Λ Α Ι Δ Ι Τ Η Σ,

Gymnical Exercises in Honour of *Jupiter Ταλαῖος*, as *Meursius* conjectures from the Words of *Hesychius*.

Τ Α Υ Ρ Ε Ι Α,

In Honour of *Neptune*, as *Hesychius* reports: Perhaps it was the same with that mention'd by *Athenæus* (b), and celebrated at *Ephesus*, wherein the Cup-bearers were young Men, and call'd *Ταῦροι*.

Τ Α Υ Ρ Ο Π Ο Λ Ε Ι Α,

In Honour of *Diana Ταυροπόλη* (c), of which Surname there are various Accounts; the most probable is that which derives it from *Scythia Taurica*, where this Goddess was worshipped.

Τ Α Υ Ρ Ο Χ Ο Λ Ι Α,

At *Cyzicus* (d).

Τ Ε Σ Σ Α Ρ Α Κ Ο Ν Τ Ο Ν,

The *Fortieth* Day after Child-birth, upon which the Women went to the Temples, and paid some grateful Acknowledgments for their safe Delivery; of which Custom I shall give a farther Account in one of the following Books.

Τ Ι Θ Η Ν Ι Δ Ι Α,

A *Spartan* Festival (e), in which the *Τιθῆναι*, or *Nurses*, convey'd the Male-Infants committed to their Charge to the Temple of *Diana Corythallia*, which was at some Distance from the City, being seated not far from that Part of the River *Tiaffa*, which was near *Cleta*; here they offer'd young Pigs in Sacrifice, during the Time of which some of

(z) *Plutarchus Arato*, *Polybius*, lib. ii. *Cicero de Offic.* lib. iii. (a) *Idem.* (b) *Lib. x.* (c) *Hesychius.* (d) *Idem.* (e) *Athenæus*, lib. iv. *Hesychius.*

them danced, and were call'd Κορυθαλλίστριαι; others expos'd themselves in antick and ridiculous Postures, and were nam'd Κυρτοί. They had likewise a publick Entertainment at this, and some other Times, which was call'd κοπή, and to partake of it κοπιζειν: The Manner of it was thus: Tents being erected near the Temple, and Beds furnish'd therein, and cover'd with Tapestry, all the Guests, as well Foreigners as Natives of *Laconia*, were invited to Supper, where every Man had his Portion allotted, which was distributed to him together with a small Loaf of Bread call'd φασίχυλλον; farther also, each of them receiv'd a Piece of new Cheese, Part of the Belly and Tripes, and (instead of Sweet-meats) Figs, Beans, and green Vetches.

TITANIA,

In Memory of the *Titanes* (g).

ΤΑΗΠΟΛΕΜΕΙΑ,

Games celebrated (h) at *Rhodes*, in Memory of *Tlepolemus*, upon the twenty-fourth Day of the Month *Gorpiaeus*, wherein not Men only, but Boys were permitted to contend, and the Victors were crown'd with Poplar.

TONEIA,

The Institution and Manner of this Solemnity are describ'd in *Athenæus* (i), who tells us it was kept at *Samos*: The chief Ceremony consisted in carrying *Juno's* Image to the Sea-shore, and offering Cakes to it, and then restoring it to its former Place; which was done in Memory of its being stolen by the *Tyrrhenians*, and (when their Ships were stay'd in the Haven by an invisible Force, which hinder'd them from making way) expos'd upon the Shore. The Name of this Festival is deriv'd ἀπὸ τοῦ συντόμως περιμνησθῆναι τὸ βρέτας, i. e. from the Image's being *fast bound* by those that first found it, because they imagin'd it was going to leave them.

ΤΟΞΑΠΙΔΙΑ,

At *Athens* (k), in Memory of *Toxaris*, a *Scythian* Hero, who died there, and went under the Name of ξένος ἰατρός, i. e. the *foreign Physician*.

ΤΡΙΚΛΑΡΙΑ,

An anniversary Festival (l) celebrated by the *Ionians* that inhabited *Aroe*, *Authea*, and *Mesatis*, in Honour of *Diana Triclaria*, to appease whose Anger for the Adultery committed in her Temple by *Menalippus* and *Comætho* the Priestesses, they were commanded by the *Delphian* Oracle to sacrifice a Boy and a Virgin, which inhuman Custom continu'd till after the *Trojan* War.

(g) Moschopolus Collect. Diæt. Attica. (h) Pindari Scholiastes Olymp. Od. vii.
(i) Lib. xv. (k) Lucianus Scythia. (l) Pausanias Achaicis.
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ΤΡΙΟΠΙΑ,

Solemn Games dedicated to *Apollo Triopius*. The Prizes were Tripods of Brass, which the Victors were oblig'd to consecrate to *Apollo* (n).

ΤΡΙΤΟΠΑΤΟΡΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity, in which (o) it was usual to pray for Children to the Θεοὶ γενέθλιοι, or *Gods of Generation*, who were sometimes call'd Τριτοπάτορες. Of these I shall have Occasion to speak afterwards.

ΤΡΙΠΟΝΗΤΑΙ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΑ,

Solemn Games celebrated every Year at *Lebadea*, in Honour of *Trophonius* (p).

ΤΥΠΑΙ,

Mentioned in *Hesychius*.

ΤΥΡΒΗ,

Celebrated by the *Achaëans*, in Honour of *Bacchus* (q).

Τ

ΤΑΚΙΝΘΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity (r) at *Amyclæ* in *Laconia*, in the Month *Hecatombæon*, in Memory of the beautiful Youth *Hyacinthus*, with Games in Honour of *Apollo*. It is thus describ'd by *Athenæus* (s):
 “ *Polycrates* reports in his *Laconicks*, That the *Laconians* celebrate a
 “ Festival call'd *Hyacinthia*, three Days together; during which Time
 “ their Grief for the Death of *Hyacinthus* is so excessive, that they nei-
 “ ther adorn themselves with Crowns at their Entertainments, nor eat
 “ Bread, but Sweet-meats only, and such like Things; nor sing *Pæans*
 “ in Honour of the God, nor practise any of the Customs that are
 “ usual at other Sacrifices; but having supp'd with Gravity, and an
 “ orderly Composedness, depart. Upon the second Day there is Va-
 “ riety of Spectacles, frequented by a vast Concourse of People; the
 “ Boys, having their Coats girt about them, play sometimes upon the
 “ Harp, sometimes upon the Flute, sometimes strike at once upon all
 “ their Strings, and sing Hymns in Honour of the God (*Apollo*) in A-

(n) *Herodotus*, lib. i. cap. 44. (o) *Etymologici Auctor*. (p) *Pindari Scholiast*.
Olymp. Od. vii. (q) *Pausanias Corinthiacis*. (r) *Idem. Laconicis*, *Hesychius*.
 (s) *Lib. iv.*

“ *napæstic* Numbers, and shrill, acute Sounds. Others pass over the
 “ Theatre upon Horses richly accoutred; at the same Time enter
 “ Choirs of young Men singing some of their own Country Songs,
 “ and amongst them, Persons appointed to dance according to the
 “ ancient Form, to the Flute and Vocal Musick. Of the Virgins
 “ some are usher’d in riding in Chariots made of Wood, cover’d at
 “ the Top, and magnificently adorn’d; others in Race-Chariots.
 “ The whole City is fill’d with Joy at this Time, they offer’d Multi-
 “ tudes of Victims, and entertain all their Acquaintance and Slaves;
 “ and so eager are they to be present at the Games, that no Man
 “ stays at Home, but the City is left empty and desolate.”

ΥΒΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ,

At *Argos* (t) upon the sixteenth, or rather upon the New Moon of the Month call’d by the *Argives* *Hermeas*. The chief Ceremony was, that the Men and Women exchange’d Habits, in Memory of the generous Atchievement of *Telefilla*, who, when *Argos* was besieg’d by *Cleomenes*, having list’d a sufficient Number of Women, made a brave and vigorous Defence against the whole *Spartan* Army.

ΥΔΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

A Solemnity so call’d ἀπὸ τοῦ φέρειν ὕδωρ, i. e. from bearing Water; and kept at *Athens* in Memory of those that perish’d in the Deluge (u). Another Festival was celebrated at *Egina* to *Apollo*, in the Month *Delphinus* (x).

ΥΜΝΙΑ,

At *Orchomenos*, and *Mantineia*, in Honour of *Diana Hymnia*.

ΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Festival at *Argos*, in Honour of *Venus* (y). The Name is deriv’d from ὕς, i. e. a Sow, because Sows were sacrificed to this Goddess.

Φ

ΦΑΓΗΣΙΑ,

Phagisia, or *Phagisia*, or *Phagisiprosia*, or *Phagisimisia*, was a Festival so call’d from φάγειν, and πίνειν, i. e. to eat and drink, because it was a Time of good Living (z). It was observ’d during the *Dionysia*, and belong’d to *Bacchus*.

ΦΑΓΩΝ,

A Festival mention’d by *Eusebius* (a), and (as the Name imports) of the same Nature with the former.

(t) *Plutarch*. *Virt. Mulier*. *Polyænus*, lib. viii. (u) *Etymologici Auctor*. (x) *Pindari Scholiastes Nemeon*. *Od*. v. (y) *Athenæus*, lib. iii. (z) *Idem*, lib. vii. (a) *Odyss*. φ’.

ΦΑΜΜΑΣΤΡΙΑ,

Mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΦΕΛΛΟΣ,

A Festival of *Bacchus* (b), being a Preparative to the *Διονύσια* (c).

ΦΕΡΕΦΑΤΤΙΑ,

A Festival at *Cyzicum*, wherein a black Heifer was sacrificed to *Pherephatta*, or *Proserpina* (d).

ΟΡΙΑ,

In Honour of *Phosphorus* or *Lucifer* (e).

X

ΧΑΛΚΕΙΑ,

So call'd from *Χαλκός*, i. e. *Brass*, because it was celebrated in Memory of the first Invention of working that Metal, which is owing to *Athens* (f). It was call'd *Πάνδημον*, because ὁ πᾶς δῆμος, i. e. the whole *Athenian Nation*, assembled to celebrate it. Sometimes also this Festival was call'd *Ἀθήναια*, because it was kept in Honour of *Athena*, or *Minerva*, who was the Goddess of all Sorts of Arts and Inventions, and upon that Account nam'd *Ἔργον*, from ἔργον, i. e. *Work*. Afterwards it was only kept by *Mechanicks* and *Handy-crafts-men*, especially those concern'd in *Brass-work*, and that in Honour of *Vulcan* who was the God of Smiths, and the first that taught the *Athenians* the Use of *Brass*.

ΧΑΛΚΙΟΙΚΙΑ,

An anniversary Day at *Sparta*, on which the young Men assembled in Arms to celebrate a Sacrifice in the Temple of *Minerva*, firnam'd *χαλκίαια*, from her Temple which was made of *Brass*. The *Ephors* were always present to give Directions for the due Performance of the Solemnity (g).

ΧΑΟΝΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Chaonians* in *Epirus* (h).

ΧΑΡΙΑΑ,

A Festival observ'd once in nine Years by the *Delphians*, whereof we

(b) *Suidas*. (c) *Aristophanes Scholiast*. *Nubibus*. (d) *Plutarch*. *Luculle*. (e) *Plutarch*. in *Colotem*. *Hesychius*. (f) *Eustath*. *Iliad*. β'. *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, *Etymologicum Auctor*. (g) *Polybius*, lib. iv. *Pausan*. *Phocis*, pag. 618. & *Laconis*, pag. 193. (h) *Parthenius Erot*. xxxii.

have this Account in *Plutarch* (i): "A great Drought having brought
 " a Famine upon the *Delphians*, they went with their Wives and Chil-
 " dren as Supplicants to the King's Gate, who distributed Meal and
 " Pulse to the more noted of them, not having enough to supply the
 " Necessities of all: But a little Orphan Girl coming and importu-
 " ning him, he beat her with his Shoe, and threw it in her Face; she
 " indeed was a poor vagrant Beggar, but of a Disposition no Ways
 " mean or ignoble; wherefore unable to bear the Affront, she with-
 " drew, and untying her Girdle, hang'd herself therewith. The Fa-
 " mine hereupon increas'ing, and many Diseases accompanying it, the
 " *Pythia* was consulted by the King, and answer'd, that the Death
 " of the Virgin *Charila*, who slew herself, must be expiated: The
 " *Delphians*, after a long Search, discover'd at length, that the Maid,
 " who had been beaten with the Shoe, was call'd by that Name, and
 " instituted certain Sacrifices mixt with expiatory Rites, which are
 " religiously observ'd every ninth Year to this Day: The King pre-
 " sides at them, and distributes Meal and Pulse to all Persons, as well
 " Strangers as Citizens: And *Charila's* Effigies being brought in,
 " when all have receiv'd their Dole, the King smites it with his Shoe,
 " then the Governess of the *Thyades* conveys it to some lonesome and
 " desolate Place, where a Halter being put about its Neck, they bury
 " it in the same Spot of Ground where *Charila* was interr'd."

Χ Α Ρ Ι Σ Ι Α,

A Festival celebrated in Honour of the *Charites*, or Graces, with
 Dances, which continu'd all Night; he that was awake the longest,
 was rewarded with a Cake call'd Πυραμῖς.

Χ Α Ρ Ι Σ Τ Η Ρ Ι Α Ε Λ Ε Υ Θ Ε Ρ Ι Α Σ,

A *Thanksgiving-Day* at *Athens* (k) upon the twelfth of *Boedromion*,
 which was the Day whereon *Thrasylbulus* expell'd the thirty Tyrants,
 and restor'd the *Athenians* their Liberty.

Χ Α Ρ Μ Ο Σ Τ Ν Α,

At *Athens* (l).

Χ Ε Ι Ρ Ο Π Ο Ν Ι Α,

A Festival celebrated by the *Χειροπόνοι*, or Handy-crafts-men (m).

Χ Ε Λ Ι Δ Ο Ν Ι Α,

A Festival at *Rhodes* (n) in the Month *Boedromion*, wherein the Boys
 went from Door to Door begging, and singing a certain Song, the
 doing which was call'd *χελιδονίζαν*, and the Song itself was nam'd *Χελι-
 δόνισμα*, because it was begun with an Invocation of the *Χελιδών*, or
Swallow: It is set down at large in (o) *Athenæus*, and begins thus:

(i) *Græc. Quæst.* (k) *Eûstathius Odyss. σ'.* (l) *Plutarch. de Gloria Atheniens.*
 (m) *Hesychius.* (n) *Idem.* (o) *Athenæus, lib. viii.*

Ἥλαθ', ἤλαθι, Χαλιδών, καλὰς,
Ἦρας, ἄγασα, &c.

It's said to have been compos'd by *Cleobulus* the *Lindian*, as an Artifice to get Money in a Time of publick Calamity. In like Manner, to sing the Song wherein a *Raven*, in Greek *Κορώνη*, was invoc'd, they called *κορωνίζου*. And it seems to have been customary for Beggars to go about and sing for Wages; so *Homer* is said to have done, earning his Living by singing a Song call'd *Εἰρησιωνη*.

X Θ Ο Ν Ι Α,

An anniversary Day kept by the *Hermionians*, in Honour of *Ceres*, firnam'd *Cibonia*, either because she was Goddess of the Earth, which is call'd in Greek *Χθών*, or from a Damsel of that Name, whom *Ceres* carry'd from *Argolis* to *Hermione*, where she dedicated a Temple to the Goddess. The Manner of this Festival is thus described by *Pausanias* (m): "*Ceres* herself is nam'd *Cibonia*, and under that Title is honour'd with a Festival, celebrated every Summer in this Method: A Procession is led up by the Priests of the Gods, and the Magistrates that Year in Office, who are follow'd by a Crowd of Men and Women; the Boys also make a solemn Procession in Honour of the Goddess, being in white Apparel, and having upon their Heads Crowns compos'd of a Flower, which is by them call'd *Κομμοσάνδαλον*, but seems to be the same with *Hyacinth*, as appears as well by the Bigness and Colour, as from the Letters inscrib'd upon it in Memory of the untimely Death of *Hyacinthus*. This Procession is follow'd by Persons that drag an Heifer untam'd, and newly taken from the Herd, fast bound to the Temple, where they let her loose; which being done, the Door-keepers, who till then had kept the Temple-gates open, make all fast, and four old Women being left within, and arm'd with Scithes, they pursue the Heifer and dispatch her, as soon as they are able, by cutting her Throat. Then the Doors being open'd, certain appointed Persons put a second Heifer into the Temple, afterwards a Third, and then a Fourth, all which the old Women kill in the fore-mention'd Manner; and, 'tis observable, that all fall on the same Side."

X Ι Τ Ω Ν Ι Α,

In Honour of *Diana*, firnam'd *Cbitonia*, from *Cbitone*, a Borough in *Attica*, where this Festival was celebrated (n).

Another Festival of this Name was celebrated at *Syracuse*, with Songs and Dances proper to the Day (o).

X Λ Ο Ε Ι Α,

A Festival celebrated at *Athens* upon the sixth of *Thargelion* (p), with

(m) *Corinthiacis*. (n) *Callimachi Scholiast. Hymn. in Dian. Athenæus, lib. xiv.*
(o) *Stephan. Byzantin. v. Χιτών.* (p) *Hesychius Eustath. Il. 4. Pausan. Atticis.*

Sports and Mirth, sacrificing a Ram to *Ceres*, worshipp'd in a Temple in or near the *Acropolis* of *Athens*, under the Title of *Χλόη*, which Name, tho' *Pausanias* thought to bear a hidden and mystical Sense, understood by none but the Priests themselves, yet perhaps it may be derived from *Χλόη*, i. e. *Grass*, because *Ceres* was Goddess of the Earth, and all the Fruits thereof; and is the same with the Epithet of *Εὐχλόη*, or *fertile*, which is apply'd to her by *Sophocles* (q).

Τὸ δὲ Εὐχλόη Δημήτηρ ἐς ἐπόψιον
Πάγον μολῶσα.

Where this Conjecture seems to be approv'd by the *Scholiast*, who tells us, that *Ceres* firnam'd *Εὐχλόη*, was worshipp'd in a Temple near the *Acropolis*, which can be no other than that already mention'd. Add to this, that *Gyraldus* is of Opinion that *Ceres* is call'd *Χλόη* amongst the *Greeks*, for the same Reason that amongst the *Latins* she is nam'd *Flava*, the Cause of which Title is too well known to be accounted for in this Place.

X O E Σ,

See *Ἀιθερήρια*.

X O Λ A Σ,

In Honour of *Bacchus* (r).

X Υ Τ Ρ Ο Ι,

See *Ἀιθερήρια*.

Ω

Ω Μ Ο Φ Α Γ Ι Α,

A Festival (s) in Honour of *Bacchus*, *Ωμοφαγία*, i. e. *Eater of raw Flesh*, of which I have spoken in the former Part of this Chapter. This Solemnity was celebrated in the same Manner with the other Festivals of *Bacchus*, wherein they counterfeited Phrenzy and Madness; what was peculiar to it was, that the Worshippers us'd to eat the Entrails of Goats raw and bloody, which was done in Imitation of the God, to whom the Sirname by which he was ador'd at this Solemnity was given for the like Actions.

Ω Π Α Ι Α,

Solemn Sacrifices (t), consisting of Fruits, and offer'd in Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, that Heaven might grant mild and temperate Weather. These, according to *Meursius*, were offer'd to the

(q) *Oedip. Colon.* (r) *Hesychius.* (s) *Clemens Protrept. Arnobius, lib. v.* (t) *Hesychius.*

Goddeſſes call'd "Ωραι, i. e. *Hours*, who were three in Number, attended upon the Sun, preſided over the four Seasons of the Year, and were honour'd with Divine Worſhip at *Athens* (u).

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Publick Games in Greece, and the Principal Exercises used in them.

I COME in the next Place to the four publick and ſolemn Games, which were peculiarly term'd ἱεροί, i. e. ſacred; partly from the Eſteem they had all over *Greece*, from every Part of which vaſt Multitudes of Spectators flock'd to them; and partly becauſe they were inſtituted in Honour of the Gods or deify'd Heroes, and always begun with ſacrificing to them, and concluded in the ſame religious Manner.

Their Names, together with the Perſons to whom they were dedicated, and the Prizes in each of them, are elegantly compriz'd by *Archias* in the two following Diſtichs,

Τίſſαρες εἰς ἃν ἀγῶνες ἂν Ἑλλάδα, τίſſαρες ἱερὸς,
Οἱ δὲ μὲν θνητῶν οἱ δὲ δ' ἀθανάτων,
Ζηνὸς, Ἀητοῖδαο, Παλαίμονος, Ἀρχεμόροιο,
Ἄθλα δὲ τῶν κότινος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτυς.

Such as obtained Victories in any of theſe Games, eſpecially the *Olympick* (x), were univerſally honour'd, nay, almoſt ador'd: At their Return Home they rode in a triumphal Chariot into the City, the Walls being broken down to give them Entrance; which was done (as *Plutarch* is of Opinion) to ſignify, that Walls are of ſmall Uſe to a City that is inhabited by Men of Courage and Ability to defend it. At *Sparta* they had an honourable Poſt in the Army, being placed near the King's Perſon. At ſome Places they had Preſents made to them by their native City, were honour'd with firſt Places at all Shews and Games, and ever after maintain'd at the publick Charge (y). *Cicero* (z) reports, that a Victory in the *Olympick* Games was not much leſs honourable than a Triumph at *Rome*. Happy was that Man thought, that could but obtain a ſingle Victory: If any Perſon merited repeated Rewards, he was thought to have attain'd to the utmoſt Felicity that human Nature is capable of: But if he came off Conqueror in all the Exercises, he was elevated above the Condition of Men, and his Actions ſtyled *wonderful Victories* (a). Nor did their Honours terminate in themſelves, but were extended to all about them; the City that gave them Birth and Education was eſteem'd more honourable and au-

(u) *Athenaus*, lib. xiv. (x) *Plutarch*. *Sympoſ.* lib. ii. Quæſt. vi. *Vitruvius* Præfat. in *Architeſt.* lib. ix. (y) *Xenophon Colophonius* in *Epigram.* (z) *Orat. pro Flacco.* (a) *Plutarchus Lucullo.*

gust; happy were their Relations, and thrice happy their Parents. It is a remarkable Story, which *Plutarch* (b) relates of a *Spartan*, who meeting *Diagoras*, that had himself been crown'd in the *Olympian Games*, and seen his Sons and Grand-children Victors, embraced him and said, *Die, Diagoras, for thou canst not be a God.* By the Laws of *Solon* a hundred *Drachms* were allow'd from the publick Treasury to every *Athenian*, who obtain'd a Prize in the *Isthmian Games*; and five hundred *Drachms* to such as were Victors in the *Olympian* (c). Afterwards the latter of these had their Maintenance in the *Prytaneum*, or publick Hall of *Athens*. At the same Place it was forbidden by the Laws to give Slaves or Harlots their Names from any of these Games, which was accounted a Dishonour to the Solemnities, as hath been elsewhere observ'd (d). Hence there is a Dispute in *Athenæus* (e), how it came to pass, that *Nemea* the Minstrel was so call'd from the *Nemean Games*.

There were certain Persons appointed to take Care that all Things were perform'd according to Custom, to decide Controversies that happen'd amongst the Antagonists, and adjudge the Prizes to those that merited them: These were call'd αἰσυμνήται, βραδυνταί, ἀγωνάρχαι, ἀγωνοδίκαι, ἀγωνοθέται, ἀθλοθέται, though betwixt these two *Phavorinus* makes a Distinction, for ἀθλοθέται, he tells us, was peculiar to *Gymnical Exercises*; whereas the former was sometimes apply'd to *Musical Contentions*. They were likewise call'd ῥαβδοῦχοι, and ῥαβδονόμοι, from ῥαβδος, i. e. a Rod, or Scepter, which these Judges, and, in general, all Kings and great Magistrates, carry'd in their Hands.

After the Judges had pass'd Sentence, a publick Herald proclaim'd the Name of the Victor, whence κηρύσσειν in *Greek*, and prædicare in *Latin*, signify to commend or proclaim any Man's Praises. The Token of Victory was in most Places a Palm-branch, which was presented to the Conquerors, and carry'd by them in their Hands; which Custom was first introduced by *Theseus*, at the Institution of the *Delian Games* (f), tho' others will have it to be much ancients: Hence palmam dare, to yield the Victory; and plurimarum palmarum homo, in *Tully*, a Man that has won a great many Prizes.

Before I proceed to give a particular Description of the *Grecian Games*, it will be necessary to present you with a brief Account of the principal Exercises us'd in them, which were as follow:

Πένταθλον, or *Quinquertium*, which consisted of the five Exercises contain'd in this Verse.

* Ἀλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκος, ἀκονία, πάλην.

i. e. Leaping, Running, Throwing, Darting, and Wrestling. Instead of Darting, some mention Boxing, and others may speak of other Exercises different from those, which have been mention'd. For Πένταθλον seems to have been a common Name for any Five Sorts of Exercise perform'd at the same Time. In all of them there were some Customs that deserve our Observation.

(b) *Pelopida.*
(c) *Lib. xii.*

(d) *Plutarch. Solone.*
(e) *Plutarch. Theseo.*

(f) *Lib. i. cap. 10. Lib. iv. cap. 12.*

Δρόμος, or the Exercise of Running, was in great Esteem amongst the antient Grecians, insomuch, that such as prepar'd themselves for it, thought it worth their while to use Means to burn or parch their Spleen, because it was believ'd to be an Hindrance to them, and retard them in their Course. *Homer* tells us, that Swiftnes is one of the most excellent Endowments a Man can be blest'd withal (g).

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ μείζον κλέος ἀνέρος ὄφρα κεν ᾗσιν,
Ἥ ὅ, τι ποσσὶν τι ῥέξει, καὶ χερσὶν ἔησιν.

No greater Honour has e'er been attain'd,
Than what strong Hands, or nimble Feet have gain'd.

Indeed, all those Exercises, that conduced to fit Men for War, were more especially valued: Now Swiftnes was look'd upon as an excellent Qualification in a Warrior, both because it serves for a sudden Assault and Onset, and likewise for a nimble Retreat; and therefore it is not to be wonder'd that the constant Character which *Homer* gives of *Achilles*, is, that he was πῶδας ὠκύς, or swift of Foot: And in the holy Scripture, *David*, in his poetical Lamentation over those two great Captains, *Saul* and *Jonathan*, takes particular Notice of this warlike Quality of theirs; *They were* (says he) *swifter than Eagles, stronger than Lions*. To return; the Course was call'd στάδιον, being of the same Extent with the Measure of that Name, which contains CXXV Paces, whence the Runners were term'd σταδιοδρόμοι. Sometimes the Length of it was enlarg'd, and then it was nam'd δόλιχον, and the Contenders δολιχοδρόμοι, whence comes the Proverb Μὴ ζητῇ ἐν σταδίῳ δόλιχον, i. e. *Search not for a greater Thing in a less*. *Stridas* assigns twenty-four *Stadia* to the δόλιχον, and others only twelve. But the Measure of it seems not to have been fix'd or determinate, but variable at Pleasure. Sometimes they ran back again to the Place whence they had first set out, and then the Course was call'd διαυλον, and the Runners, διαυλοδρόμοι, for αὐλός was the old Term for *Stadium*. Sometimes they ran in Armour, and were term'd ὀπλιτοδρόμοι.

Ἀλμα, or the Exercise of Leaping, they sometimes perform'd with Weights upon their Heads or Shoulders, sometimes carrying them in their Hands; these were call'd ἀλτῆρες, which, tho' now and then of different Figures, yet, as *Pausanias* reports, were usually of an oval Form, and made with Holes, or else cover'd with Thongs, thro' which the Contenders put their Fingers. Ἀλτῆρες were also sometimes used in throwing. The Place from which they leap'd was call'd βατήρ (b); that to which they leap'd, τὰ ἱσκαμμένα, because it is mark'd by digging up the Earth; whence πηδᾶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἱσκαμμένα is apply'd to Persons that over-leap, or exceed their Bounds. The Mark on the Exercise of throwing Quoits was also, sometimes, for the same Reason term'd σκάμμα.

Ῥίψις, or the Exercise of Throwing or Darting, was perform'd several Ways; sometimes with a Javelin, Rod, or other Instrument of a large Size, which they threw out of their naked Hands, or by the Help of a Thong tied about the Middle of it; the doing of it was term'd

(g) *Odyss.* 2. ver. 147.(b) *Pollux.*

ῥιπνόντισμα; sometimes with an Arrow, or little Javelin, which was either shot out of a Bow, or cast out of a Sling; and the Art of doing this was call'd *ραξικὴ*.

Δίσκος, was a Quoit of Stone, Brass, or Iron, which they threw by the Help of a Thong put through a Hole in the Middle of it (*i*), but in a Manner quite different from that of throwing Darts; for there the Hands were lifted up, and extended, whereas the *Discus* was hurl'd in the Manner of a Bowl. It was of different Figures and Sizes, being sometimes four-square, but usually broad and like a Lentil, whence that Herb is, by *Dioscorides*, call'd *δίσκος*. The same Exercise was sometimes perform'd with an Instrument call'd *Σόλος*, which some will have to be distinguish'd from *δίσκος*, because that was of Iron, this of Stone: But others with more Reason report, that the Difference consisted in this, *viz.* That *σόλος* was of a spherical Figure, whereas *δίσκος* was broad.

Πυγμακὴ, or the Exercise of Boxing, was sometimes perform'd by Combatants having in their Hands Balls of Stone or Lead, call'd *σφαῖραι*, and then it was term'd *σφαιρομαχία*. At first their Hands and Arms were naked and unguarded, but afterwards surrounded with Thongs of Leather call'd *Cestus*, which at the first were short, reaching no higher than the Wrists, but were afterwards enlarg'd, and carry'd up to the Elbow, and sometimes as high as the Shoulder; and, in Time they came to be us'd not only as defensive Arms, but to annoy the Enemy, being fill'd with Plummets of Lead and Iron to add Force to the Blows. The *Cestus* was very ancient, being invented by *Amycus* King of the *Babylonians*, who was Contemporary with the *Argonauts*, as we are inform'd by *Clemens of Alexandria* (*k*). Those, that prepar'd themselves for this Exercise, us'd all the Means they could contrive to render themselves fat and fleshy, that so they might be better able to endure Blows, whence corpulent Men or Women were usually call'd *pugiles*, according to *Terence* (*l*):

Siqua est habitior paullo, pugilem esse aiunt.—

Παλὴ, or the Exercise of Wrestling, was sometimes call'd *καταβλητικὴ*, because the Combatants endeavour'd to *throw* each other *down*, to do which they call'd *ῥῆξαι*. At first they contend'd only with Strength of Body, but *Theseus* invented the Art of Wrestling, whereby Men were enabled to throw down those, who were far superior to them in Strength (*m*). In later Ages they never encountered till all their Joints and Members had been soundly rubb'd, fomented and suppled with Oil, whereby all Strains were prevented. The Victory was adjudg'd to him that gave his Antagonist three Falls; whence *τρίαξαι* and *ἀποτρίαχθαι* signify to conquer; *τριαχθῆναι*, or *ἀποτρίαχθῆναι*, to be conquered, and by *ἀτρίαντος ἄτα* in *Æschylus* is meant an insuperable Evil; others make the proper Signification of these Words to belong only to Victors, in all the Exercises of the *Πανταθλος* (*n*); however, the fore-mentioned Custom is sufficiently attested by the Epigram

(i) *Eustatius Odyss.* 9. (k) *Strom.* i. pag. 307. (l) *Eunuch. Act.* ii. Sc. iii. (m) *Pausanias Amicus.* (n) *Pollux Onomast.* i. lib. iii. cap. 39.

upon *Milo*, who having challeng'd the whole Assembly, and finding none that durst encounter him, claim'd the Crown, but, as he was going to receive it, unfortunately fell down; whereat the People cry'd out, that he had forfeited the Prize; then *Milo* (o)

Ἀγῶς δ' ἐν μέσσοισιν ἀνέκραγεν, Οὐχὶ τρι' ἔστιν,
Ἐν κῆμαί, κινῶν τᾶλλα με τίς βαλέτω;

Arose, and standing in the Midst, thus cry'd,
One single Fall cannot the Prize decide,
And who is here can throw me th' other two?

But of Wrestling there were two Sorts, *viz.* one call'd Ὀρθία πάλη, and Ὀρθοπάλη, which is that already describ'd; and another call'd Ἀνακλινοπάλη, because the Combatants us'd voluntarily to throw themselves down, and continue the Fight upon the Ground, by pinching, biting, scratching, and all Manner of Ways annoying their Adversary; whereby it often came to pass, that the weaker Combatant, and who would never have been able to throw his Antagonist, obtain'd the Victory, and forced him to yield; for, in this Exercise, as in Boxing also, the Victory was never adjudg'd till one Party had fairly yielded; this was sometimes done by Words, and often by lifting up a Finger, whence δακτύλον ἀναλείνασθαι signifies to yield the Victory; for which Reason we are told by *Plutarch*, that the *Lacedæmonians* would not permit any of those Exercises to be practis'd in their City wherein those that were conquer'd did δακτύλον ἀναλείνασθαι, i. e. confess themselves overcome by holding up their Finger, because they thought it would derogate from the Temper and Spirit of the *Spartans*, to have any of them tamely yield to any Adversary; though that Place has been hitherto mistaken by most Interpreters. *Martial* hath taken Notice of this Exercise:

Hunc amo, qui vincit, sed qui succumbere novit,
Et Melius didicit τὴν ἀνακλινοπάλην.

It is the very same with what is more commonly call'd Πασκρατία, which consists of the two Exercises of Wrestling and Boxing; from the former it borrows the Custom of throwing down; from the latter, that of beating Adversaries; for Wrestlers never struck, nor did Boxers ever attempt to throw down one another; but the Πασκρατιασταὶ were permitted to do both; and it was customary for the weaker Party, when he found himself fore press'd by his Adversary, to fall down, and fight rolling on the Ground, whence these Combatants were called κολυμβοί, which gave Occasion to the Mistake of *Hieronymus Mercurialis*, who fancy'd there were two *Pancratia*, one in which the Combatants stood erect; the other, in which they roll'd in the Gravel. This Exercise is sometimes call'd Παμμάχων, and the Combatants Πάμμαχοι (p).

(o) Antholog. lib. ii. cap. 1. Epigram. xi. (p) Pollux, Suidas, Hyginus. &c. Horfe.

Horse-races were either perform'd by single Horses, which were call'd *κίδωνες*, or *μονάμπωνες*: Or by two Horses, on one of which they perform'd the Race, and leap'd upon the other at the Goal; these Men were call'd *ἀναβάται*, and if it was a Mare they leap'd upon, she was nam'd *κάμπη*: Or by Horses coupled together in Chariots, which were sometimes drawn by two, three, four, &c. Horses; whence we read of *δύωποι*, *τρίωντες*, *τετράωποι*, &c. How great soever the Number of Horses might be, they were all placed not as now, but in one Front, being coupled together by Pairs: Afterwards *Clisibenes* the *Sicyonian* brought up a Custom of coupling the two middle Horses only, which are for that Reason call'd *ζύγιοι*, and governing the rest by Reins, whence they are usually term'd *συραφόροι*, *συραῖοι*, *παράσυροι*, *παράδροι*, *ἀορῆες*, &c. Sometimes we find Mules us'd instead of Horses, and the Chariots drawn by them call'd *ἀρῆναι*. The principal Part of the Charioteer's Art and Skill consisted in avoiding the *νύσσαι*, or Goals, in which if he fail'd the over-turning of his Chariot, which was a necessary Consequence of it, brought him into great Danger, as well as Disgrace.

Beside the Exercises already described there were others of a quite different Nature: Such were those wherein Musicians, Poets, and other Artists contended for Victory. Thus in the *XCIst Olympiad*, *Euripides* and *Xenocles* contended, who should be accounted the best Tragedian (q). Another Time *Cleomenes* recommended himself by repeating some Collections of *Empedocles's* Verses, which he had compil'd (r). Another Time *Gorgias* of *Leontium*, who was the first that invented the Art of discoursing on any Subject without Premeditation, as we learn from *Philostratus*, made a publick Offer to all the *Greeks*, who were present at the Solemnity, to discourse extempore upon whatever Argument any of them should propound. Lastly, to mention only one Example more, *Herodotus* is said to have gained very great Applause, and to have fir'd young *Thucydides* with an early Emulation of him, by repeating his History at the *Olympian Games* (s).

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Olympian Games.

THE *Olympian Games* were so call'd from *Olympian Jupiter*, to whom they were dedicated, or from *Olympia*, a City in the Territory of the *Pisceans*; or, according to *Stephanus*, the same with *Pisa*. The first Institution of them is by some referr'd to *Jupiter*, after his Victory over the Sons of *Titan* (t); at which Time *Mars* is said to have been crown'd for Boxing, and *Apollo* to have been superior to *Mercury* at Running. *Phlegon* the Author of the *Olympiades* reports, they were first instituted by *Pisus*, from whom the City *Pisa* was nam'd.

(q) *Ælianus* Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 8. (r) *Athenæus*, lib. xiii. (s) *Suidas*, &c.
 (t) *Aristophan.* ejusque *Scholias*.

Others will have the first Author of them to be one of the *Dactyli*, nam'd *Hercules*, not the Son of *Alcmena*, but another of far greater Antiquity, that with his four Brethren, *Pæonius*, *Ida*, *Jasus*, and *Epimedes*, left their ancient Seat in *Ida*, a Mountain of *Crete*, and settled in *Elis*, where he instituted this Solemnity; the Original of which was only a Race, wherein the four younger Brothers contending for Diversion, the Victor was crown'd by *Hercules* with an Olive-garland, which was not compos'd of the common Olive-branches, nor the natural Product of that Country (*u*), but brought by *Hercules* (so Fables will have it) from the *Hyperborean Scythians*, and planted in the *Pantheum* near *Olympia*, where it flourish'd, though not after the Manner of other Olive-trees, but spreading out its Boughs more like a Myrtle; it was call'd *κασσιόφανος*, i. e. fit for Crowns, and Garlands given to Victors in these Games, were always compos'd of it, and it was forbidden under a great Penalty to cut it for any other Use: These *Dactyli* were five in Number, whence it is that the *Olympian Games* were celebrated once in five Years, though others make them to be solemniz'd once in four; wherefore, according to the former, an *Olympiad* must consist of five; according to the latter of four Years: But neither of these Accounts are exact, for this Solemnity was held indeed every fifth Year, yet not after the Term of five Years was quite past, but every fiftieth Month, which is the second Month after the Completion of four Years (*x*): And, as these Games were celebrated every fifth Year, so they lasted five Days, for they begun upon the eleventh, and ended upon the fifteenth Day of the Lunar Month, when the Moon was at the Full.

Others (if we may believe *Julius Scaliger*) report, that these Games were instituted by *Pelops* to the Honour of *Neptune*, by whose Assistance he had vanquish'd *Oenomaüs*, and marry'd his Daughter *Hippodamia*.

Others say, they were first celebrated by *Hercules*, the Son of *Alcmena*, to the Honour of *Pelops*, from whom he was descended by the Mother's Side (*y*); but, being after that discontinu'd for some Time, they were reviv'd by *Iphitus* or *Iphicles*, one of *Hercules*'s Sons.

The most common Opinion is, that the *Olympian Games* were first instituted by this *Hercules*, to the Honour of *Olympian Jupiter*, out of the Spoils taken from *Augeas* King of *Elis*, whom he had dethron'd and plunder'd, being defrauded of the Reward he had promis'd him for cleansing his Stables, as *Pindar* reports (*z*): *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* (*a*) gives the same Relation, and adds, that *Hercules* propos'd no other Reward to the Victors, but a Crown, in Memory of his own Labours, all which he accomplish'd for the Benefit of Mankind, without designing any Reward to himself, beside the Praise of doing well: At this Institution, it is reported, that *Hercules* himself came off Conqueror in all the Exercises except Wrestling, to which when he had challeng'd all the Field, and could find no Man that durst grapple with him, at length *Jupiter*, having assum'd an human Shape, enter'd the

(*u*) *Aristoteles*. & ex eo *Aristophanis Scholiast*. (*x*) *Isaacius Tzetzes* in *Lycophronem*, & *Johannes Tzetzes* *Chiliad*. 1. *Histor.* xxi. (*y*) *Solinus* *Polyhist.* & *Statius Theb.* vi. (*z*) *Olympion*, initio *Od.* ii. (*a*) *Bibliothec. Histor.* lib. iv.

Lifts; and when the Contention had remained doubtful for a considerable Time, neither Party having the Advantage, or being willing to submit, the God discovered himself to his Son, and from this Action got the Sirname of Πάλαμς, or Wrestler, by which he is known in *Lycophron* (b).

All these Stories are rejected by *Strabo*, in his Description of *Elis*, where he reports, that an *Ætolian* Colony, together with some of *Hercules's* Posterity, subdued a great many of the *Piscean* Towns, and amongst them *Olympia*, where they first instituted, or, at least, revived, enlarged, and augmented these Games, which (as my Author thinks) could not have been omitted by *Homer*, who takes every Opportunity to adorn his Poems with Descriptions of such Solemnities, had they been of any Note before the *Trojan* War. Whatever becomes of the first Author of the *Olympian* Games, it is certain, they were either wholly laid aside, or very little frequented till the Time of *Iphitus*, who was Contemporary with *Lycurgus* the *Spartan* Lawgiver (c). He re-instituted this Solemnity about four hundred and eight Years after the *Trojan* War, from which Time, according to *Solinus*, the Number of the *Olympiads* are reckoned (d). After this Time they were again neglected till the Time of *Choræbus*, who, according to *Pblegon's* Computation, lived in the twenty-eighth *Olympiad* after *Iphitus*, and then instituted again the *Olympian* Games, which after this Time were constantly celebrated. And this really fell out in the CCCCVIIIth Year after the Destruction of *Troy*; or two Years sooner by *Eusebius's* Account, who reckons four hundred and six Years from the taking of *Troy* to the first *Olympiad*. By the first *Olympiad* meaning that which was first in the common Computation of *Olympiads*, which was begun at this Time.

The Care and Management of these Games belong'd sometimes to the *Pisceans*, but for the most Part to the *Eleans*, by whom the *Pisceans* were destroy'd, and their very Name extinguished. *Polybius* in the fourth Book of his History reports, that the *Eleans* by the general Consent of the *Greeks*, enjoy'd their Possessions without any Molestation, or fear of Want, or Violence, in Consideration of the *Olympian* Games, which were there celebrated. And this he assigns as a Reason, why they chiefly delighted in a Country Life, and did not flock together into Towns like other States of *Greece*. Nevertheless we find, that the CIVth *Olympiad* was celebrated by Order of the *Arcadians*, by whom the *Eleans* were at that Time reduced to a very low Condition; but this, and all those managed by the Inhabitants of *Pisa*, the *Eleans* call'd *Ἀνόλυμπαδας*, i. e. unlawful *Olympiads*, and left them out of their Annals, wherein the Names of the Victors, and all Occurrences at these Games were recorded. Till the fiftieth *Olympiad*, a single Person superintended, but then two were appointed to perform that Office. In the CIIIrd *Olympiad* that Number was increased to twelve, according to the Number of the *Elean* Tribes, out of every one of which one President was elected: But in the following *Olympiad*, the *Eleans*, hav-

(b) *Cassandra*, v. 41. (c) *Aristoteles* in *Plutarchi* *Lycurgo*, *Pausanias*. (d) *Solini* *Polyhist.* cap. i.

ing suffer'd great Losses by War with the *Arcadians*, and being reduced to eight Tribes, the Presidents were also reduced to that Number: In the CVth *Olympiad* they were increas'd by the Addition of one more; and in the CVIth another was join'd to them, whereby they were made Ten; which Number continu'd till the Reign of *Adrian* the *Roman* Emperor. These Persons were call'd Ἑλληνοδίκαι, and assembled together in a Place nam'd Ἑλληνοδικαῖον, in the *Elean Forum*, where they were obliged to reside ten Months before the Celebration of the Games, to take Care that such as offer'd themselves to contend perform'd their προγυμνάσματα, or preparatory Exercises, and to be instructed in all the Laws of the Games, by certain Men call'd Νομοφύλακες, i. e. Keepers of the Laws: Farther, to prevent all unjust Practices, they were oblig'd to take an Oath, that they would act impartially, would take no Bribes, nor discover the Reason, for which they dislike'd or approv'd of any of the Contenders: At the Solemnity they sat naked, having before them the Victoral Crown till the Exercises were finished, and then it was presented to whomsoever they adjudged it. Nevertheless there lay an Appeal from the *Hellanodicae* to the *Olympian Senate*. Thus, when two of the *Hellanodicae* adjudged the Prize to *Eupolemus* the *Elean*, and the third (they being then only three in Number) to *Leon* the *Ambracian*, the latter of these appealed to the *Olympian Senate*, who condemned the two Judges to pay a considerable Fine (e).

To preserve Peace and good Order, there were certain Officers appointed to correct such as were unruly. These were by the *Eleans* term'd ἀλυσταῖ, which Word signifies the same Person with those, who by the rest of the *Greeks* were call'd ἑταδοφόροι, or μασινοφόροι, and *Lictors* by the *Romans*. Over these there was a President, to whom the rest were subject, call'd ἀλυσταρχης (f).

Women were not allow'd to be present at these Games; nay, so severe were the *Elean* Laws, that if any Woman was found so much as to have passed the River *Alpheus* during the Time of the Solemnity, she was to be tumbled headlong from a Rock (g): But it is reported, that none was ever taken thus offending, except *Callipatera*, whom others call *Pherenice*, who ventur'd to usher her Son *Pisidorus*, call'd by some *Eucleus*, into the Exercises, and being discover'd, was apprehended, and brought before the Presidents, who, notwithstanding the Severity of the Laws, acquitted her, out of Respect to her Father, Brethren, and Son, who had all won Prizes in the *Olympian Games*. But my Author reports in another Place (h), that *Cynisca*, the Daughter of *Archidamus*, with manly Courage and Bravery contended in the *Olympian Games*, and was the first of her Sex that kept Horses, and won a Prize there; and that afterwards several others, especially some of the *Macedonian* Women imitated her Example, and were crown'd at *Olympia*. Perhaps neither of these Reports may be altogether groundless, since innumerable Alterations were made in these Games, according to the Exigencies of Times and Change of Circumstances, all which are set down at large in *Pausanias*, *Natalis Comes*, and other *Mythologists*.

(e) *Pausanias Eliac* B', p. 457, 458. Edit. *Lips.*

(f) *Etymologici Auctor.*

(g) *Pausanias.*

(h) *Laconicis.*

All such as design'd to contend were oblig'd to repair to the publick *Gymnasium*, at *Elis*, ten Months before the Solemnity, where they prepar'd themselves by continual Exercises; we are told indeed by *Phavorinus*, that the preparatory Exercises were only perform'd thirty Days before the Games; but this must be understood of the Performance of the whole and entire Exercises in the same Manner they were practis'd at the Games, which seems to have been only enjoin'd in the last Month, whereas the nine antecedent Months were spent in more light and easy Preparations. No Man, that had omitted to present himself in this Manner, was allow'd to put in for any of the Prizes; nor were the accustom'd Rewards of Victory given to such Persons, if by any Means they insinuated themselves, and overcame their Antagonists: Nor would any Apology, tho' seemingly ever so reasonable, serve to excuse their Absence. In the CCVIIIth Olympiad *Apollonius* was rejected, and not suffer'd to contend, because he had not presented himself in due Time, tho' he was detain'd by contrary Winds in the Islands call'd *Cyclades*; and the Crown was given to *Heraclides* without performing any Exercise, because no just and duly qualify'd Adversary appear'd to oppose him. No Person that was himself a notorious Criminal, or nearly related to any such, was permitted to contend. Farther, to prevent underhand Dealings, if any Person was convicted of bribing his Adversary, a severe Fine was laid upon him: Nor was this alone thought a sufficient Guard against evil and dishonourable Contracts and unjust Practices, but the Contenders were oblig'd to swear, they had spent ten whole Months in preparatory Exercises: And farther yet, both they, their Father and Brethren took a solemn Oath, that they would not, by any sinister or unlawful Means, endeavour to stop the fair and just Proceedings of all Games.

The Order of Wrestlers was appointed by Lots, in this Manner: A Silver Urn, call'd *καλπίς*, being plac'd, into it were put little Pellets, in Size about the Bigness of Beans, upon every one of which was inscrib'd a Letter, and the same Letter belong'd to every Pair: Now those, whose Fortune it was to have the same Letters, wrestled together; if the Number of the Wrestlers was not even, he that happen'd to light upon the odd Pellet wrestled last of all with him that had the Mastery; wherefore he was call'd *ἑσπερος*, as *coming after the rest*: This was accounted the most fortunate Chance that could be, because the Person that obtain'd it was to encounter one already wearied, and spent with conquering his former Antagonist, himself being fresh, and in full Strength (i).

The most successful in his Undertakings, and magnificent in his Expences, of all that ever contended in these Games, was *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, as *Plutarch* reports in his Life: "His Expences (saith he) in Horses kept for the publick Games, and in the Number of his Chariots, were very magnificent; for never any one beside, either

(i) *Cœlius Rhodiginus* Antiq. Lect. lib. xxii. cap. 17. *Alexand. ab Alexandro* Genial. Diet. lib. v. cap. 8.

“ private Person or King, sent seven Chariots to the *Olympian Games*.
 “ He obtain’d, at one Solemnity, the first, second, and fourth Prizes,
 “ as *Thucydides*, or third, as *Euripides* reports; wherein he surpass’d
 “ all that ever pretended in that Kind.”

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the Pythian Games.

THE *Pythian Games* were celebrated near *Delphi*, and are by some thought to have been first instituted by *Amphietyon*, the Son of *Deucalion*, or by the Council of *Amphietyones*. Others refer the first Institution of them to *Agamemnon* (k); *Pausanias* (l) to *Diomedes*, the Son of *Tydeus*, who, having escap’d a dangerous Tempest as he returned from *Troy*, dedicated a Temple at *Trazen* to *Apollo* firnam’d *Ἐπιετήριος*, and instituted the *Pythian Games* to his Honour: But the most common Opinion is, that *Apollo* himself was the first Author of them, when he had overcome *Python*, a Serpent, or cruel Tyrant: Thus *Ovid* (m),

*Neve operis famam possit delere vetustas,
 Instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos,
 Pythia perdomitæ Serpentis nomine dictos.
 Then to preserve the Fame of such a Deed,
 For Python slain, he Pythian Games decreed.*

Mr. Dryden.

At their first Institution, they were only celebrated once in nine Years, but afterwards every fifth Year, according to the Number of the *Parnassian Nymphs*, that came to congratulate *Apollo*, and brought him Presents after his Victory.

The Rewards were certain Apples consecrated to *Apollo*, according to *Ister* (n), and the fore-cited Epigram of *Archias*, in which he thus enumerates the Prizes in this, and the other three sacred Games:

Ἀθλα δὲ τῶν κρότωνος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτυς.

Where *Brodæus* will have μῆλα to signify the *Delphian Laurel*, which, he tells us, brought forth Berries streak’d with red and green, and almost as large as Apples; but this Interpretation is by no Means genuine or natural, since the Word μῆλα is never us’d in that Sense: However that be, ’tis certain the Victors were rewarded with Garlands of Laurel, as appears from the express Words of *Pindar*, who tells us, that *Aristomenes* was crown’d with *σείλα Παρνασίας*, or Laurel that flourish’d upon Mount *Parnassus* (o): Whence some imagine that the Reward was double, consisting both of the sacred Apples, and Garlands of Laurel. But, at the first Institution of these Games, the

(k) *Etymologici Auctor. Phavorinus.* (l) *Corinthiacis.* (m) *Metam. i.* (n) *Libro de Coronis.* (o) *Pythion, Od. viii. v. 28.*

Victors were crown'd with Garlands of Palm, or (according to some) of Beech-leaves, as *Ovid* reports, who immediately after the Verses before-cited adds,

*Hic juvenum quicumque, manu, pedibusve, rotave
Vicerat, esculæ capiebat frondis honorem,
Nondum Laurus erat.*—————

Here noble Youths for Mastership did strive
To Box, to Run, and Steeds and Chariots drive,
The Prize was Fame; in witness of Renown,
A Beechen Garland did the Victor crown,
The Laurel was not yet for Triumph born.

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Others (p) report, that in the first *Pythian* Solemnity the Gods contended; *Castor* obtain'd the Victory by Race-horses, *Pollux* at Boxing, *Calais* at Running, *Zetes* at Fighting in Armour, *Peleus* at throwing the *Discus*, *Telamon* at Wrestling, *Hercules* in the *Pancratiun*; and that all of them were honour'd by *Apollo* with Crowns of Laurel. But others again are of a different Opinion (q), and tell us, that at the first there was nothing but a musical Contention, wherein he, that sung best the Praises of *Apollo*, obtain'd the Prize, which at first was either Silver or Gold, or something of Value, but afterwards chang'd into a Garland. Here may be observ'd the different Names given to Games from the Diversity of the Prizes; for where the Prize was Money, the Games were call'd ἀγῶνες ἀργυρίται; where only a Garland, ἀγῶνες στεφανίται, φυλλίνται, &c. The first that obtain'd the Victory by Singing, was *Chrysothemis* a *Cretan*, by whom *Apollo* was purify'd, after he had kill'd *Python*: The next Prize was won by *Philamon*; the next after that, by his Son *Thamyris*. *Orpheus* having rais'd himself to a Pitch of Honour almost equal to the Gods, by instructing the profane and ignorant World in all the Mysteries of Religion, and Ceremonies of divine Worship, and *Musæus*, who took *Orpheus* for his Example, thought it too great a Condescension and inconsistent with the high Characters they bore, to enter into the Contention. *Eleutheris* is reported to have gain'd a Victory purely upon the Account of his Voice, his Song being the Composition of another Person: *Hesiod* was repuls'd, because he could not play upon the Harp, which all the Candidates were oblig'd to do.

There was likewise another Song, call'd Πυθικός νόμος; to which a Dance was perform'd: It consisted of these five Parts, wherein the Fight of *Apollo* and *Python* was represented; 1. Ἀράκρυσις, which contain'd the Preparation to the Field. 2. Ἐμπείρα, or the first Essay towards it. 3. Κατακλεισμός, which was the Action itself, and the God's Exhortation to himself to stand out with Courage. 4. Ἰαμβοὶ καὶ δακτύλοι, or the insulting Sarcasms of *Apollo* over vanquish'd *Python*. 5. Σέρπεις, which was an Imitation of the Serpent's Hissing, when he

(p) *Natalis Comes* Mythol. lib. v. cap. 2. (q) *Strabo*, lib. xi. *Pausan.* *Phocicis*.

ended his Life. Others make this Song to consist of the six following Parts: 1. Πύξα, or the Preparation. 2. Ἰαμβός, wherein *Apollo* dar'd *Pythion* to engage him by Reproaches, for ἰαμβίζω signifies to *Reproach*, *Iambick* Verses being the common Form of *Invectives*. 3. Δάκτυλος, which was sung to the Honour of *Bacchus*, to whom those *Numbers* were thought most acceptable: This Part belong'd to him, because he had (as some say) a Share in the *Delphian* Oracle, or possess'd it before *Apollo*. 4. Κρητικός, to the Honour of *Jupiter*, because he was *Apollo's* Father, and thought to delight most in such *Feet*, as being educated in *Crete*, where they were us'd. 5. Μητρῶον, to the Honour of *Mother Earth*, because the *Delphian* Oracle belong'd to her, before it came into *Apollo's* Hands. 6. Σερπεντός, or the *Serpent's* Hissing.

But by others it is thus describ'd (r); Πύξα, an Imitation of *Apollo*, preparing himself for the Fight with all the Circumspection of a prudent and cautious Warrior. 2. Καλαμεισμός, a Challenge given to the Enemy. 3. Ἰαμβικός, a Representation of the Fight, during which the Trumpets sounded a Point of War: It was so call'd from *Iambick* Verses, which are the most proper to express Passion and Rage. 4. Σπονδαῖος, so call'd from the *Feet* of that Name, or from σπένδειν, i. e. to offer a Libation, because it was the Celebration of Victory; after which, it was always customary to return Thanks to the Gods, and offer Sacrifices. 5. Καλαχόρευσις, a Representation of *Apollo's* Dancing after his Victory (s).

Afterwards, in the third Year of the XLVIIIth Olympiad, the *Amphictyones*, who were Presidents of these Games, introduced Flutes, which till that Time had not been us'd at this Solemnity; the first that won the Prize was *Sacadas* of *Argos*: But because they were more proper for Funeral Songs and Lamentations, than the merry and jocund Airs at Festivals, they were in a short Time laid aside. They added likewise all the Gymnical Exercises us'd in the *Olympian* Games, and made a Law, that none should contend in Running but Boys. At, or near the same Time, they chang'd the Prizes, which had before been of Value, into Crowns or Garlands; and gave these Games the Name of *Pythia*, from *Pythian Apollo*; whereas till that Time (as some say) they had either another Name, or no peculiar Name at all. Horse-races also, or Chariot-races, were introduced about the Time of *Clisthenes*, King of *Argos*, who obtain'd the first Victory in them, riding in a Chariot drawn by four Horses; and several other Changes were by Degrees made in these Games, which I shall not trouble you with.

(r) *Julius Scaliger* Poetices, lib. i. cap. 23. iv. cap. 10.

(s) *Julius Pollux* Onomast. lib.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of the Nemean Games.

THE *Nemean Games* (1) were so call'd from *Nemea*, a Village and Grove between the Cities *Cleonæ* and *Pblius*, where they were celebrated every third Year, upon the twelfth of the *Corinthian Month Πάνεμος*, call'd sometimes *Ἰερόμηνια*, which is the same with the *Athenian Boedromion*. The Exercises were Chariot-races, and all the Parts of the *Pentathlon*. The Presidents were elected out of *Corinth*, *Argos*, and *Cleonæ*, and apparell'd in black Cloaths, the Habit of Mourners, because these Games were a Funeral Solemnity instituted in Memory of *Opheltes*, otherwise call'd *Archemorus*, from ἀρχή, i. e. a Beginning, and τέλος, i. e. Fate or Death, because *Amphiaraus* foretold his Death soon after he began to live: Or, according to *Statius* (u), because that Misfortune was a *Prelude* to all the bad Success that beset the *Theban* Champions; for *Archemorus* was the Son of *Euphetes* and *Creusa*, or *Lycurgus*, a King of *Nemea* or *Thrace*, and *Eurydice*, and nurs'd by *Hypsipyle*, who leaving the Child in a Meadow, whilst she went to shew the Besiegers of *Thebes* a Fountain, at her Return found him dead, and a Serpent folded about his Neck; whence the Fountain before call'd *Langia*, was nam'd *Archemorus*; and the Captains to comfort *Hypsipyle* for her Loss, instituted these Games (x),

*Una tamen tacitas, sed jussu Numinis, undas
Hæc quoque secreta nutrit Langia sub umbra,
Nondum illi raptus dederat lacrymabile nomen
Archemorus, nec fama Deæ; tamen ævia servat
Et nemus, & fluvium; manet ingens gloria Nymphæ,
Cum tristem Hypsipylem ducibus sudatus Achæis
Ludus, & atra sacrum recolit Trieteris Opheltes.*

Langia alone, and she securely hid,
Lurk'd in a dark, and unfrequented Shade,
Her silent Streams, by some Divine Command,
To feed the circumjacent Pools retain'd.
Before *Hypsipyle* was known to Fame,
Before the Serpent had *Archem'rus* slain,
And to the Spring bequeath'd his dreadful Name;
Yet in the lonesome Desert tho' it lies,
A Grove, and Riv'let it alone supplies;
Whilst endless Glory on the Nymph shall wait,
And Grecian Chiefs shall eternize her Fate,

(1) *Strabo*, lib. viii. *Pausanias* *Corinth.* *Eliac.* β'. *Pindari Schol.* *Nemean.* (u) *Thebaid*, lib. v. (x) *Statius Thebaid*, lib. iv.

When they shall sad Triennial Games ordain
To After-Ages to transmit her Name,
And dismal Story of *Opheltes* slain.

}
H. H.

Others are of Opinion, that these Games were instituted by *Hercules* after his Victory over the *Nemean Lion* (y), in Honour of *Jupiter*, who, as *Pausanias* tells us, had a magnificent Temple at *Nemea*, where he was honour'd with solemn Games, in which Men ran Races in Armour; but perhaps these might be distinct from the Solemnity I am now speaking of. Lastly, others grant indeed, they were first instituted in Memory of *Archemorus*, but will have them to have been intermitted and reviv'd by *Hercules*, and consecrated to *Jupiter*.

The Victors were crown'd with Parsley, which was an Herb us'd at Funerals, and feign'd to have sprung out of *Archemorus*'s Blood: Concerning it *Plutarch* relates a remarkable Story (z), with which it will not be improper to conclude this Chapter: "As *Timoleon* (saith he) " was marching up an Ascent, from the Top of which they might " take a View of the Army and Strength of the *Carthaginians*, there " met him by Chance a Company of Mules loaden with Parsley, which " his Soldiers conceiv'd to be an ill-boding Omen, because this is " the very Herb wherewith we adorn the Sepulchres of the Dead; " which Custom gave Birth to that despairing Proverb, when we " pronounce of one that is dangerously sick, that he does *δυσθαί σελινον*, " i. e. want nothing but Parsley; which is in effect to say, he is a " dead Man, just dropping into the Grave: Now, that *Timoleon* " might ease their Minds, and free them from those superstitious " Thoughts, and such a fearful Expectation, he put a Stop to his " March, and, having alledg'd many other Things in a Discourse " suitable to the Occasion, he concluded it by saying, that a Garland " of Triumph had luckily fallen into their Hands of its own Accord, " as an Anticipation of Victory, inasmuch as the *Corinthians* do crown " those that get the better in their *Isthmian* Games with Chaplets of " Parsley, accounting it a sacred Wreath, and proper to their Coun- " try; for Parsley was ever the conquering Ornament of the *Isthmian* " Sports, as it is now also of the *Nemean*; it is not very long since " Branches of the Pine-tree came to succeed, and to be made use of " for that Purpose; *Timoleon* therefore, having thus bespoke his Sol- " diers, took Part of the Parsley, wherewith he first made himself a " Chaplet, and then his Captains with their Companies did all crown " themselves with it in Imitation of their General."

(y) *Pindari Scholiast.*

(z) *Timoleonte.*

C H A P. XXV.

Of the Isthmian Games.

THE Isthmian Games were so call'd from the Place where they were celebrated, viz. the *Corinthian Isthmus*, a Neck of Land by which *Peloponnesus* is join'd to the Continent; They were instituted in Honour of *Palæmon*, or *Melicertes*, the Son of *Athamas* King of *Thebes*, and *Ino*, who, for Fear of her Husband (who had killed her other Son *Learchus* in a Fit of Madness) cast herself with *Melicertes* in her Arms into the Sea, where they were receiv'd by *Neptune* into the Number of the Divinities of his Train. out of a Compliment to *Bacchus* nurs'd by *Ino*. At the Change of their Condition, they alter'd their Names; *Ino* was call'd *Leucothea*, and her Son *Palæmon*; however *Palæmon's* Divinity could not preserve his Body from being toss'd about the Sea, till at length it was taken up by a Dolphin, and carried to the *Corinthian* Shore, where it was found by *Sisyphus* at that Time King of *Corinth*, who gave it an honourable Interment, and instituted these funeral Games to his Memory; thus *Pausanias* (a). Others report, that *Melicertes's* Body was cast upon the *Isthmus*, and lay there some Time unburied, whereupon a grievous Pestilence began to rage in those Parts, and the Oracles gave out, that the only Remedy for it was to inter the Body with the usual Solemnities, and celebrate Games in Memory of the Body; upon the Performance of these Commands the Distemper ceas'd; but afterwards, when the Games were neglected, broke out again, and the Oracles, being consulted, gave Answer, that they must pay perpetual Honours to *Melicertes's* Memory; which they did accordingly, erecting an Altar to him, and enacting a Law for the perpetual Celebration of these Games.

Others report, that they were instituted by *Theseus* in Honour of *Neptune*; others are of Opinion, that there were two distinct Solemnities observ'd in the *Isthmus*, one to *Melicertes*, and another to *Neptune*; which Report is grounded upon the Authority of *Museus*, who wrote a Treatise about the *Isthmian* Games. *Phavorinus* reports, that these Games were first instituted in Honour of *Neptune*, and afterwards celebrated in Memory of *Palæmon*. *Plutarch* on the contrary tells us, that the first Institution of them was in Honour of *Melicertes*, but afterwards they were alter'd, enlarg'd, and re-instituted to *Neptune* by *Theseus*: He gives also several other Opinions concerning the Original of them: His Words are these in the Life of *Theseus*; "*Theseus* instituted Games in Emulation of *Hercules*, being ambitious, that as the *Greeks*, by that Hero's Appointment, celebrated the *Olympian* Games to the Honour of *Jupiter*, so by his Institution they should celebrate the *Isthmian* Games to the Honour of *Neptune*; for those that were before dedicated to *Melicertes* were celebrated privately

(a) Initio Corinthiac.

“ in the Night, and consisted rather of religious Ceremonies, than
 “ of any open Spectacle, or publick Festival. But some there are,
 “ who say that the *Isthmian Games* were first instituted in Memory of
 “ *Sciron*, at the Expiation which *Theseus* made for his Murder, upon
 “ the Account of the Nearness of Kindred between them, *Sciron* being
 “ the Son of *Canethus* and *Heniocha*, the Daughter of *Pittheus*; tho’
 “ others write that *Siunis*, and not *Sciron*, was their Son, and that to
 “ his Honour, and not to *Sciron*’s, these Games were ordain’d by
 “ *Theseus*. *Hellanicus* and *Andra* of *Halicarnassus* write, that at the
 “ same Time he made an Agreement with the *Corinthians*, that they
 “ should allow them, that came from *Athens* to the Celebration of the
 “ *Isthmian Games*, as much Space to behold the Spectacle in, as the
 “ Sail of the Ship that brought them thither stretch’d to its full Extent
 “ could cover, and that in the first and most honourable Place :”
 Thus *Plutarch*.

The *Eleans* were the only Nation of *Greece*, that absented themselves from this Solemnity, which they did for this Reason, *Pausanias* (b) relates; the *Corinthians* having appointed the *Isthmian Games*, the Sons of *Aëtor* came to the Celebration of them, but were surpriz’d and slain by *Hercules*, near the City *Cleonæ*: The Author of the Murder was at the first unknown, but being at length discover’d by the Industry of *Molione* the Wife of *Aëtor*, the *Eleans* went to *Argos* and demanded Satisfaction, because *Hercules* at that Time dwelt at *Tiryns*, a Village in the *Argian Territories*. Being repuls’d at *Argos*, they apply’d themselves to the *Corinthians*, desiring of them that all the Inhabitants and Subjects of *Argos* might be forbidden the *Isthmian Games*, as Disturbers of the publick Peace; but meeting with no better Success in this Place, than they had done at *Argos*, *Molione* forbade them to go to the *Isthmian Games*, and denounced a dreadful Execration against any of the *Eleans* that should ever be present at the Celebration of them; which Command was so religiously observ’d, that none of the *Eleans* dare venture to go to the *Isthmian Games* to this Day, (saith my Author) for Fear *Molione*’s Curses should fall heavy upon them.

These Games (c) were observ’d every third, or rather every fifth Year, and held so sacred and inviolable, that when they had been intermitted for some Time, through the Oppression and Tyranny of *Cypselas*, King of *Corinth*; after the Tyrant’s Death the *Corinthians*, to renew the Memory of them, which was almost decay’d, employ’d the utmost Power and Industry they were able in reviving them, and celebrated them with such Splendor and Magnificence as was never practis’d in former Ages. When *Corinth* was sack’d and totally demolish’d by *Mummius* the Roman General, these Games were not discontinu’d, but the Care of them was committed to the *Sicyonians* till the Rebuilding of *Corinth*, and then restor’d to the Inhabitants of that City, as *Pausanias* reports (d).

The Victors were rewarded with Garlands of Pine-leaves; after-

(b) *Eliac. á.* (c) *Alex. ab Alexandro Gen. Diar. lib. v. cap. 8.* (d) *Initia Corinthiac.*

wards Parsley was given them, which was also the Reward of the *Ne-mean* Conquerors, but with this Difference, that there it was fresh and green, whereas in the *Isthmian* Games it was dry and wither'd. Afterwards the use of Parsley was left off, and the Pine-tree came again into Request, which Alterations *Plutarch* has accounted for in the fifth Book of his *Symposiacks* (e).

C H A P. XXVI.

Of the Greek Year.

THE Writers of ancient Fables report, that *Océanos*, whom the *Latins* call *Calus*, King of the *Atlantick* Islands, was reputed the Father of all the Gods, and gave his Name to the *Heavens*, which from him were by the *Greeks* term'd *ἀγανός*, and by the *Latins*, *Cælum*, because he invented *Astrology*, which was unknown till his Time (f). Others ascribe the Invention both of *Astrology*, and the whole *ἀστρονομία*, *Science of the Celestial Bodies*, to *Atlas*: From him these Discoveries were communicated to *Hercules*, who first imparted them to the *Greeks*. Whence the Authors of Fables took Occasion to report, that both these Heroes supported the *Heavens* with their Shoulders (g). The *Cretans* pretended that *Hyperion* first observ'd the Motions of the Sun, Moon, and Stars (h). He was Son to the primitive God *Uranus*, and, from his Knowledge of the Celestial Motions, is sometimes taken by the Poets and other fabulous Authors for the Father of the Sun, sometimes for the Sun himself. The *Arcadians* reported, that their Countryman *Endymion* first discover'd the Motion of the Moon (i): Which gave Occasion to those early Ages to feign, that he was belov'd by that Goddess. Lastly, others reported that *Actis*, by some call'd *Actæus*, who flourish'd in the Isle of *Rhodes* about the Time of *Cecrops* King of *Athens*, invented the Science of *Astrology*, which he communicated to the *Egyptians* (k).

But to pass from fabulous to more authentick Histories, the first Improvement and Study of *Astronomy* is generally ascrib'd to the *Grecian* Colonies, which inhabited *Asia*. And it is thought to have been first learnt from the *Babylonians* or *Egyptians*, and communicated to the *Grecians* either by *Thales* of *Miletus*, *Pythagoras* of *Samos*, *Anaximander* of *Miletus*, *Anaximenes* the Scholar and Fellow-Citizen of *Anaximander*, *Cleostratus* of *Tenedos*, *Oenopidas* of *Chios*, or *Anaxagoras* of *Clazomenæ*, the Master of *Pericles*, who was the first that taught the *Ionick* Philosophy at *Athens*, where he open'd his School in the same Year that *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*. Every one of these seems to have cultivated and im-

(e) *Quest.* iii. (f) *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. iii. p. 132. & *Scriptores Mythologici*, (g) *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. iii. pag. 135. lib. iv. pag. 163. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Strom. i. p. 306. *Plinius*, lib. vii. cap. 56. (h) *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v. pag. 237. (i) *Lucianus* in comment. de *Astrologia*, *Apollonii Scholiastes* in lib. iv. (k) *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v. pag. 247.

prov'd this Science, and on that Account by different Men to have been reputed the Inventor, or first Master of it in *Greece* (l). Before the Time of these Philosophers, it is certain that the *Greeks* were entirely ignorant of the Motions of the heavenly Bodies; insomuch that *Thales* first observ'd a solar *Eclipse* in the fourth Year of the forty-eighth *Olympiad*. A long Time after that, in the fourth Year of the ninetyeth *Olympiad*, an *Eclipse* of the Moon prov'd fatal to *Nicias* the *Albanian General*, and the Army under his Command, chiefly because the Reason of it was not understood (m). And *Herodotus* seems to have been wholly unacquainted with this Part of Learning; whence he describes the Solar *Eclipses* after the *Poetical* Manner, by the *Disappearance of the Sun*, and his leaving his accusom'd Seat in the *Heaven* (n), never mentioning the Moon's Interposition.

From the fore-mention'd Instances it appears, that the *Greeks* had no Knowledge of *Astronomy*, and by Consequence no certain Measure of Time, till they began to converse with the *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, *Persians*, or other Eastern Nations. For tho' it be easy from the Returns of the several Seasons of Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, to discover that a Year is already past; yet to determine the exact Number of Days, wherein these Vicissitudes happen, and again, to divide them into Months, answering the Motion of the *Moon*, requires much Study and Observation. Hence, in the heroical Ages, the Years were numbered by the Return of Seed-time and Harvest, and the several Seasons of labouring and resting. The *Day* itself was not then distinguish'd into certain and equal Portions, but measur'd τῇ τῷ ἡλίου ἄλλως ἀπλόγειον κινήσει, rudely and unaccurately by the Accels and Recess of the *Sun*, as *Eusebius* has observ'd in his Comment upon those Verses of *Homer*, wherein that Poet describes the Time of a certain Battle agreeably to the Way of reckoning, which was us'd in the ancient Times (o):

Ὅφρα μὲν ᾗδ' ἦν καὶ αἰέετο ἱερὸν ἡμᾶς,
τόφρα μάλ' ἀμφοτέρων βελὶ ἤπτιτο, τίπτε δὲ λαὸς;
Ἥμος δὲ δρυτόμος περὶ ἀνῆρ ὠπλίσσατο δόρυ
οὔρεος ἐν βίσσοισιν, ἐπὶ τ' ἐπορέσσατο χεῖρας
τάμνων δένδρεα μακρὰ, ἄδος τὲ μὴ ἵκετο θυμὸν.
Σίτε τι γλυκεροῖο περὶ φρένας ἡμερὸς αἶρε.
τῆμος σφῇ ἀρετῇ Δαναοὶ ἐξέαντο φάλαγγας.

In another Place (p) *Achilles* is introduced dividing the *Day*, not into *Hours*, which were the Invention of more polish'd Ages, but into the more obvious Parts of *Morning*, *Noon*, and *Afternoon*.

(l) *Suidas*, *Diogenes Laertius* in *Vitis Philosophorum*. *Plinius*, lib. ii. cap. 76.
(m) *Plutarchus* *Nicias*. (n) *Lib. i. cap. 74. lib. vii. cap. 37. lib. ix. cap. 10.*
(o) *Iliad. x'. ver. 84. pag. 765. (p) Iliad. φ', ver. 111.*

Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τοὶ καμοὶ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταῖη
Ἔσσιται, ἢ ἰὼς, ἢ δαίτης ἢ μεσὸν ἡμαρ.

Neither were they more accurate in distinguishing the several Parts of Time, till, Πόλον, καὶ γνῶμονα, καὶ τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον, *they learnt the Use of the Sun-Dial, and the Pole, and the twelve Parts of the Day from the Babylonians, as we are inform'd by Herodotus (q).*

Yet in *Homer's* Time *Lunar Months* seem to have been in Use, as also a certain Form of *Years* comprehending several *Months*: Which appears from the following Verses, wherein it is foretold that *Ulysses* should return to *Ithaca* in one of the *Months* of the then present *Year* (r):

Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ λυκάεαντος ἐλεύσται ἰθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς,
Τῷ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνὸς, τῷ δὲ ἰσαμένειο.

But that the *Grecians* had then no settled Form of *Years* and *Months*, wherein the *Solar* and *Lunar* Revolutions were regularly fitted to each other, appears from what is reported concerning *Thales* the *Milesian*. That having spent a considerable Time in the Observation of the Celestial Bodies, and observing that the *Lunar* Revolutions never exceeded thirty *Days*, he appointed twelve *Months* of thirty *Days* each, whereby the *Year* was made to consist of CCCLX *Days*. Then, in order to reduce these *Months* to an Agreement with the Revolution of the *Sun*, he intercalated thirty *Days* at the End of every two *Years*, of the abovesaid *Months*. Whence *id tempus τρετηνίδα appellabant, quod tertio quoque anno intercalabatur, quamvis biennii circuitus, & revera die-της esset*: That Space of Time was term'd a *Period of Three*, because the Intercalation was not made till after the Expiration of full two *Years*, tho' really it was only a *Period of Two Years*; as we are inform'd by *Censorinus* (s). So that this *Period* of two *Years* contain'd no less than DCCL *Days*, and exceeded the same Number of *Years* as measur'd by the true Motion of the *Sun*, twenty *Days*; which Difference is so very great, that *Scaliger* was of Opinion this Cycle was never receiv'd in any Town of *Greece*.

Afterwards *Solon* observing that the Course of the *Moon* was not finish'd in thirty *Days*, as *Thales* had computed it, but in twenty-nine *Days* and half a *Day*; he appointed that the *Months* should in their Turns consist of twenty-nine and of thirty *Days*, so that a *Month* of twenty-nine *Days* should constantly succeed one of thirty *Days*; whereby an entire *Year* of twelve *Months* was reduced to CCCLIV *Days*, which fell short of the *Solar Year*, that is the Time of the *Sun's* Revolution, eleven *Days*, and one fourth Part of a *Day*, or thereabouts. In order therefore to reconcile this Difference, τρεκατηνίδες, that

(q) Lib. ii. cap. 109. (r) *Odyss.* ξ', ver. 161. (s) Libro de die natali, cap. 18. Conf. *Herodotus*, lib. i. cap. 32. & lib. ii. cap. 4. *Geminus*, cap. 6.

is, a Cycle of *four Years*, was invented. Herein after the first two *Years*, they seem to have added an intercalated *Month* of twenty-two *Days*: And again, after the Expiration of two *Years* more, another *Month* was intercalated, which consisted of twenty-three *Days*, the fourth Part of one *Day* in every *Year* arising to a whole *Day* in a Period of four *Years*. And thus *Solon* prevented the *Lunar Years* from exceeding those which are measur'd by the Revolution of the *Sun*, and so avoided the Mistake so manifest in the Cycle of *Thales*.

But afterwards it was consider'd, that the forty-five *Days* added by *Solon* to his Period of four *Years*, and containing a (ωλόγετος) full *Lunar Month* and an half, would occasion this Cycle to end in the Midst of a *Lunar Month*; to remedy which Inconvenience, οκτοετηρίς, a Term of eight *Years*, was instituted instead of the former Cycle of four *Years*, to which three entire *Lunar Months* were added at several Times (t).

After the Cycle of eight *Years*, no Change was made in the Calendar till the Time of *Meton*, who, having observ'd that the Motions of the *Sun* and *Moon* fell short of one another by some Hours, which Disagreement, tho' at first scarce perceivable, would quite invert the Seasons in the Compass of a few Ages, invented the Cycle of nineteen *Years*, term'd εννακαιδεκαετηρίς, in which Term the *Sun* having finish'd XIX Periods, and the *Moon* CCXXXV, both return'd to the same Place of the Heavens, in which they had been nineteen *Years* before.

Afterwards it was observ'd, that in the Revolution of every Cycle the *Moon* out-went the *Sun* about seven Hours; to prevent this Inconvenience, *Calippus* contriv'd a new Cycle, which contain'd four of *Meton's*, that is, LXXVI *Years*. And upon the Observation of some small Disagreement between the *Sun* and *Moon* at the End of this Term, *Hipparchus* devis'd another Cycle, which contain'd four of those instituted by *Calippus*. According to other Accounts, one of *Meton's* Cycles contain'd eight εννακαιδεκαετηρίς, i. e. CLII *Years*. This was afterwards divided into two equal Parts, and from each Part one *Day*, which was found to be superfluous in *Meton's* Cycle, was taken away (u).

From the *Grecian Years* let us now proceed to their *Months*. In the Computation of these, they seem neither to have agreed with other Nations, nor amongst themselves. In the Authors of those Times, we find different *Months* often set against, and made to answer one another: And learn'd Men have hitherto in vain attempted to reconcile these Contradictions. *Plutarch* in his *Life of Romulus* owns, that no Agreement was to be found between the *Grecian* and *Roman* New Moons. And in the *Life of Aristides*, discoursing of the Day upon which the *Persians* were vanquish'd at *Platææ*, he professeth, that even in his own Time, when the Celestial Motions were far better understood than they had been in former Ages, the Beginnings of their

(t) Conf. *Genforinus*.
487 u.

(u) Conf. *Henr. Dodwelli* librum de anno veteri Græ-

Months could not be adjusted. These Disagreements seem to have been occasion'd by some of these, or the like Causes :

1. That the *Years* of different Nations were not begun at the same Time. The *Roman January*, which was their first *Month*, fell in the Depth of Winter. The *Arabians* and others began their Year in the Spring (x). The *Macedonians* reckon'd *Dius* their first *Month*, from the Autumnal *Equinox*. The ancient *Athenian Year* began after the Winter Solstice; the more modern *Athenians* computed their *Years* from the first *New Moon* after the Summer Solstice. Hence those Men will be exceedingly mistaken, who make the *Roman January* to answer the *Attick Gamelion*, or the *Macedonian Dius*, which are the first *Months* of those Nations; or that measure the primitive *Attick Year* by that, which was us'd after the Time of *Meton*.

2. That the Number of *Months* was not the same in all Places. The *Romans* had at first only *ten Months*, the last of which was for that Reason term'd *December*. Afterwards they were increas'd to twelve by *Numa Pompilius*. The *Egyptians* had at first only one *Month*, which was afterwards divided into four, according to the Seasons of the Year: Some of the barbarous Nations divided their Year into three *Months*. The same Number of *Months* was receiv'd by the ancient *Arcadians*. Afterwards the *Arcadians* parted their Year into four *Months*; the *Acarinians* reckon'd six *Months* to their Year; but most of the *Greeks* of later Ages, when the Science of *Astronomy* had been brought to some Perfection, gave twelve *Months* to every Year, besides those which were intercalated to adjust the *Solar* and *Lunar* Periods.

3. That the *Months* were not constantly of the same Length. Some contain'd thirty Days, others a different Number. Some Nations computed their *Months* by the *Lunar* Motions, others by the Motion of the Sun. The *Athenians* and *ἡμετέρας τῶν νῦν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων*, most of the present Grecian Cities (saith *Galen*) make use of *Lunar Months*: But the *Macedonians*, and all the *ἁρχαῖοι*, ancient *Greeks*, or as some rather choose to read, *Ἀσιαῖοι*, the *Asiatics*, with many other Nations, measure their *Months* by the Motion of the Sun (y).

4. That the *Months* of the same Nations, partly through their Ignorance of the Celestial Motions, and partly by Reason of the intercalated Days, Weeks, and Months, did not constantly maintain the same Places, but happen'd at very different Seasons of the Year.

However that be, the *Athenians*, whose Year is chiefly follow'd by the ancient Authors, after their *Kalendar* was reform'd by *Meton*, began their Year upon the first *New Moon* after the Summer Solstice (z). Hence the following Verses of *Festus Avienus*:

*Sed primæva Meton exordia sumsit ab anno,
Torreret rutilo Phœbus cum fidere Cancrum.*

(x) Conf. *Simplicius* in lib. v. *Physicæ Aristotelis*. (y) *Galenus* Primo ad i. *Epidemiorum Hippocratis* librum commentario. (z) Conf. *Plato* initio lib. vi. de *Legibus*. *Simplicius* in lib. v. *Physicæ Aristotelis*.

Their *Year* was divided into twelve *Months*, which contain'd thirty and twenty-nine *Days* alternately; so as the *Months* of thirty *Days* always went before those of twenty-nine. The *Months* which contain'd thirty *Days* were term'd *πλήρεις*, full, and *δικαφθινοί*, as ending upon the tenth *Day*: Those which consisted of twenty-nine *Days* were call'd *κοῖλοι*, hollow, and from their concluding upon the ninth *Day* *ἐναφθινοί* (a).

Every *Month* was divided into *τρία δεκάημερα*, three *Decads* of *Days*: The first was *μηνὸς ἀρχομένης*, or *ἰσαμένης*. The second, *μηνὸς μεσσηνίας*. The third, *μηνὸς φθινοῦς*, *παινομένης*, or *λήγουσας* (b).

I. The first *Day* of the first *Decad* was term'd *νεομηνία*, as falling upon the *New Moon*. The second, *δευτέρα ἰσαμένης*. The third *τρίτη ἰσαμένης* and so forward to the *δεκάτη ἰσαμένης*.

II. The first *Day* of the second *Decad*, which was the eleventh *Day* of the *Month*, was call'd *πρώτη μεσσηνίας*, or *πρώτη ἐπὶ δέκα*. The second, *δευτέρα μεσσηνίας*, or *τρίτη ἐπὶ δέκα* and so forward to the (*εἰκάς*) *twentieth*, which was the last of the second *Decad*.

III. The first *Day* of the third *Decad* was term'd *πρώτη ἐπ' εἰκάδι*. The second, *δευτέρα ἐπ' εἰκάδι*. The third, *τρίτη ἐπ' εἰκάδι* and so forward. Sometimes they inverted the Numbers in this Manner: The first of the last *Decad* was *φθινόγενος δεκάτη*. The second, *φθινόγενος ἑνάτη*. The third, *φθινόγενος ὀγδόη* and so forward to the last *Day* of the *Month*, which was term'd *Δημητρίας*, from *Demetrius Poliorcetes* (c). Before the Time of *Demetrius* it was call'd, by *Solon's* Order, *ἐν κ' νέα*, the *Old* and *New*; because the *New Moon* fell out on some Part of that *Day*; whereby it came to pass that the former Part belong'd to the *Old Moon*, the latter to the *New* (d). The same was also nam'd *τριάκας*, the *thirtieth*; and that not only in the *Months* which consisted of thirty *Days*, but in the rest of twenty-nine: For, in these, according to some Accounts, the twenty-second *Day* was omitted, according to others, the twenty-ninth (e). But which *Day* soever was omitted in the Computation, the *thirtieth* was constantly retain'd. Hence, according to *Thales's* first Scheme, all the *Months* were call'd *Months* of thirty *Days*, tho' by *Solon's* Regulation half of them contain'd only twenty-nine: And the *Lunar Year* of *Athens* was call'd a *Year* of CCCLX *Days*; tho' really, after the Time of *Solon*, it consisted of no more than CCCLIV *Days*. Whence the *Athenians* erected three Hundred and Sixty of *Demetrius* the *Phalerean's* Statues, designing for every *Day* in the *Year* one, as we are inform'd by *Pliny* (f), and the following Verses cited by *Nonius* from *Varro's Hebdomades*:

*Hic Demetrius æneis tot aptus est,
Quot lucas habet annus absolutus.*

The Names and Order of the *Athenian Months* were these which follow:

(a) Conf. *Galenus*. lib. iii. cap. 4. de diebus decret. Item *Grammatici*. (b) Conf. *Julius Pollux*. (c) *Plutarch*. *Demetrio*. (d) *Plutarch*. *Solone*, *Aristoph.* *Scholiast.* ad *Nubes* *Suidas* voc. "ἐν κ' νέα" (e) *Proclus Tzetzes*, *Moschopol.* in *Hesiodi Dies*, ver. 2. (f) *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiv. cap. 6.

1. Ἑκατομβαιών, which was πλόης, or δισαφθινός, a Month of thirty Days. It began upon the first new Moon after the Summer Solstice, and so answer'd the latter Part of the Roman June, and the first Part of July. The Name was deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆς πλείους ἑκατομβας διδοθαι τῷ μηνὶ τῷ (a), from the greater Number of Hecatombs, which were usually sacrificed in this Month. But the ancient Name was Κρόνος or Κρονιών, which was deriv'd from Κρόνια, the Festival of Cronus or Saturn, which was kept in this Month. The Days of this Month, which may serve as a Pattern for the rest, were thus computed :

1. Νεμηνία, ἱεραμένη, or ἀρχομένη πρώτη.
2. Ἱεραμένη δευτέρα.
3. Ἱεραμένη τρίτη.
4. Ἱεραμένη τετάρτη.
5. Ἱεραμένη πέμπτη, sometimes term'd πεντάς.
6. Ἱεραμένη ἕκτη, or ἑκτάς.
7. Ἱεραμένη ἑβδόμη.
8. Ἱεραμένη ὀγδόη.
9. Ἱεραμένη ἐνάτη.
10. Ἱεραμένη δικάτη.
11. Πρώτη ἐπὶ δέκα, or πρώτη μισήντη.
12. Δευτέρα ἐπὶ μισήντη, or ἐπὶ δέκα.
13. Τρίτη μισήντη, &c.
14. Τετάρτη μισήντη.
15. Πέμπτη μισήντη.
16. Ἑκτη μισήντη.
17. ἑβδόμη μισήντη.
18. ὀγδόη μισήντη.
19. ἐνάτη μισήντη.
20. Εἰκάς, or εἰκοστή.
21. Φθίνοντες, παυομένη, or λήγοντες δικάτη, sometimes term'd πρώτη ἐπ' εἰκάδι, or μετ' εἰκάδα, or μετ' εἰκοστήν.
22. Φθίνοντες ἐνάτη, &c.
23. Φθίνοντες ὀγδόη.
24. Φθίνοντες ἑβδόμη.
25. Φθίνοντες ἕκτη.
26. Φθίνοντες πέμπτη.
27. Φθίνοντες τετάρτη.
28. Φθίνοντες τρίτη.
29. Φθίνοντες δευτέρα.
30. Ἐν κ' νέα, sometimes call'd τριακάς, and δημητριάς.

(a) Suidas.

2. Μεταγυγίην, a Month of twenty-nine Days, so call'd from *Metagytia*, which was one of *Apollo's* Festivals, and celebrated in this Season.
3. Βροδρομιών, a Month of thirty Days, so nam'd from the Festival *Broodromia*.
4. Μαιμακτηριών, a Month of twenty-nine Days, so term'd from the Festival *Mamaeteria*.
5. Πυανευσίων, a Month of thirty Days, in which the *Pyanepsia* were celebrated.
6. Ἀνθεστηριών, a Month of twenty-nine Days, so nam'd from the Festival *Anthesteria*.
7. Ποσειδεών, a Month of thirty Days, in which the Festival *Pofidonia* was observ'd.
8. Γαμηλιών, a Month of twenty-nine Days, which was held sacred to *Juno γαμήλιος*, the Goddess of Marriage.
9. Ἐλαφβολιών, a Month of thirty Days, so term'd from the Festival *Elaphebolia*.
10. Μουνυχιών, a Month of twenty-nine Days, wherein the *Munychia* were kept.
11. Θαργηλιών, a Month of thirty Days, so call'd from the Festival *Thargelia*.
12. Σκιρροφοριών, a Month of twenty-nine Days, so term'd from the Feast *Scirrhophoria*.





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